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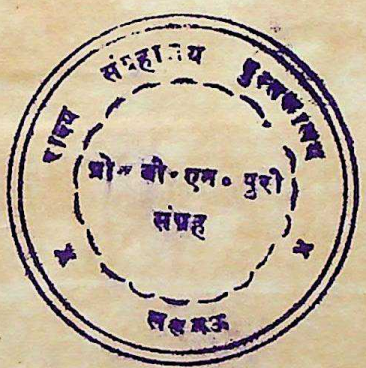

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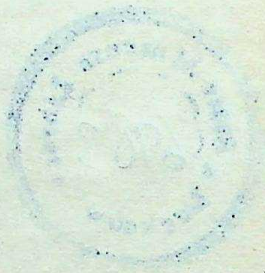

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DE HEVESY AND THE MUṆḌĀ PROBLEM

By BIREN BONNERJEA

In a recent study Guha[1] gave a short and thoughtful summary of the work done in anthropology in India during the last quarter of a century. This study includes general anthropology, prehistoric archæology, physical anthropology and cultural anthropology, but takes no notice of linguistics, although it cannot be denied that linguistics have contributed much to the science of man. The present paper is written to give a general idea of what has been done during the last few years on Muṇḍā linguistics and of the possible ethnographical connections of the Muṇḍās.

Since the time of Col. Dalton short notices on the various Muṇḍā peoples had been published from time to time. The Santāli languages had been studied by Skrefsrud, Bodding and others ; Muṇḍāri was studied by Hoffmann, Kurku by Drake, and Savara or Sora by Ramamurti. The *Encyclopædia Mundarica* of J. Hoffmann and A. van Emmelen is still in course of publication. In 1912 Roy published a detailed account of the Muṇḍā institutions[2], which was followed by a study of another Muṇḍā tribe, the Birhors, in 1925 ; ten years later the same author published a monograph on the Hill Bhuiṇyās, and two years after that, in 1937, in collaboration with his son, he published an account of the Khāṛiās. Inspite of the earlier works about them the Muṇḍās did not come to the fore until 1906 when Father W. Schmidt, the founder of the " Anthropos ", thought he saw similarities between the Santāli language on the one hand, and the Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese, Khāsi, Bahnar and Stieng languages on the other. In that year he published a work[3] in which he attempted to prove that Santāli was formed by prefixation to Mon-Khmer roots, and on this hypothesis he formed a new family of languages which he named "Austric" with a sub-family Austro-Asia-

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1. B. S. Guha, " Progress of Anthropology in India during the last Twenty-five Years," *Progress of Science in India during the last Twenty-five Years* (Calcutta, 1938), pp. 300-335.

2. S. C. Roy, *The Muṇḍās and their Country*. Ranchi, 1912.

3. W. Schmidt, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker. Ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern zentral-Asiens und Austronesiens*. Brunswick, 1906.

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tic." Sten Konow of Oslo enthusiastically accepted this "discovery" first in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* and then in the *Linguistic Survey of India* (edited by Grierson). This new-family of languages became a "reality", and even the fourteenth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* contains an account of it.

For almost a quarter of a century we had become accustomed to this youngest member of the linguistic families created by Pater Schmidt. From infancy it had passed to its youth without having its right of existence being questioned by anyone, when suddenly Guillaume de Hevesy, a man totally unknown to the anthropological and linguistic world, dealt it its death blow which left it tottering before it finally succumbed[4]. In the first-named of his papers mentioned in the preceding note de Hevesy argued that the word comparisons given by P. Schmidt cannot be taken seriously; he demonstrated no less than 70 of Schmidt's errors, and stated that "many more instances could be given"[5]. In the other two papers he came to the conclusion that since Father Schmidt had built up his linguistic family on a supposed relationship and since this relationship is now proved to be non-existent, the two terms "Austro-Asiatic" and "Austric" must also cease to exist. Then de Hevesy goes on to say that the Muṇḍā languages belong to the Finno-Ugrian (FU) family of languages, and especially to the Ugrian branch, having affiinities with such widely separated languages as Ostyak, Vogul and Magyar (Hungarian).

The study of the Hungarian language dates back several centuries. As long ago as 1604 Szenczi published a Latin-Hungarian dictionary[6], and almost sixty-five years before that, in 1539, appeared the *Grammatica Ungaro-Latinum* by Johannus Sylvester (born about

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4. G. de Hevesy, "On W. Schmidt's Munda-Mon-Khmer Comparisons (Does an Austric Family of Languages exist ?)" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution,* vi (London, 1930), pp. 187-200 ; *Id.,* "Du danger de l'emploi des termes 'Langues Austro-Asiatiques' et 'Langues Austriques' (Une fausse famille linguistique), *"Atti del Congresso di Linguistica tenuto in Roma* 1933 (Firenze, 1935), pp. 1-8 (of Reprint); *Id.,* "A False Linguistic Family, the 'Austro-Asiatic'. *"Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* xx, 1934. Pts. III-IV, pp. 1-9 (Reprint).

5. Hevesy, in *Bull. Sc. Orient St.,* vi. 199.

6. Molnar Albert Szenczi (1574-1633), *Dictionarium latino-ungaricum,* 1604.

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1504). In 1770 Sajnovics[7] scientifically demonstrated the relationship of Hungarian with the Finn and Lapp languages, and later, in 1799, S. Gyarmathi in his dissertation entitled "Affinitæ linguæ hungaricæ cum linguis fennicæ origini grammatice demonstrata" published at Göttingen conclusively proved the same thesis. After the relationship between the different languages of the FU group had been established the study was taken up by such scholars as Miklos Revai (1749-1807), Antal Reguly (1818-1858) and Pāl Hunfalvy (1810-1891) in Hungary, and M.A. Castren (1813-1852) and F.J. Wiedemann (1805-1887) in Finland and Russia. Under these scholars the study received a great impetus, but it was not until the time of Joseph Budenz (1836-1892) that a proper systematic study of the FU languages really began. Budenz studied the comparative vocabulary and morphology of the FU languages and compiled a masterly vocabulary and, best of all, initiated a disciplined and scientific system of work in the study of the languages in question.

The direction given to FU languages by Budenz has since been continued with slight variation by scholars like Bernāt Munkácsi, Jozsef Szinnyei, Zoltán Gombocz, Ignacz Halász, Armin Vambery, Joseph Balassa, D. R. Fuchs, Odön Beke, Miklós Zsirai, V. Thomsen, E. N. Setälä, U. T. Sirelius, A. Kannisto, K. Donner, A. Sauvageot, and others too numerous to mention, but little new has been added to our store of knowledge on the subject. Gombocz demonstrated the existence of Bulgarian loan words[8]; Vámbery and Gyula Nemeth, the Turkish element[9]; Thomsen showed the influence of Germanic languages on the Finno-Lapp languages[10]; Miklosich demonstrated the Slav element in Hungarian[11]; Munkácsi collected a large number of Hungarian words which he shows to be either

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7. For his contribution to FU linguistics see, E. Setälä, *Lisiä suomalais-ugrilaisen kielentutkimuksen historiaan* [Helsinki, 1892], pp. 107 *sq.*, J. Pápay, *A magyar nyelvhasonlitás története* [Budapest, 1922], pp. 11 *sq.*

8. Z. Gombócz, *Die bulgarisch-türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache* [Suomalais ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia XXX, Mém, Soc. Finno-Ougr., XXXX. Helsingfors, 1902].

9. A. Vámbery, *Der Ursprung der Magyaren* (Leipsic, 1882); *Id., A magyarság keletkezése és gyarapodása* (Budapest, 1895); *Id., A magyarság bölcsöjénél* (Budapest 1914); G. Nemeth, *A honfoglalákori magyarság kialakulása* (Budapest, 1930).

10. V. Thomsen, *Über den Einfluss der germanischen Sprachen auf die finnisch-lappischen* (Leipsic, 1870).

11. F. Miklosich, *Die slavischen Elemente im Magyarischen* (Vienna, 1884).

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of Aryan or of Caucasian origin[12]; and Setälä proved the connection between the FU languages and the Samoyed language of Siberia[13]; but the general classification of the FU languages remained the same as at the time of Budenz until de Hevesy came forward with his revolutionary hypothesis.

We have seen above the "destructive theory" of de Hevesy. His "constructive theory" of the genetic relationship between the FU and the Muṇḍā families of languages came later. By profession Guillaume de Hevesy, Wilhelm von Hevesy, or to give him his native Hungarian name, Hevesy Vilmos, is an engineer, resident in Paris. Born in 1879 of an aristocratic family, he served as a Captain of a Hussar regiment in the late Austro-Hungarian army during the World War. His greatest contribution to the science of anthropology has been to establish the identity of the inscriptions on seals from Mohenjo-Daro with the writings on the "wooden tablets" from Easter Island[14]. His interest in linguistics was first aroused by the chance perusal of a magazine article about the Maoris. Among other things this article contained a number of Maori words. M. de Hevesy was struck by the similarity of these words with words in his native tongue, and to set the matter at rest, he began to study linguistics and ethnology. As a result of these intensive, though unmethodical studies, he published a book in English entitled "Muṇḍā-Magyar-Maori, etc." under the nom-de-plume of F.A. Uxbond (*faux bond*=false leap, a leap in the dark). Later, he confined himself only to the first two—Muṇḍā and Magyar—but instead of Magyar alone, he extended his researches to all the FU languages.

Unfortunately on account of the lack of systematic training in linguistics, de Hevesy's works are not written with the clearness and conciseness which we expect from a trained linguist; his phonetic transcription is not always of great value in determining the exact sounds, and almost every page shows that it was written by an amateur

12. B. Munkácsi, *Árja és kaukázusi elemek a finn-magyar nyelvekben* (Budapest, 1900).

13. E. N. Setälä, "Zur Frage nach der Verwandtschaft der finnisch-ugrischen und samojedischen Sprachen, "*Suomalais Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskiraj* [*Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*], xxx (Helsingfors, 1915).

14. His identification has been accepted by the whole scientific world. See however, T. Michelson, in *American Anthropologist*, N.S., xxxvi (Menasha, Wis., (1934), p. 632, and the answer by B. Bonnerjea, *ibid.*, N.S., xxxviii (1936), pp. 148-149. Recently A. Métraux, "The Proto-Indian script and the Easter Island Tablets, "*Anthropos*, xxxiii (St. Gabriel-Mödling, 1938), pp. 218-239, published a severe and, as far as I can judge from the works of Hunter, totally unjustified criticism of it.

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—an "amateur" not only in its English meaning, but in its French meaning as well. But we are concerned more with the result than with the method, for "the end justifies the means". And if de Hevesy's conclusions are right we must, as scientists, accept them as right, irrespective of what his profession is or what his method has been. If we cannot accept de Hevesy's theories simply because he is neither an anthropologist nor a linguist [?]—he speaks, reads and writes several European languages and has a good knowledge of Santāli, (as the present writer can testify)—would it not be more consistent to disregard the archæological discoveries of Heinrich Schliemann who himself was not a trained archæologist?

One of the chief criticisms laid against de Hevesy is that he has only compared words. Even if it were true—which it is not—the comparison of words is not without a certain value. Father Schmidt's "Austro-Asiatic" and "Austric" families were built up on word-comparisons, and a leading linguist writes that "language is a faithful mirror of the history of a people, and a study of the vocabulary permits us not only to see what the primitive patrimony of knowledge of the people was, but also allows us, through an investigation and an analysis of the non-indigenous words, to see who were the foreign people who came in contact with the people speaking the language or languages we are examining."[15]

Since publishing his paper in 1930 de Hevesy has written numerous other papers in English, French and German, and a book in German; besides these he has given public lectures and made communications to learned societies and linguistic congresses from time to time. Several of his papers were published in India in the "Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society", but Indian scholars seem to be totally ignorant of the fact. In a work published as late as 1937 by the leading Indian authority on the Muṇḍās, the Khāṛiā language is still called "Austro-Asiatic."[16] Such a statement can only show that Indian scholars do not keep in touch with modern researches. It is true that de Hevesy's main conclusions have not

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15. C. Tagliavini, *Le lingue ungherese e il problema delle origini dei Magiari* [Repr. from *Rivista Corvina*, xxi-xxii, 1931/32. Budapest, 1932], p. 14: *"...uno specchio fedele della storia di un popolo e lo studio del vocabolario non ci permette solo di vedere quale era il patrimonio primitivo di conoscenze, ma ci permete ancora, attraverso Pindagine e l'analisi delle parole non indigene, di vedere quali furono i popoli stranieri che vennero in contatto con le popolazioni paralnti la lingua o le lingue che esaminiamo."*

16. S. C. Roy and R. C. Roy, *The Kharias* (Ranchi, 1937), vol. i, p. 18.

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yet found general acceptance, and adverse criticisms have appeared from time to time. But on the other hand, many competent scholars have accepted his thesis; thus Coèdes[17], Valídí[18], Heine-Geldern[19], Flor[20], Schrader[21] and Bonnerjea[22] all agreed that he is right. And lastly, Prof. Foucher of the Paris University made a communication before the French Academy *(Académie des Inscriptions)* in April 1938 in which he accepted de Hevesy's conclusions regarding the Muṇḍā-Finno-Ugrian genetic relationship; Profs. Pelliot and Vendryès agreed with Prof. Foucher. We see then that the hypothesis has not failed to find support, and cannot therefore be summarily dismissed, nor can it be disregarded in silence.

In the present paper it is not intended to give a detailed account of the discovery, but to say only a few words about his book and his general conclusions and the problems arising from the hypothesis. The book "Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien" contains VIII, 383 pages (Introduction, 1-10; Structure of the Muṇḍā languages compared with FU, 13-16; General remarks on Muṇḍā verbs, 17-44; Accidence—Muṇḍā suffixes 45-110 [this section is really a brief account of how the different forms of nouns, pronouns, verbs, etc., are formed]; Word-comparisons, 113-329; Final remarks, 329-375; Santāli songs [music], 376; Bibliography, 377-383). The major part of the book therefore deals with word-comparisons, of which there are 1134. Many of the words compared contain three consonants, and hence, according to Meillet, the mathematical probabilities are $15^3 : 1$ (i.e. 3375 to 1) that they originally belonged to one and the same language. The large number of 3-consonant words given by de Hevesy enhances the value of his other words. On the other hand, many of the words given by him are evidently borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages of India. If we deduct 30 per cent as possible borrowings, and therefore of no value in comparisons, it still leaves us 793 words unaccounted for—a formidable number indeed.

In the morphological part de Hevesy shows the points of similarity between Muṇḍā and FU. In both there is a marked difference between the "Animate" and the "inanimate"; just as in Muṇḍā, in Magy. too words denoting "inanimate" are often used in

17. G. Coèdes, in *Bulletin de l'Ecole francaise d'Extrème Orient,* 1932, p. 581.
18. A. Z. Validí, in *Türkische Post,* x, 1935, pp. 48-49.
19. Robert Freiherr von Heine-Geldern, in *Pester Lloyd,* 27. 1935. pp. 1.2.
20. F. Flor, in *Festschrift für Hermann Hirt,* i, p. 92 note.
21. O. Schrader, in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung,* 1935, col. 639.
22. B. Bonnerjea, in *Indian Culture,* iii (1937), p. 631.

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the singular with a plural meaning[23], e.g. *fátol nem látja az erdöt* "vor Bäumen sieht er den Wald nicht" (p. 14). Postpositions instead of prepositions are used in both groups; in Finn such postpositions are used with the genitive case [as in Bengali], whereas in Magy., Vogul and Muṇḍā they are affixed to the simple root (p. 15). The various suffixes in both FU and Muṇḍā are almost identical. In his most recent lecture[24] he says that the French sentence *"j'aurais pu te faire boire"* (I would have been able to make you drink) is translated into Hungarian by one word alone—the word consisting of the verb with five separate suffixes. He then says that in Santāli we have the same sequence of suffixes as in Magyar. A dual number is known in both groups; feminines and family names are formed with an identical suffix in both groups; in both groups the same demonstrative and indefinite pronouns are found; the same elements form the locative, ablative and dative cases; the conjugation of verbs with objects is found in both Muṇḍā and FU; and finally from the point of view of phonetics, Ostyak and other FU languages possess the same cerebral sounds as Muṇḍā.

The proof of the existence of a FU language in India as set forth by de Hevesy brings up four important questions[25]:

1. What ethnic connection is there between the Finno-Ugrians and the Indo-Germans?
2. How do the Draviḍian languages of India fit in in this linguistic problem?
3. Have FU languages influenced Indo-Aryan languages? and
4. How far towards the east can the FU influence be felt?

With regard to the first question, I had already adduced some proofs of an ethnic relationship between the two peoples[26], to which I would like to point out some additional ones. The remains of horse sacrifices were found in the ancient cemetery of Trälleborg. A peculiarity about these horse-sacrifices was that the animal was

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23. The same is also true of modern Bengali: *bāgāne gāčh āče,* "there are trees in the garden."

24. G. de Hevesy. *"Une immigration inconnue dans l'Inde"* a lecture delivered before the XX. International Congress of Orientalists held at Brussels, September 5-10, 1938.

25. *Cf. Journal Asiatique,* 1934, pp. 144 *sq.*; de Hevesy, "Munda Tongues Finno-Ugrian, *"Jour. Bihar Or. Res. Soc.,* xxi (1935), Repr., pp. 13 *sq.*

26. Bonnerjea, "Traces of Ugrian Occupation of India, *"Indian Culture,* iii (1937), pp. 629 *sq.*

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killed by driving a flint knife into its forehead[27]. Mora[28] examined 52 graves in Hungary containing horse sacrifices, and found that the animal was killed by driving either a stone or a knife into its skull. This cranial wound was characteristic in every case, and hence Mora believes that this method of sacrifice was typically proto-Magyar[29]. Flor[30] shows further that the similarity between the two does not end here, but, what is more important, in the Magyar graves were placed the skull and long bones of the sacrificed animal, which distinguished the Magyar sacrifice from a Turkish horse-sacrifice. This "Schädel-Langknochenopfer" was a typically Indo-German habit.

Koppers[31] shows the close connection among the Indo-Germans between the hearth-fire and wedding ceremonies. The Mordwins have a goddess of the hearth-fire[32]. The newly-wed bride takes leave of her, and as soon as she arrives at her husband's home is led to the fire[33]. Among the Finns of Ingermanland the bride must sacrifice to the fire-goddess when she comes to her new home[34]. Among the Magyars when the bride returns from the church service, she is led round the hearth-fire[35].

Neck-rests, we are told, were known among both Indo-Germans and the Polynesians[36]. Bátky[37] says that before feather-bolsters and leather-pillows were known, the ancient Magyars used wooden neck-rests, and then shows the distribution of the same neck-rests among the Votyaks and the Carelian Finns[38]. Sirelius[39] shows the

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27. G. Kossinna, *Die deutsche Vorgeschichte* (Leipsic, 1925), Pl. XXII, Fig. 207.

28. F.. Mora, "Néprajzi vonatkozások magyar leletekben," *Ethnográphia Népélet,* xliii (1932), pp. 54 *sq.*

29. F. Flor, "Die Indogermanenfrage in der Völkerkunde," *Festschrift für Hermann Hirt,* i (Heidelberg, 1936), pp. 122 *sq.*

30. Flor, *op. cit.,* p. 123.

31. W. Koppers, "Die Indogermanen im Lichte der historischen Völkerkunde," *Anthropos,* xxix (1935), pp. 9 *sq.,* 15 *sq.,* 23 *sq.*

32. G. Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde,* Bd. II, 2. *Kaukasien, Ost- und Nordrussland, Finland,* 1926, p. 922.

33. Buschan, *op. cit.,* p. 922. 34. Buschan, *op. cit.,* p. 988.

35. Miss Edith Fél, cited by Flor, *op. cit.,* p. 120.

36. Flor, *op. cit.,* p. 104.

37. Z. Bátky, in *Ertesitöje,* xxiii (1931), pp. 128 *sq.*

38. Bátky, *op. cit.,* pp. 129 *sq.;* Byhan, in Buschan, *op. cit.,* II, 2, p. 950; Flor, *op. cit.,* p. 104.

39. U. T. Sirelius, in *Suomen suku,* III osa, esineellinen kansatiede, 1934; Flor, *op. cit.,* p. 104.

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distribution of the neck-rests among other FU peoples. Flor[40] then says that Bátky identifies the Magyar neck-rests with the Melanesian and Polynesian forms, and derives them from Central Asia. The Spear-thrower, or atlatl, is also met with in FU territory, and hence Flor says: *"Nichts kann deutlicher das hohe Alter und die grosse Bedeutung der Proto-Uralier für das Indogermanentum zeigen als die Tatsache, dass beide Kulturgüter direkt aus der protouralischen Kultur stammen. Meiner Meinung nach kann es sich dabei um Anzeichen eines urtotemistischen Jägertums gehandelt haben, womit jene Vermutung an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnt, die die Proto-Uralier mit dem urtotemistischen Kulturkreis in Verbindung setzt.*[41]"

In the house-forms of the Indo-Germanic peoples Montelius and Schrader have shown that the oldest form was a round or conical tent structure covered with skins, wood, bark, etc[42]. The same form is found among the Samoyeds and the FU peoples[43]. Remains of the *Equus Przevalski* were found in the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro; and the only people in Europe who use the *Equus Przevalski* are the Magyars[44].

From an ethnographical study of the fishing methods of the Ugrian peoples the present author came to the conclusion that many of the fishing implements used by the Ugrians are identical to those used in India. Thus, the trumpet-trap, *pos*, of the Ostyaks and Voguls has an exact analogy both in shape as also in the spiral-binding technique with Indian traps. The ostyak *vōšym* is the same as a net-trap from Bengal, and both are used in dam or weir fishing. The form of Ugrian fences and dams has a striking resemblance with those of India. Finally, in hook-fishing the Magyar *lábóhorog* has

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40. Flor, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

41. Flor, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

42. O. Montelius, "Zur ältesten Geschichte des Wohnhauses," *Archiv für Anthropologie*, xxiii, pp. 451 *sqq.*; O. Schrader, in A. Nehring, *Real lexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 1917-1923, ii. 688.

43. U. T. Sirelius, "Uber die primitiven Wohnungen der finnisch-obugrischen Völker," *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen*, vi, pp. 61-148; Flor, "Haustiere und Hirtenkulturen," *Wiener Beiträge*, i (1930), p. 133.

44. L. Adametz, *Lehrbuch der allgemeinen Tierzucht* (Vienna, 1926), p. 27, c. by Flor, *op. cit.*, p. 156; F. Kern, *Anfänge der Weltgeschichte* (Liepsic and Berlin, 1933), pp. 136 *sq.*

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an exact parallel in the Ostyak *luma* and in a Muṇḍā float-fishing device[45].

The second problem regarding the position of the Dravidian languages has been solved by de Hevesy himself. He points out that the morphological differences between the FU and the Dravidian languages are so great that there could have been no genetic connection between them. Whatever word-similarities we find must have been caused through borrowings.

The third problem of the possible influence of the FU languages on the Indo-Aryan presents greater difficulties. M. de Hevesy is of opinion that the Muṇḍā languages have contributed to no mean degree in the formation of the IA languages. The present author came to the same conclusion before he had read de Hevesy's works[46]. The Indo-Germanic peoples knew apiculture, and the IA word *medhu, madhu* and the FU√ *mete*-show either a borrowing one from the other or a common origin.[47] Till now whenever a word was found in IA and in FU languages, it was taken for granted that FU borrowed from IA.

The last problem regarding the eastward spread of FU influence needs a considerable amount of actual excavation and research before we can answer it. M. de Hevesy shows that the FU words for " iron " (Magy. *vaš*, Vog. *-pš, -bes*, Cher. *-baž*, Finn. *vaske-*, Samoyed *basa, baza, veza*, &c.) is the same as the Muṇḍāri *basi*, Santāli *pasi*, Mon *pasai*, Old Javanese *vesi*, Malay *basi*, Batak *bosi*, at Timor *besi*, and in certain islands of the Sunda group with a final *-e (oase, uvase)*. The works of Mlle. Colani in Indo-China and of Heine-Geldern already show that there are cultural connections between the Indo-Germans and the further East. The comb-decorated pottery of

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45. Bonnerjea, cited by de Hevesy in his Brussels lecture [Repr., p. 7]. The studies in question are "La pêche chez les peuples finno-ougriens," *L'Anthropologie*, xlix (Paris 1939) [In Press], and " Ugrian Fishing implements and some Indian Parallels" [MS]. A summary has been published in *Notes and Queries*, clxxv (London, 1938.)

46. In a lecture entitled *"Folk-lore in Some Languages of Northern India"*, 644th Meeting: Anthropological Society of Washington, February 23, 1933. [United States National Museum, Washington, D.C.]. Compare e.g. Beng. *Khunṭ, bheṛā, paune, poy), du-kuṛi-āṭ*, etc.

47. *Cf.* A. Hämäläinen " Beiträge zur Geschichte der primitiven Bienenzucht bei den finnisch-ugrischen Völkern," *Suomalais Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja [Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne]*, xlvii (Helsingfors, 1935.)

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Indo-China—the so-called "Kammkeramik"—was typical of the FU peoples[48].

On the whole it is the opinion of the present writer that M. de Hevesy is quite right in his general conclusions. Like all pioneer works especially those written by amateurs, his works lack the necessary polish, but the raw material is there. And since anthropology is concerned with facts, we may justly regard his book "Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien" as one of the classics of linguistic science. Not only linguists but all those who are interested in human origins should welcome de Hevesy's works for the far-reaching and undreamt of possibilities they hold within their covers. Anthropologists in India should particularly bear in mind that two distinct types—a large-brained dolichocephalic type of possible proto-Nordic affinities, and a plano-occipital brachycephalic type characteristic of Asia Minor of the present day—were found among the Indus Valley remians. The solution may be found in the FU hypothesis.

Summarising therefore we find that simple word-comparisons have little value in proving linguistic relationship; but morphology is something different. When de Hevesy gives as examples Santāli *eṅga* "mother" ∠ *eṅga-t* "his mother," and Ost. *enga* "mother" ∠ enga-t "his mother," or Santāli *isi* (Muṇḍāri *hisi)* "twenty," ∠ *isi-ya* (Muṇḍāri *hisi-yu)* "twenty of them (ihrer zwanzig)" and Magy. *három* "three" ∠ *három-ja* "three of them," or again, in the comparison of adjectives, Santāli *bolo* "hinen," ∠ *lag bolo* "ganz ins Innerste," and Magy. *bele* "hinen" ∠ *leg bele;* when he demonstrates that in the formation of plurals both the groups of languages use suffixes as *-ko, -ku -ki,* [*-k-*]; when the emphatic particles are almost identical in both groups, to say nothing of many other morphological similarities, it cannot be said that his conclusions are based on word-comparisons alone. The similarities then between the Muṇḍā and the FU languages are too striking to be ignored any longer. Grammatically the resemblance is just as great as that found in the languages accepted as belonging to the FU group; lexically there are far too many resemblances to be relegated to mere chance. The linguistic classification proposed by de Hevesy—if I understand him right—is given in the table on the opposite page.

Such being the case the science of linguistics needs a revision. And unless we still persist in believing that the earth is flat and the sky a solid dome supported by pillars we must take notice of what has been done on Muṇḍā linguistics and face the anthropological and

48. O. Menghin, *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (Vienna, 1931), p. 558.

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ethnological problems from a new stand-point. How all the facts may be answered satisfactorily we are not yet in a position to answer. The linguistic studies bring up ethnological problems, and I believe that intensive researches in the languages, ethnology, archæology and physical anthropology of the Muṇḍā peoples will be necessary before the problems themselves can be solved. Whether the final researches prove de Hevesy to be right or not we must still be grateful to him for having shown us a new direction; and his merit seems to be all the more as, being as it is said an "amateur," he has with laudable perseverance continued his studies in the face of all opposition. All that de Hevesy asks for is not an acceptance of his hypothesis, but a serious and impartial examination of the facts as set forth by him.

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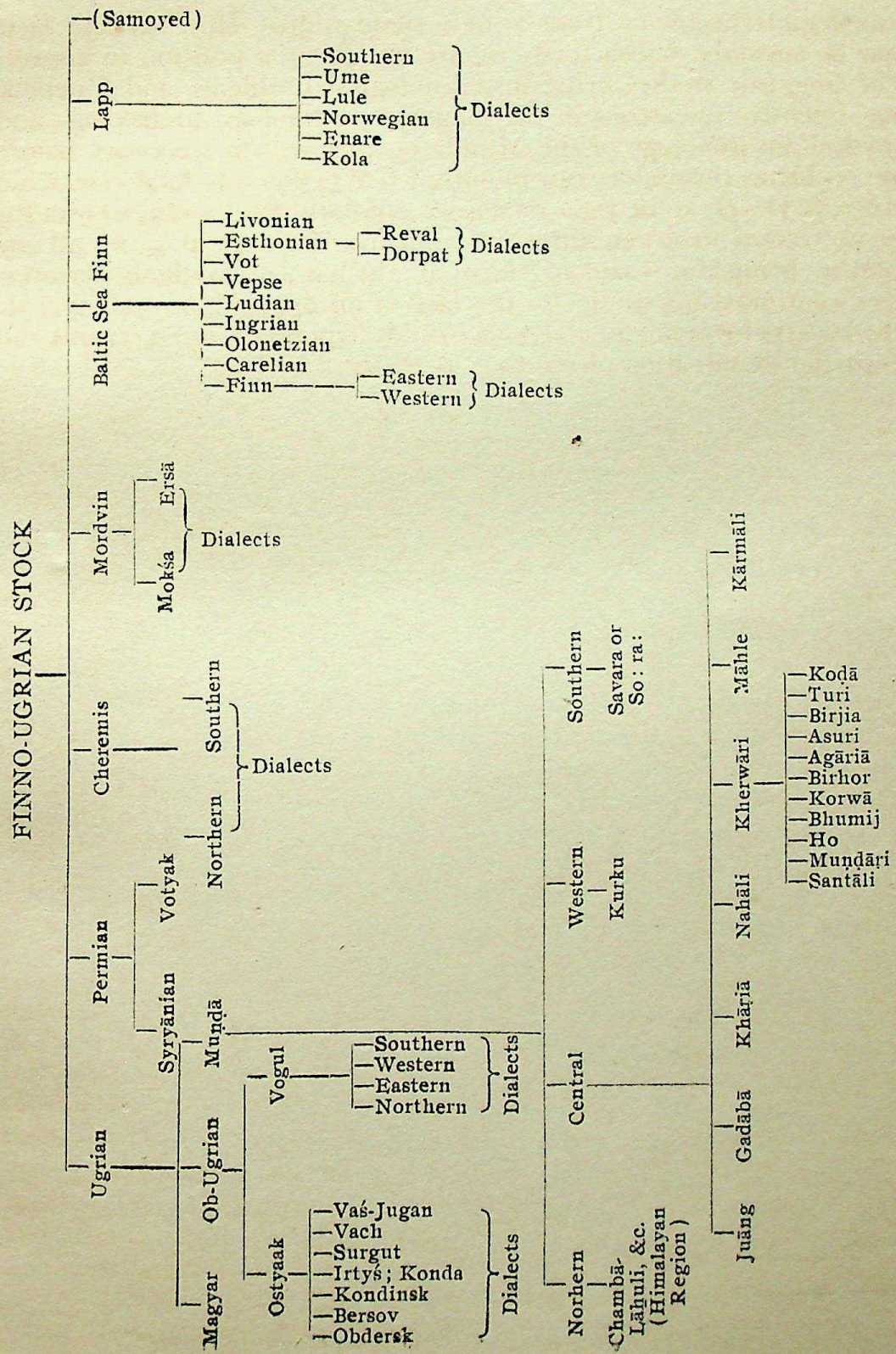

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THE CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ADVAITA PHILOSOPHY

By P. T. RAJU

At first sight the subject of the cultural significance of Advaita may look strange to some and unimportant to others. The former may ask whether Advaita can represent any culture, whether it is not a fact that it stands opposed to every culture by treating the world as a shadow. To them the only answer that at the beginning is possible to give is that though the world may be a shadow for the Absolute, it is not a shadow for the finite beings; it is as real as the finite beings themselves. Prof. Radhakrishnan is sometimes criticised for toning down the implications of illusoriness of the doctrine of Māyā. But when the concept is logically understood no other reasonable explanation seems to be possible. Logically, it is the concept of inexplicability[1]; it does not deprive man of, or exempt him from, being an ethical substance in this world; and it does not stand in the way of culture and its progress.

Others may say that the philosophy of Advaita has already been pronounced to be culturally unimportant, that it advocates merging into bare existence, and condemns all cultural values. But this view seems to be unwarranted. The pantheism of India is often lightly spoken of. In Hegel too we find the same attitude; he too asserts that the philosophy of India has not emerged from bare existence, as if Indian mind has not been creative, as if it is swallowed up in the contemplation of pure being. If the outlook of the Indian is really as it is represented to be, then we cannot account for the creativeness of the Indian mind, nor can we say that the Indian mind has been uncreative. Then we have to conclude that the so-called existence into which Indian philosophy advocated the merging of the finite is not bare existence, but the ideal existence which comprehends in solid integrality[2] all that is most valuable. It is here evident that the Eastern and Western philosophers understand and use the word existence in different senses.

Besides, there is another and a very important point for us to note, and it concerns the application of Advaita outlook to social

1. I may refer the reader to my *Thought and Reality*, pp. 154 foll.
2. The Brahman is *ghana* and *pūrṇa*.

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and ethical thought. It is very tempting to apply the concept of the identity of the Brahman and Jīva, the Absolute and the individual, to the solution of social and ethical problems, as if nothing need further be said about them. But here we should not forget that even according to Advaita such an identity does not belong to this world and its problems. Moreover, that identity is beyond thought; it is indeterminate, not at all a determination of thought; it does not belong to the logical level. It would, therefore, be a violence against Advaita itself if we try to bring down that concept of identity to the logical level by applying it to the solution of social and ethical problems. That identity is therefore rightly said to be not a positive concept for thought but a negative one; it is non-difference. Thought can make use of only something positive, and therefore definite and determinate for it; whereas the concept of the oneness of the Brahman and jīva is not definite for thought. It would therefore be preposterous to make use of it in solving the problems of this world.

Here an objection may suggest itself. Is not that identity a presupposition of our finite experience? Can it, and should it not be used in understanding our social and ethical outlook? The use of this presupposition, it must be said, will certainly have to be made if we are to develop social and ethical thought on the basis of Advaita metaphysics. None can reasonably deny that this presupposition must be reckoned with in such developments. But that presupposition should be treated only as a presupposition of our finite experience, and should never be brought to the level of what presupposes it. The finite experience presupposes its essential oneness with the Absolute Reality. But this oneness does not belong to the finite level, but to the noumenal. And to drag down the noumenal in order to explain the phenomenal would be to destroy the latter. That is why the attempts to apply the Advaita metaphysics to social and ethical philosophy seem so insignificant and bordering on the silly. To say that all of us are essentially one seems to imply nothing philosophical, and sounds like the preaching of a God-intoxicated priest from the pulpit. It is not the result of a philosophical argument or enquiry into social and ethical phenomena, but the direct application of the result reached in metaphysics. First, we cannot apply what belongs to the realm of the noumenon to the realm of the phenomenon. Such application involves a confusion between the two realms. Secondly, even supposing such an application is justified on the ground that the human beings are said to be one only in their essence, that is, noumenally and not phenomenally, we cannot understand what results follow from such oneness. To say straight-

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way at the very beginning of our social enquiry that human beings are noumenally one, may give any or no result. If all human beings are one noumenally, then what ought to be the social structure? One may say that we should try to realise this unity here itself. But that requires complete annihilation of differences, and therefore the destruction of the phenomenal world itself. On the basis of this, one may advocate suicide. Another may say that we should effect a compromise here between absolute identity and absolute difference by the advocacy of brotherly love and so forth. But none of these is the logical conclusion from the noumenal oneness of all human beings. For from a concept which is unequivocally declared to be beyond all determination, nothing can be deduced.

But then cannot Advaita philosophy be used as a basis of social and ethical thought? Is that philosophy useless for us so far as our phenomenal existence is concerned? Are we to draw no lesson from it except that we should renounce the world for the sake of liberation? If we are to take the result reached by the enquiries carried on by the Advaita philosophy, we have to admit that that result is of little use for solving the problems of the phenomenal world. Even the Advaitin himself makes no secret of this, for he declares that the Brahman does not belong to this world.

But this result is the result of a long and arduous enquiry, which is carried on according to a method. Recently it is being increasingly recognised that every philosophical system has its own method, every intellectual culture has its own logic. We need not here discuss the question whether the method is prior to the philosophical system or the system prior to the method. Yet both the method and the system are representative, or the result of a general outlook, which naturally must have been at first vague. The method in general represents the way in which a people intellectually react to their surroundings or the world as a whole. And it is here that we can find a clue as to how on a metaphysical system our social and ethical experience are to be organised. The method belongs to the world; it is the way by which we can reach a particular result. To practically attain that result we have to adopt a particular way of life, which must correspond to the method on the theoretical side. The adoption of that way of life determines our social and ethical spheres of activity. That there is the noumenal world is the result of a particular outlook. The outlook has significance only phenomenally; that is, it is the outlook of finite human beings. The question, what the outlook of the noumenon can be, is meaningless for us. Our outlook includes our way of reaction to the cosmos, both intellectual and practical. And the significance of Advaita outlook which

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is useful for social and ethical thought must be sought, not in the result reached, but in the method followed. The peculiarities of Advaita philosophy reflect themselves in the social and ethical thought that is based on it.

In this paper we cannot enter into systematic discussion of the peculiarities of the method and logic of Advaita philosophy. Our point is that in order to develop social and ethical thought on the basis of Advaita metaphysics, we should not apply the result of Advaita but its method. It is the method that represents the Advaita outlook. In the Sanskrit expositions of this philosophy, one usually finds the chief importance given to *śruti,* so that the whole system seems to hinge upon it. But if it really were so, then Advaita could never have convinced people who did not believe in the infallibility of the *śruti.* The very face that Śaṅkara argued not only with the believers in the *śruti,* but also with those who did not, like the Bauddhas and the Jainas, shows that he has a method of proving his conclusions independently of the *śruti.* And it is an important task for the modern student of philosophy to extricate this method and understand its significance. Only when that task is finished can attempts at constructions of social and ethical thought on the basis of Advaita metaphysics be begun with advantage.

Though we cannot here give a systematic presentation of the cultural significance of the Advaita outlook—and many new characteristics will come to light when such a presentation is attempted—we may point out some of its characteristics. The first of them is its *hopefulness.* Advaita arose as a reaction against the nihilistic preachings of Buddhism, which, when seriously taken, produce in us a sense of despair, and fruitlessness of our strivings. On that view there seems to be no positive value for which we can live and die. That Buddha taught nihilism may be called in question ; but that he was interpreted to be a nihilist by many cannot be gainsaid. On the nihilistic view the world assumes the status of a mere phantom, an idle dream that floats through nothing. It is mere *asat,* as unreal as the sky-lotus, or a circular square. It has no basis in positive existence. But the Advaita view is different ; and this difference for the modern student of philosophy cannot be too strongly emphasized. For the Advaitin the world is rooted quite strongly in existence. Its status is not that of the circular square or the sky-lotus. It is not *asat* or non-existence, but *anirvacanīya* or inexplicable. One may point out passages in the works on Advaita in which the world is referred to as *asat,* but then one has to reconcile them with the Advaita theory of *anirvacanīyakhyāti,* which the Advaitin takes every care to differ-

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entiate from the theory of *asatkhyāti*. And the theory of *anirvacanīyakhyāti* is central to Advaita. Then we have to say that the word *asat* as referred to the world by the Advaitins has only a relative significance ; that is, when compared to the Brahman, and at its level the world disappears. But this does not mean that the world has no existence for us. According to Advaita the world has to be discarded, not in order to become nothing, but in order to attain something higher. The world has evil in it, it is not all good ; and Advaita points out that there is an existence which is higher than this world and beyond evil.

The second significant characteristic of Advaita is its thorough *empiricism* as regards this world. What the world contains can be known only by empirical methods of observation and experiment. The rationalistic ideal of world of mutually dependent and implying things, in which, when our knowledge is complete, we can pass from one thing to another by the method of finding out the implicants and the implicates, so that if we know one thing we can know the rest of the universe, just as, given a triangle, we can say what all its properties can be,—is not accepted by Advaita. The world contains many kinds of being, many forms which vary so widely in quality that it is impossible from an examination of the nature of one to deduce the nature of others. What varieties of being the world contains can be known only by observation. In the inanimate world we may analyse a thing, and know its components. We may think of combinations of these components in different ways and varying proportions. But whether all these combinations give substances with unique qualities, and what these qualities could be, can be known only by observation. We cannot before-hand predict them. Similarly, by a mere examination of inorganic matter we cannot say that it contains the promise and potency of life. Only because we already know by observation and empirically that life is evolving out of inanimate nature, are we able to say that the latter contains the former potentially. Thus no higher grade of reality can be *a priori* deduced from the lower. All that we can say by an examination of any grade is that it presupposes a higher. But what that higher is, what kind of individuation it possesses, we cannot *a priori* say.

The same is true in the practical sphere, and here we find another characteristic of Advaita, namely, its *adventurousness*. As in the theoretical sphere we cannot *a priori* say, from a study of the lower grade of reality, what kind of individuation the higher grade possesses and what new qualities it exhibits, so in the practical sphere we cannot say *a priori* what a higher kind of life would be. We should admit that there is a higher life, because the lower presup-

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poses it, but what it is, can be known only when lived. Advaita here preaches adventurousness, the entering into unknown regions, though not without the hope that we can find a higher life there. For the lower level, or for us at the lower level, the higher remains indeterminate and undefined. It is not the familiar region, and hence is adventurousness required on our part.

Another important characteristic of Advaita is its *ability to combine the most heterogeneous elements into an individuality.* Advaita tells us that, provided we rise sufficiently high, the conflicts of the most discordant elements can be overcome. No conflict can be overcome at the level of the conflict itself. However strongly the claims of one of the contending parties are pressed, the conflicts can never be calmed. And so long as a conflict is not calmed, we should conclude that we have not risen sufficiently high, that our outlook is not broad enough. This point is of the greatest importance for the political and social life of India at present, with its numerous communal and caste differences. The dissatisfaction we feel at a particular level can never be removed if we do not wish to rise higher; it can be removed only by looking upwards, not horizontally or downwards, not by changing a detail here and a detail there, not by trying to effect alterations in the factors that have made our society what it is, but by a total change in the outlook, by the following of higher ideals.

Here the *negative recipe* of Advaita is of great weight. It is particularly related to its empiricism. The nature of the higher level cannot be inferred from that of the lower. It can be known only through direct experience. But when at the lower level the question is asked: What is that higher existence? The only answer possible is that it is not this lower existence or that lower existence. This is the real significance of *neti neti,* not that, not that. In practical life too Advaita asks us to give up what is dissatisfactory. The conflicts cannot, and should not be carried up to the higher level. If our attachment to the lower level is so great that we cannot discard it, then we must bear with its conflicts, lead a life of discard and suffering, and not hope for something better. The lower cannot be retained as such in the higher, for the higher possesses a new viewpoint, a new individuation, a new integrality.

Another characteristic of Advaita is that *morality is not ultimate* for it. It has not appeared just to defend the moral nature of man. On the other hand, it does not say that man is not a moral being. In this phenomenal world of plurality, man is certainly a moral being. But there is another side to this existence, where plurality disappears. And the self of man cannot be said to be an ethical

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substance in it. Yet Advaita is *mainly a philosophy of life.* Error and evil are for it not truth and good misplaced, or seen from a finite point of view, but have their own individuation or peculiar nature. They are removed not by rearranging them, but by discarding or transcending them, by reaching something higher. They possess their individuation for an experiencing consciousness. That is, for their very being the experiencing agent is necessary. And when this agent transcends them by experiencing something higher, they of themselves disappear. Here one important problem appears, whether evil and error which are not experienced as such are evil and error. With regard to evil, many may be inclined to say that an evil not experienced as an evil, is not an evil. For example, there can be no pain which is not felt. But with regard to error, most people will say that an error, though not known as error, is certainly an error. For instance, people believed for centuries that the sun was going round the earth; but we feel that it was an error even though those people did not know that it was an error. Their belief that the sun was moving round the earth was not contradicted in their own experience. Yet we are not prepared to pronounce that our ancestors who lived some ten centuries ago were less perfect beings than we, that they participated less in the nature of the Absolute, and so deserved the higher life of Brahman the less, or that they could not have been liberated or achieved *mukti.* Peculiarly enough, Advaita asserts that a cognition uncontradicted is true. But for any individual a cognition can be known as an error, only if it is contradicted in his life-time. It is impossible to live for eternity in order to find out whether any of his cognitions would be contradicted. Even if we take a society which has existed for centuries or even humanity as a whole, we cannot be certain that it can exist for eternity and find out which of its beliefs is an error. Advaita does not seem to be very much concerned with this problem. Prof. Radhakrishnan has repeatedly turned our attention to the Eastern emphasis on intuition in contrast to the Western emphasis on intellect. Advaita, though it has not neglected the importance of intellect, seems to have carefully worked out the relation of intellect and intuition even into its logic and epistemology by treating *intuition as constitutive of reality* and thus giving it a higher place and by assigning to *intellect a negative or critical function.* It boldly says that every uncontradicted cognition is truth. The relative merits and demerits of this theory we cannot here discuss with any hope of doing sufficient justice to it. We can attempt only a fairly understandable depiction of the Advaita attitude. It seems to be satisfied with the fact that error and evil are overcome in the process of life that strives after higher and higher ideals. *For it error*

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and evil are overcome or transcended, not solved. If they really possess individuality, if they are positive phenomena and not mere negations or privations, it is difficult to refute Advaita. It advises us to strive for higher and higher life ; and in this process, as we go higher, error and evil of lower levels disappear. Whether they exist for those who occupy lower levels of life, and how they exist for them, is not a problem for those who have already left that level. This is not an exaltation of selfishness, but the description of an impossibility. This preaching does not mean that those who are rich and well-to-do need not care for those who are poor and needy. The rich too belong to this world, and should understand its evils just as much as the poor do. The preaching has reference only to the spiritually higher, for whom, because of the different quality of life they lead, the evils we experience, do not exist[1]. And mainly as a philosophy of life, Advaita treats error similarly. For Advaita the reality of this world is *vyāvahārika,* which is translated as empirical or phenomenal. But these two words do not bring out the full significance of *vyāvahārika.* This world is pragmatic, it is the world of *vyavahāra* or action. Action therefore seems to be given primacy in this world, and phenomenal truth understood in the light of action. Yet thought is not mere handmaid to action. This point also should be carefully noted. For otherwise, Advaita could not have been an absolute idealism. Its ideal, Brahman, is a postulate of thought in its theoretical aspect. We may better say that Advaita does not adopt a spectator point of view in its outlook, watching from outside the totality of existence and the struggles of human life in it for completion and perfection, but that of the struggling human life itself, which is at the same time consciousness. And this stand-point accounts for the pragmatistic, humanistic, and absolutistic aspects of Advaita philosophy.

1. I may here refer the reader to Croce's theory of evil.

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NĀGARA, DRĀVIḌA AND VESARA

By K. R. Pisharoti

I. Introduction.

Much has been written in recent years in elucidation of the three main styles of Indian temple architecture. The earliest writer to touch upon this subject was Fergusson and he has been followed up by a host of other writers, such as Smith, Coomarswami, Havell. These writers first described the temples and afterwards tried to correlate their conclusions with those of Indian authorities. There has recently been another school which has tried to study the texts first and then to correlate with the existing temples the information thus obtained. To it belongs the most noteworthy Prof. P. K. Acharya of the Allahabad University. This would certainly have been a very successful method, but unfortunately his edition of the *Mānasāra* and his interpretation of the text leave much to be desired.[1] It was, indeed, a scientific method that was adopted by Dr. Gravely and his collaborator,[2] but their conclusions were to some extent vitiated by a wrong interpretation of some of the terms[3] in the text and by pinning their faith to the text of the *Mānasāra*,[4] as the last word on the subject. Besides these, there have also been other writers who have offered their own interpretation of the terms and identification of the styles and among them mention deserves to be made of O. C. Gangooly,[5] Dr. S. K. Ayyangar,[6] etc. It will thus be seen that a fairly large amount of literature is available on the subject ; but a critical student finds that there is a considerable divergence of opinion even amongst well-known authorities. Thus their writings do not tend to clarify the subject ;

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1. Cf. TMSTA., also AHJ. Vol. V No. 2, pp. 200-215 ; also IC. Vol. III No. 2, pp. 253-258.

2. Cf. TMSTA., (Madras Museum Bulletin, General Section Vol. III, Pt. I).

3. Such for instance as *Vimāna, Śikhara, Yugāśra* etc.

4. TMSTA., elaborates its argument on the interpretation they have put of the text of the Mānasāra.

5. See his *Indian Architecture.*

6. JISOA., Vol. II, No. 1 pp. 23-28.

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on the other hand they almost confuse the student. An elucidation of the subject is proposed to be made here from the point of view of original texts.

II. Sources.

We have here collated the texts on the subject available in the works mentioned below: (1) *Suprabhedāgama;* (2) *Kāmikāgama;*[7] (3) *Mayamata;* (4) *Kāśyapa-śilpa;* (5) *Īśānagurudevapaddhati;* (6) *Tantrasamuccaya;* (7) *Śilparatna;* and (8) *Mānasāra;* and on these texts we have based our conclusions. In the majority of these works, the subject is dealt with under the three heads of (1) the geographical distribution of the three styles of *Nāgara, Drāviḍa* and *Vesara,* (2) their presiding deities and castes and the deities to be enshrined in each of them, and (3) their differentiation from the point of view of shapes. All these topics, however, are not mentioned in all these works.

A brief notice of these works except the first, which we had no opportunity of examining in detail, may be made with reference to the topic in hand. Our extract of the *Kāmikāgama,* dealing with this topic, shows that the basis of differentiation according to that authority is not only the shape, but also the ornamentation, the number of storeys, the size of the *Prāsādas,* etc. The *Kāśyapaśilpa* also would differentiate the styles from the point of view of the nature and shape of the *Prāsāda* no less than the nature and variety of the ornamentation. These two texts, then, do not differentiate the three styles merely on the basis of the shape of the ground plan, or a perpendicular section of the *Śikhara.*[8] And this no doubt forms a conclusive evidence of the fact that both these texts depict a later stage in the development of Indian architecture. At the same time, it is interesting to point out that both these texts do not forget the ancient basis of classification, and latter author restricts that basis to structures having no *kūṭa* and *kōṣṭha.* This is a very important factor which cannot be ignored in the consideration of this topic. Whatever has been said with reference to the *Kāśyapa-śilpa* applies equally well to the

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7. Our remarks and interpretation are based on a certified extract given from the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

8. HIIA., p. 107. The remarks of the author with reference to Śrī Kumāra are wrong, for he gives fuller details in the same chapter, while those with reference to the *Mānasāra* are only partially true for this text also refers to a differentiation from the point of view of the perpendicular section of the *Gala* or *Śikhara.*

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Śilparatna, because, as the two extracts, side by side, would show, the latter has borrowed considerably from the former. *Īśānagurudeva-paddhati* deals with the classification from the point of view of shapes and their mixture, and this is true also of the three other works, *Mayamata, Tantrasamuccaya* and *Mānasāra*: at the same time they have also their own differences. The *Tantrasamuccaya* is very clear in its statement, and the mixture of shapes is very meagre. In the *Mayamata* this is carried still further. And both these works would have it that the shape of *Śikhara* is the fundamental basis of differentiation.[9] Coming to the *Mānasāra,*[10] one is forced to the conculsion that there is a large amount of confusion, if one may argue merely on the basis of the text presented in the only edition available.

A detailed study of the text set forth here, suggests that we may explain these divergences from the point of view of chronological sequence, for *the science of architectonics must be assumed to have developed with the development of architecture.* We may rightly say that the earliest state is marked by the differentiation of the structures merely from the point of view of shapes—shapes in their *pure* form. In the second stage which is marked by the presence of *mixed* shapes, the differentiation is made from the point of view of the shape of *Śikhara,* and the last stage by super-adding to the existing bases the nature of the ornamentation and their projection and the number of storeys. This necessarily marks the most advanced stage; and it is a necessary result, when the differentiation, according to the old basis, becomes a mere traditional mode. The *Kāmikāgama* and the *Kāśyapaśilpa* are fairly old works, but the most advanced from the point of view of the structural development and are therefore to be classed as representing the latest phase of Indian architecture, though, at the same time, they have not forgotten the ancient basis of classification.[11]

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9. The texts from these works are quoted in a subsequent section.

10. It would appear not merely from this chapter but also from other chapters that the author was giving us a confused version.

11. This statement should not be taken as suggesting that the TS, for one instance, is earlier than KA or KS, simply for the reason that it makes the differentiation from the point of view of the ancient mode, namely the shape of the Śikhara. This would only mean that at the time when this was written, the more elaborate mode of classification was not necessary so far as Kerala was concerned. We have here the same old style. This leads us to the next general position that the development of architecture in various parts did not proceed at the same rate, much less in the same direction. *Development of architecture varied in different parts of India,* an aspect that has not received the attention it deserves.

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This is equally true of the *Śilpa-ratna.*[12] The *Mayamata,* the *Gurudevapaddhati,* and the *Tantrasamuccaya* still emphasise the old mode of classification, though the last of these at least is an early 15th century work and yet must be taken as standing for the ancient mode of classification.[13] The *Mānasāra* also must be ascribed to the same category, only it is a loose text, as we have already pointed out.[14] Assuming then, that a simple mode of classification stands for an early stage of development and a complex mode for a later phase, we may say that the latter three works preserve for us the ancient mode. Now since nomenclature comes from an early date, it is enough if we study the statements of these authors to understand the full significance of these terms, and these certainly lay down that *at all times the shape of the structure was the main basis for differentiation of structures as Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara.*

III. Geographical distribution of Styles.

One of the topics described in these varied texts is the geographical distribution of the styles, and this aspect we may notice first. The *Kāśyapa-śilpa* describes *Deśa* as the land that lies between the Himalayas and the Cape Comorin. This land is again divided into three regions, which are differentiated from one another by the predominance of one or other of the three qualities of *Sattva, Rajas* and *Tamas.* All texts are agreed in ascribing the *Nāgara* style of architecture to the region of *Sattvaguṇa,* the *Drāviḍa* style to the region of *Rajoguṇa* and the *Vesara* style to the region of *Tamoguṇa.* These three *Guṇas* do not exist exclusively in any one area ; and, therefore, *no one area can be said to be exclusively characterised by any one Guṇa.* All the *Guṇas* are present everywhere in the same way as *Vāyu, Pitta* and *Kapha* are present in the body, only one or other of the *Guṇas*

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12. This work is mostly a compilation and is full of quotations from KS., TS., GDP., etc.

13. The conclusion set forth in note 11 *ante* is very well borne out by the last two works mentioned. They are both works by *Malayalis* written with reference to, and for the construction of, temples in Kerala and they have constituted standard text books on the subject. Of these TS. was written at the beginning of the fifteenth century and as such it has no claim at all to be treated as a work of great antiquity. And yet it accepts the ancient mode of classification. This, therefore, bespeaks not the antiquity of the work, but the existence in the region of particular types of architecture.

14. *Vide* note 10 *ante.*

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must be predominating in any one region. In other words, as different *Guṇas* are found in the same part, the varied styles are also found in the same region. This will adequately explain some of the difficulties experienced in the matter of the distribution of styles. We can naturally expect to find, therefore, all styles in all parts of India ; and this conclusion is also maintained by the ancient writers themselves, when they say that all styles are found in all parts : *sarvaṁ sarvatra sammatam.* In other words, *there is no exclusive style for any one region.* The style is exclusive only with reference to the *Guṇa,* associated with the region and not the region itself. This is a very important aspect, particularly when it is remembered that some adverse criticism of ancient writers is offered by modern students who have more often than not forgotten this essential feature described by Indian authorities in the geographical distribution of the three styles of Indian architecture.[15]

While Sanskritic authorities have thus laid down the condition precedent for the construction of a particular style in a particular region, they have also in a general way pointed out where the three *Guṇas* of *Sattva, Rajas,* and *Tamas* are found in a predominating degree ; and this tantamounts practically to a general statement of the geographical distribution of the styles. The varied statements may be tabulated as follows :

Texts	Nāgara	Vesara	Drāviḍa
Kāmikāgama	From the Himalayas to the Vindhyas	From the Vindhyas to the Krishna	From the Krishna to the Cape
Paddhati	Do	From the Agastyas to the Vindhyas	Drāviḍa country
Vivaraṇa	Do	From the Vindhyas to the Agastyas	From the Agastyas to the Cape
Śilpa-ratna I	Do	Between the Agastyas and the Vindhyas	Drāviḍa country
II	Do	From the Krishna to the Cape	From the Vindhyas to the Krishna
Kāśyapaśilpa	Do	From the Krishna to the Cape	From the Vindhyas to the Krishna

15. *Vide* the remarks made in TMSTA.

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Here are set forth six quotations, and it will be seen that of the two views given in the *Śilpa-ratna,* the first is taken from the *Gurudevapaddhati* and the second, from the *Kāśyapaśilpa.* Hence for practical purposes the statement resolves itself to four authorities, the first three and the last.

Regarding the *Nāgara* style there is no difference of opinion amongst the various authorities : all are agreed that this style has its home in the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas. There is, however, a difference of opinion among them with reference to the other two styles and their location. But before we proceed to set forth this aspect, we may just notice the region of the Agastya hills and the Drāviḍa country.

If we assume that the author of the *Paddhati* has any sense of sequence, it may be held that the Agastya hills are to the north of the Vindhyas. This, so far as we now know, is not the case. But it may well be argued that, because the author has mentioned after the *Nāgara* style the *Drāviḍa* variety, the order of the *Vesara* style may be understood as being laid down from the south to the north. If this view be accepted, then the Vindhyas will be to the north of the Agastya hills. Assuming then that the order that Gurudeva kept in view, is from south to north, the region of *Tāmasa Guṇa* and hence of the Vesara style is to the south of the Vindhyas ; and the southern boundary of this area is the Agastya hills, according to the second, third and fourth authorities. The question now deserves to be asked : Where are the Agastya hills to be located? Can these be identified with the Potayil hills, as held by the modern Tamil scholars ? We may not accept this identification, for in that case the *Vesara* region becomes extended very much to the south and the *Drāviḍa* region becomes confined to the extreme south, which are both untenable in the light of our knowledge of the present distribution of these two styles. We have, therefore, to find out the exact location of the Agastya hills. These hills have come to be so called, because the sage Agastya lived there. This sage, according to the *Rāmāyaṇa,*[16] built up his hermitage after crossing the Vindhyas in what he describes as the region of the *Vātāpis.* Rāma visited this sage in this hermitage and near it he built his own hermitage at Pañcavaṭī, and we are not unjustfied in locating the area of the predominating *Tamoguṇa* in that region. This identification is also supported by the Rāmāyaṇa, if indeed environments may be taken as moulding the character of the inhabitants living there. In other words, we hold that the southern valleys of the Vindhyas form the region of *Tamoguṇa* and hence of

16. Rāmāyaṇa, Madras Ed.

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the *Vesara* style. If this identification of the *Vesara* region is correct, then it forms a small tract of land lying between the *Nāgara* region in the north and the *Drāviḍa* region in the south. Another point that we like to notice here is the area of the *Drāviḍa* country. Following the accepted tradition we would locate the *Drāviḍa* region in the land lying to the south of the Vindhyas beyond the *Tāmasa* region.

If we compare the view of the author of the *Kāmikāgama*[17] with that of the other two writers, it will be found that the only difference between them is the fact that the former substitutes the river Krishna in place of Agastyas. As for the rest they agree. This difference we would explain as setting forth an extension of the *Vesara* style farther south in course of time.[18] In other words, in the statement of the latter two writers, we find the earliest available distribution, but in the former we find a later distribution and this is not inconsistent with the view we have already taken that *Kāmikāgama* represents a later phase of Indian architecture.[19] Hence for all practical purposes we may accept the statement of the *Kāmikāgama* as standing for the geographical distribution of the styles.

We may now sum up and state that the distribution of the three styles are as follows :

Nāgara : between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas.
Vesara : between the Vindhyas and the Krishna.
Drāviḍa : between the Krishna and the Cape Comorin.

This distribution also agrees with what we find in the actual distribution of the styles as they are now available, with this difference that Vesara includes within it the style characterised as the Cālukyan.[20]

If we compare these conclusions with what is set forth in the *Kāśyapaśilpa,* we find that there is a striking difference so far as *Drāviḍa* and *Vesara* structures are concerned. The regions in which these are found, interchange. Thus according to the *Kāśyapaśilpa,* the region of *Drāviḍa* is that between the Vindhyas and the Krishna, and that of the Vesara is from the Krishna to the Cape Comorin. This is *prima facie* wrong. How then are we to explain the text of the *Kāśyapaśilpa?* If we scrutinise the text presented in the only

17. The text of the KA. is capable of another interpretation also according to which the three regions will be from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, from Himalayas to the Krishna and from the Himalayas to the Cape. This would introduce some novel idea in the matter of the distribution of the styles.

18. This would show that KS. is chronologically later than GDP.

19. See section V *ante.*

20. HIIA., p. 107.

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edition issued from the Ānandāśrama series, it will be found that the text presented is very defective, full of all sorts of mistake. So far, however, as this section is concerned, it may be noticed that in verses 18 and 20 (page 54) the order followed by the author is *Sāttvika, Tāmasa* and *Rājasa,* whereas in verse 19, the order is *Sāttvika, Rājasa* and *Tāmasa.* This change of order which has led to the difference in the distribution of the styles, may, therefore, justly be said to be due to some scribal error, particularly because the words *Rājasa* and *Tāmasa* could well be substituted in place of *Tāmasa* and *Rājasa* respectively in verse 19. This is, no doubt, a feasible and satisfactory explanation and could have been accepted as such ; but unfortunately it cannot be. For, this text is found quoted as such in the *Śilparatna* which, in quoting from *Kāśyapaśilpa,* has in many a place given us a more correct text. If, therefore, this text, as we have assumed, was wrong, certainly Kumāra could have been expected to give us the corrected text. This, however, he does not. Nor can this be taken as a mistake which Kumāra has carried further. For a vernacular version of the *Śilparatna* also perpetuates the same classification. These considerations force us to assume that the text presented in the *Ānandāśrama* edition is correct ; in any case, it has been accepted as correct by Kumāra and his translator. The question then arises : how are we to explain the divergence we find in *Kāśyapa?* Only two explanations are possible : one is that the text was corrupt even at the time of Kumāra and he has simply borrowed the corrupt text. In the eyes of Kumāra, this distribution of the *Vesara* style is justifiable, because *in Kerala there are a number of structures coming under the Vesara style, but few alone, if at all, under Drāviḍa structures.*[21] The other point of view is that *Kāśyapa* is giving a genuine variant opinion as regards the distribution of the three styles, which may have been true during his time. This opinion will be fairly correct, provided we assume that *Kāśyapa* lived long before the more famous *Drāviḍa* structures were put up or that he lived in Kerala.[22] In any case, we are forced to point out here that the stricture passed on Kumāra regarding his geographical knowledge is very uncharitable.[23] As our citations

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21. I have so far never come across any heptagonal or hexagonal structure in our part of the country, though I must admit that my acquaintance is limited to a specific area. My inquiries also support the conclusion that there are but a very few Drāviḍa structures in our part of the country.

22. It deserves to be noticed that the commentator on TS. is quoting profusely from the KS.

23. TMSTA., pp. 5-6.

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show, he has given two extracts on the subject, one from the *Gurudeva-paddhati* and the other from the *Kāśyapaśilpa,* and he has given both probably because they set forth two different views on the subject. That he has quoted two contrary opinions is certainly not an indication that he is confused : if at all it means anything, it shows that he was widely read in the literature of the *Śilpa-śāstras* and, if our traditions may be believed, thoroughly familiar with the structures available at least in Kerala. Similarly Coomaraswamy's reference to Śrī Kumāra and *Mānasāra* also does not appear to be wholly true.[24]

IV. Castes, Presiding deities, Deities to be installed, etc.

The *Nāgara* style is characterised as Brahmin by caste, *Vesara* as *Vaiśya* and *Drāviḍa* as *Kṣatriya,* while their presiding deities are respectively *Viṣṇu, Śiva* and *Brahmā.* The *Kāśyapaśilpa* has also a chapter on the deities to be enshrined in these various styles of structures : thus *Śāntamūrtis* are to be installed in *Nāgara-prāsādas ;* couples or moving deities in *Vesara* shrines ; and heroic, dancing or enjoying deities in *Drāviḍa* shrines.

Heads	Nāgara	Drāviḍa	Vesara
Caste	Brahmin	Kṣatriya	Vaiśya
Presiding deity	Viṣṇu	Brahmā	Śiva
Deities installed	Śānta	Bhoga, Vīra Nṛtya (Yoga).	Yānamūrtis

This is an interesting feature inasmuch as this gives us an explanation for the location of similar deities in the different shrines and of different deities in similar shrines. The essenital basis of difference in these is to be sought for in the character of the deities installed. Thus the *Naṭarāja* at Chidambaram is installed in a *Nāgara* shrine. If the conception of the deity is that of a dancing godhead, certainly this is inconsistent with the prescription here laid down by authoritative achitects. The only explanation for the seeming incongruity is to be sought for in the conception of the deity, which obviously must have been that of a *Śāntamūrti* in the dancing form. In other words, here we get one interesting basis for explain-

24. HIIA., p. 107; see not 8 *ante.*

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ing why apparently similar deities are found located in different types of buildings and *vice versa.*[25]

This author again lays down that the *Liṅga,* its *Pīṭha* and the shrine must all be of the same shape.[26] If this be not so, the shrine entails destruction for its owner, but, if they are uniform in shape, it begets prosperity for him. This strikes us as a very important statement, inasmuch as it suggests that the author is having only *Śaivite* shrines in mind. It is an interesting feature that there are a number of other works also which have reference only to Śiva shrines and in this category we may mention *Nibandhana* or *Śaivāgamanibandhana, Sārāvalī, Prayogamanjarī,*[27] etc. Can we infer from this that the origin of temples began with the elaboration of the *Śaivite* cult? If this be accepted as plausible, we may as well assume that the origin of temples must be sought for in South India. This will be an interesting thesis for future work. Further, if this assumption is acceptable, we find here a justification for *Kāśyapa's* locating *Vesara* region to the south of the Krishna .

This codification of the styles and their systematisation with

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25. Vide HFAIC., p. 3. Smith has had some interesting observations which may be noticed here. In the first place he speaks of images divided into two classes—the *Cala* and the *Acala.* The former of these corresponds to what Kumāra terms *Yānamūrtis;* if this identification is correct, then *Calamūrtis* will be installed in *Vesara* structures. He also refers to the differentiation of *mūrtis* from the point of view of their manifestation, as for instance, *Ugra Śānta,* etc., as well as *Yoga, Bhoga* and *Vīra* the latter classification according to him, being that of *Viṣṇu,* 'according to the personal desires of the worshipper.' This does not appear to be so, for any god in the Hindu pantheon may have this attitude ascribed to him.

26. Cf. VS. p. 95, verse 80 :

kāryā gṛhānurūpārcā gṛhaṁ vārcānurūpataḥ.

27. All these are unpublished works, manuscripts of which we have been able to examine. Of these the two more important ones are SAN. and PM. The first of these is by one Murāri Bhaṭṭa. This is a very important treatise on *Śaivāgamatantra,* in which there is one *Paṭala* which is devoted to architecture. This work is largely drawn upon by the author of the TS. as well as by the author of PM. The latter work is by one Ravi, son of Aṣṭamūrti, great devotee of Śiva. When we remember that Nārāyaṇa, the author of TS., is the son of a Ravi, one may be tempted to identify the two Ravis, but this identification is not correct because they belong to different families. Many quotations from this work are also found in VV. The Śārāvali is again another work dealing with Tāntric literature. Transcripts of these are being prepared for the Maharaja's Mss. Library attached to the local Sanskrit College.

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reference to *Guṇas,* castes and deities must have arisen from a desire to introduce some order in the scheme of structures and must evidently be ascribed to a date later than that of the origin of the shrines themselves. In other words, in this statement we may see the introduction of unity in the midst of diversity and *vice versa,* and this must have taken place after the codification of the Hindu religion and cults and cult-acts, as we are now familiar with them. From a practical point of view, then, it may be said that when architectonics became a *Śāstra,* the styles and deities had already migrated from their original seats.

Another interesting point which also we must notice here is the fact that *Drāviḍa* shrines are held to be *Kṣatriya* by caste. It remains to be explained why *Kṣatriyas* came to be associated with the *Dravidians* and why in such structures are installed deities as are *Vīra*-or *Nartana*-or *Bhoga-Mūrtis.* Have we here a suggestion that Dravidians were original Kṣatriyas ?[28] This is an important clue in these days when the boundaries of the Dravidian culture are every day receding and a new orientation is being made of the Dravidian culture and civilisation.[29]

V. Shapes of the three Styles.

As we have already stated, the shapes of the structures have at all times in the history of Indian architecture constituted the fundamental basis of the classification of the styles of architecture ; and it may, therefore, be not uninteresting to point out the Indian conception of the shapes and their development. The main shapes, according to all authorities, are the rectangular, the hexagonal, the octagonal, and the circular, regular or elongated, and the apsidal. By shape is here understood the shape of a perpendicular section of the structure. Hence we have in all nine different shapes, and they are : (1) square ; (2) elongated square ; (3) hexagonal ; (4) elongated hexagonal ; (5) octagonal ; (6) elongated octagonal ; (7) circular ; (8) ellipsoidal ; and (9) apsidal. These varied shapes are distributed under the three styles of *Nāgara, Drāviḍa* and *Vesara.* The rectangular comes under the *Nāgara,* the hexagonal and the octagonal under the *Drāviḍa* and the circular and the apsidal under the *Vesara.*

The author of the *Sārasaṅgraha,* an unpublished treatise on *Tantra,* has some interesting remarks to offer on the shapes in the chapter following *Maṇḍapalakaṣaṇa.* According to this author, the

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28. In one of the Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India Rama Prasad Chanda has elaborated the same theme from another point of view.

29. *Vide* KA-CV., pp. 157-159.

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square is the primary shape[30] and every other shape, including the circular, is derived from this.

turyaśraṁ prathamam kuryāt
sarvaprakṛtitāṁ gatam /
tadvikārāṇi cānyāni
vartayet vartanā paṭuḥ //

Compare also :

turyaśrameva sakalaprakṛtisthitaṁ tat /
kṣetrapramāṇavikṛtānyaparāṇi sapta //

This is an important contribution in the matter on the understanding of the shapes. This would mean that *caturaśra,* i.e., square is the fundamental shape. This position is to some extent incongruous if by this we understand it to be the earliest shape. For, if the hexagonal or octagonal is the shape prescribed for the Dravidian culture, then we may have to say that the Dravidian shapes are older than the square shape, if, indeed, this be the shape primarily associated with the *Āryāvarta.* In other words, the *Vikṛti* has to be put down to be older than the *Prakṛti* itself, of which it is the *Vikṛti.* It cannot again be maintained that the Dravidians borrowed temples and temple worship from the Aryans. If available evidence tends to prove anything, it is just the opposite. How, then are we to explain away this difficulty? The exacavations at Mohenjo Daro have brought to light that bricks and brick-work structures have been very familiar from those ancient days, and we have also definite evidence to this effect in the architectural works themselves. We may, therefore, on the evidence of the statement of Sir John Marshall and of the texts on architecture, assume that bricks and brick structures are pre-Aryan in their origin. If so, then we may say that the reference we have here is to wooden structures, as the term *Nāgara* definitely tends to suggest, (for this word elsewhere means a carpenter). We would, therefore, say that wooden structures were first introduced by the Aryans—using this term in the old familiar way—and the shapes here mentioned, have reference to wooden structures which in due course became transferred to structures built of other materials as well. And in support of this we may also point out the view of Buddhistic scholars who assume that Buddhistic structural remains show that they are copies in stone of original wooden structures.

Another interesting feature we have to mention here is the fact that whatever shape we may give to a shrine, the size is always fixed.

30. This view is also echoed by the author of the V-TS. Cf. vṛttasadkūṭā [? koṇā-]diprāsādānāṁ tu caturaśraprāsādaprakṛtitvādityādi.

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That is to say—and this is what the author of the *Tantrasamuccaya* has laid down[31]—we may fix up any size for the *sanctum* and then that size may be converted into any shape, we wish, subject of course only to the condition that it must be befitting the deity proposed to be installed therein. This feature, no less than the codification of the various shapes, their castes, their presiding deities, all tend to show a process of levelling up of all differences—a view-point which certainly suggests that *Śilpa-śāstra* is much later than the structures themselves in their varied forms in various parts of India.

VI. Classification of styles according to shapes.

We shall now proceed to consider the shapes thmeselves with reference to the classification of styles, as could be seen from the various texts we have collated and given in the next section. To facilitate reference we have summed up the details according to various authors in a tabulated scheme which is complete so far as the differentiation is made from the points of view merely of shapes and their mixture. In other words, we have not taken into consideration the classification of styles made from the point of view of the size, number of

Texts	Nāgara	Drāviḍa			Vesara			Remarks
	Pure	Pure	Mixed Body	head	Pure	Mixed Body	head	
(1) Kāmikāgama	S* Se.	H, He.	(S)	O	C.Ce.	(S)	C.	
(2) Suprabhedāgama	S		(S)	H		(S)	C.	
(3) Mayamata	S. Se.	H, O,He, Oe.	(S)	O	C.,Ce., A	(S)	C.	
(4) Kāśyapaśilpa	S		(S)	O		(S)	C.	
(5) Tantrasamuccaya	S		(S)	H,O		(S)	C.	
(6) Paddhati	S.Se.	H,He, O,Oe.	(S)	O	C., Ce. A	(S)	C, Ce, A	[Based on the interpretation set forth in VII.]
(7) Mānasāra	S	H, He, O, Oe.	S	H,O		(S)	C, Ce, A	

* [S=Square ; Se=Square elongated ; H=Hexagon ; He=Hexagon elongated ; O=Octagon ; Oe=Octagon elongated ; C=Circular ; Ce=Ellipsoidal ; A=Apsidal.]

31. Consistently with this view Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Ts. lays down in verses 65-70 the method of converting a square perimeter into other accepted shapes,

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storeys, and decorative details of a *Prāsāda* as *Kāmikāgama* and *Kāśyapaśilpa* describe, which we propose to consider on a future occasion.

This table sets forth the various shapes associated with the various styles. It will be seen at a glance that all the texts we have collated here more or less agree in the essentials.[32] One broad feature we may notice here is the fact that elongated shapes are introduced only when the whole structure is of one shape and that *Nāgara* style is always only pure. This suggests an important idea that in all mixed shapes, the mixture is always with the square shape. Where, again, the structure is of mixed shape, the part below *Śikhara* is invariably square, while *Śikhara* itself is always regular but not elongagated.[33] This is an essential point and is perfectly natural in that in a mixed shape elongation cannot naturally be introduced. It will also be noticed that in both pure and mixed shapes, the shape of the *Śikhara* is always regular and is confined to the octagonal (or Hexagonal) in the Drāviḍa style and to the circular in the *Vesara* style. Hence it has been said that the shape of the *Śikhara* is the essential basis of differentiation.[34]

All the texts are found to agree so far as the *Nāgara* style of structure is concerned,[35] and, as we have already pointed out, it appears only in the pure form. The *Drāviḍa* style is found both pure and mixed.[36] In pure form, it may be hexagonal or octagonal, either regular or elongated ; but in the mixed form it is mixed only with the square and as such, the *Śikhara*[37] may be octagonal or hexagonal, but never elongated. It is also noteworthy that all the texts we have collated, are unanimous in holding that in mixed style it is only the octagonal shape that mixes itself up with the square, though *Tantrasamuccaya* and the *Mānasāra* accept a mixture with the hexagonal

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32. We may add here except the text of the MS. as presented in the edition of Prof. Acharya. In section VII-vii we have set forth our own view of this text.

33. The only exception to this is the MS. which speaks of an elliptical Śikhara also for the Vesara structure. This may, therefore, be treated as an exception.

34. Perfectly in keeping with this is the statement in the IGDP.

śikharasya tu bhedena sarveṣām bheda muddiśet /
yathārhaṁ tu yathāśobhaṁ sarvam anyat samaṁ smṛtam //
(Part III, p. 269)

35. Compare however TMSTA., whose authors have raised doubts regarding this interpretation of the *Nāgara* type.

36. See TMSTA.,

37. AUJ., Vol. V. No. ii. pp. 200-215.

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form also, while *Suprabhedāgama* allows the mixture only with the hexagonal form. Again, the *Kāmikāgama,* the *Mayamata* and the *Gurudevapaddhati* speak of pure forms alone in the *Drāviḍa* style. Exactly similar is the nature of *Vesara* shrines. In pure form it may be circular, or ellipsoidal or apsidal, though the *Tantrasamuccaya* and the *Kāśyapaśilpa* do not speak of the apsidal, while in the mixed form, the mixture is always with the square and the circular. From the point of view set forth above, we may lay down the following general rules regarding the styles :

(1) The *Nāgara* shrine is always square.

(2) The *Drāviḍa* shrine is always hexagonal or octagonal, regular or elongated, or has a square body with a generally octagonal and occasionally hexagonal *Śikhara.*

(3) The *Vesara* shrine may be circular or ellipsoidal or apsidal or it may have a square body with a circular *Śikhara.*

Such is the view regarding the shapes of the three main styles of shrines, as these various authors will have it. The elaboration in the texts on this subject, so far as we could make it out, is perfectly clear. As we have already mentioned, the shape of the *Śikhara* is always the guiding factor : if it is square, it is *Nāgara ;* if it is facetted, it is *Drāviḍa ;* if it is circular, it is *Vesara.* Typical examples of these various styles in their pure form except the *Drāviḍa* style are found in plenty in all parts of Kerala.

In spite of the clearness of the statement of the authorities we have cited, it is found that the differentiation of the styles has been a subject of some controversy among modern exponents of Indian architecture. The causes of this misunderstanding are, as we could make out two. In the first place, some of the terms, as, for instance, *Vimāna,*[38]

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38. This is a synonym of *Prāsāda*: Cf. the following extracts : KS. Chapter XXIV, verses 1-3.

prāsādaḥ sadanaṁ sadma harmyaṁ dhāma niketanam /
mandiraṁ bhavanaṁ vāsa gehaṁ divyavimānakaṁ //
āśrayaṁ cāspadaṁ caiva ādhāraṁ ca krameṇa tu /
adharaṁ ca pratidhiṣṇyaṁ ca harmyaparyāvācakaḥ //

Cf. also SR.

devādīnāṁ narānāṁ ca yeṣu ramyatayā ciram
manāṁsi ca prasīdanti prāsādaḥ tena kīrtitaḥ.
nānāmānavidhānatvadvimānaḥ śāstrataḥ kṛtaḥ.

In view of these and other explicit statements, it is strange that this term has been so largely misunderstood both by ancient and modern writers.

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Śikhara,[39] *Āmalaka,*[40] *Stūpi,*[41] *Yugasra,*[42] etc., are wrongly rendered and understood. And secondly, there are certain shapes, as, for example, the star-shaped, which apparently do not come under any of the heads we have so far considered. And lastly, the loose use of English terms[43] as, for instance, spire, turret, dome, etc., had added to the confusion.

We have had occasion to explain three of the terms mentioned above in our papers on *Śikhara, Āmalaka* and *Stūpi* published elsewhere. *Śikhara,* as we have mentioned there, is the roof of the shrine ; *Āmalaka* is the pidhānaphalaka which covers up the top, while *Stūpi* is the finial which is the top-most element of the Indian shrine. The term *Vimāna* is equally misunderstood and misused. It simply means the sacred structure, as Indian authorities would understand it.[44] If these terms are understood in the sense in which Indian writers have used them, one source of confusion can be avoided. Regarding the other source of confusion, it has to be first decided under what shape we would include the star-shaped structure ; and on the answer to this question, the second source of confusion also would disappear. We have had occasion to consider this question elsewhere and there we have come to the conclusion that the star-shaped and other varieties in which the square forms the most prominent aspect, must be classed under the *Nāgara* type primarily. Understanding the various terms in the sense we have understood, and following the lead of the Sanskritic writers and explaining the star-shaped and other shapes as coming under the square, it appears to be easy to classify the numerous kinds of Indian structures available without getting confused.

(To be continued)

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39. AUJ., Vol. V, No. ii pp. 200-215.

40. COI. Vol. I. The authors of the TMSTA., understand this as *Śikhara.*

41. IC., Vol. III, No. ii, pp. 253-258.

42. The term *yuga,* as a *saṅkhyāvācaka,* is uniformly understood in the sense of four and never two as TMSTA understands it.

43. *Vide* note 39.

44. *Vide* note 39.

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SOME HISTORICAL TRADITIONS

By S. K. Dikshit

It is well-known that the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa contains a very important passage which claims to record historical traditions about various kings murdered treacherously. Whether the claim is true or not, it will be clear from the present article that some of the *earlier* traditions recorded in that passage (H. C., Parab's ed., p. 198 ff.) are found in the works of some early writers, while a few later traditions are already known to have been corroborated by the Purāṇas and other works (for Candragupta's legend *vide* Dr. Altekar in J.B.O. R.S., 1928-29; Dr. Bhandarkar in Malaviya Com. Vol. p. 189 ff; Jayaswal in J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, p. 17; Prof. V.V. Mirashi in I.H.Q., 1934, March, p. 48 ff, etc). It may be noted that the traditions which I vaguely characterize as 'earlier,' mention certain persons whose names, unlike those of Kākavarṇa Śaiśunāri(gī), Candragupta Maurya, Devabhūti(mi), Puṣyamitra, Agnimitra, etc., are not very well-known to the Purāṇas; that is, they are not from the well-known later dynasties. Further, all these instances refer exclusively to the mistakes which the kings committed on account of their fondness for their wives, and to which they owed their death.[1]

The first incident mentioned is about Bhadrasena, king of Kaliṅga, who had faith in his wife and was killed by his brother Vīrasena, had hidden himself behind a secret wall in the apartments of the queen.[2] This incident is first mentioned in the Kauṭilīya,[3] which, however, does not give us any details supplied by the Harṣacarita. It merely says that Bhadrasena was killed by his brother who was hiding in the house of the queen. This passage is further traceable in the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka (Ch. II, pp. 100-101), where also we do not get any further details than those supplied by the Arthaśāstra. But it may be noted that the commentary on the Nītisāra[4] corroborates

1. 'प्रमत्तानां प्रमदाकृताः प्रलापाः श्रुतिविषयमागता एव देवस्य।' H. C., VI. p. 200.

2. 'स्त्रीविश्वासिनश्च महादेवीगूढगूढ़भित्तिभागभ्राता भद्रसेनस्याभवन्मृत्वे कालिङ्गस्य वीरसेनः।' Ibid., VI. p. 199.

3. 'देवीगृहे लीनो हि भ्राता भद्रसेनं जघान।'—कौटिलीय-अर्थशास्त्रम्, p. 41 (Shama Sastri's edition).

4. 'कलिङ्गराजस्य भद्रसेनस्य भ्राता वीरसेनः तन्नार्यया च कृतजल्पः महागृहैकदेशप्रच्छादितात्मा राज्यमपि जिहीर्षुः कलिङ्गराजं भद्रसेनं व्यापादितवान्।—Com. on the Nītisāra.

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Bāṇa, saying that Vīrasena, a brother of Bhadrasena, king of Kaliṅga, conspired with the latter's wife, and hiding himself behind a portion of her apartment, killed him with a view to securing his kingdom.

The second tradition, that the Harṣacarita mentions in this connection, is about Dadhra, a king of Karuśa (=Bṛhadgṛha, modern Shahabad district[5]), who was murdered by one of his two sons, who, being enraged at the king's desire to consecrate his brother, had hidden himself in the bed of his mother.[6] The Arthaśāstra[7] only says that Kārūśa (a king of the Kārūśas) was killed by his son holding in the bed of his mother; while the Nītisāra[8] adds that the son who killed him was a legitimate one, thereby suggesting that the king had another illegitimate son (whom he probably wished to consecrate). The commentary on the Nītisāra does not add to our knowledge beyond perhaps explaining that Kārūśa means a king of the Karūśa country. It however, differs from the rest in saying that the son was hiding beneath the bed, rather than in it.[9]

A third tradition that Bāṇa refers to, is more interesting on account of its diversity with regard to details found in the different texts. He tells us that Suprabhā killed the 'honey-fooled' Maha(ā)sena, king of Kāśī, by offering him poisoned fried-rice, so that her son may get the kingdom.[10] Kauṭilya only says that a queen killed a king of Kāśī by giving him fried-rice that was besmeared with poison instead of honey.[11] The Nītisāra also does not add much to our knowledge, nor does it differ, except perhaps, in stating that she killed him in secret.[12] The commentary on the Kāmandakīya, however, adds

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5. Hemcandra's Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi 4.25; Yādavaprakāśa's Vaijayantī, Bhūmikāṇḍa, Deśādhyāya. Bṛihad-gṛiha seems to be mentioned in two Kamauli grants; vide E.I., IV. p. 104 & p. 121. Also vide Cunninghams A.G.I., (1924) p. 716.

6. 'मातृशयनीयतूलिकानिषण्णस्य तनयोऽन्यं तनयमभिषेक्तुकामस्य दध्रस्य करूषाधिपतेरभवन्मृत्यवे।'—H. C., p. 199

7. 'मातुः शय्यान्तर्गतस्य पुत्रः कारूशम्।'—Op. cit. p., 41.

8. 'देवीगृहं गतो भ्राता भद्रसेनममारयत्। मातुः शय्यान्तरालीनः कारूशं चौरसः सुतः॥' कामन्दकीय-नीतिशास्त्रम्, XI. 51. p, 100.ff

9. मातुः शय्यायाश्चाधोऽवलीन औरसः पुत्रः राज्यार्थमन्यस्मिन् पुत्रे स्निह्यन्तं का (रलै ? रू)शं करूशं देशाधिपं देवीगृहगतममारयत्।'—Com. Ibid.

10. 'यथा मधुमोदितं मधुरकसंलिप्तैर्लाजैः सुप्रभा पुत्रराज्यार्थं (र्थं) मह(ह्या)सेनं काशिराजानं (राज') जघान।'—H. C., p. 200.

11. 'लाजान्मधुनेति विषेण पर्यस्य देवी काशीराजम्।'—कौ,-अ p.; 41.

12. लाजान्विषेण संयोज्य मधुनेति विलोभ्य तम्। देवी तु काशिराजेन्द्रं निजघान रहोगतम्॥'

—Kāmandaka. XI, 52.

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that the queen who was already enraged at the king on account of the siege of her relatives, was being subjected to the fulfilment of his passions, when she conceived of the plot.[13] It is worth noting that nobody except Bāṇa mentions the name of the queen.

But quite a different version of the same story is possibly given by Varāhamihira in his Bṛhatsaṁhitā. According to Varāha,[14] the queen killed Kāśīrāja by means of an anklet that was besmeared with poison. The commentator, Bhaṭṭotpala, explains that the queen did it by mixing that poison in the beverage, etc.[15] It is not very clear why an anklet should be used to poison the beverage, etc. It may appear that both Varāha and Bhaṭṭotpala are perhaps wrong. All the other accounts agree that in the case of the Kāśīrāja's murder, fried-rice and not an anklet was poisoned. A poisoned anklet was certainly used by a queen even according to the other accounts,[16] but that queen was a wife not of Kāśrāja but of Vairantya (a king of the city of Vairantī according to Bāṇa's commentator, Śaṅkara). Bhaṭṭotpala quotes 'Kāmandakaḥ,' yet does not explain away these seeming inconsistencies. The commentator of Kāmandaka[17] informs us that Vairūpya (which is evidently a corruption of Vairantya), the king of Avanti, was killed by the queen, who *flattered by her co-wives,* hurled at him in sport an anklet that was besmeared with poison from outside. But this is probably contradicted by Bāṇa, according to whom, King Rantideva of Vairantī was killed by his beloved (who was *enraged at her co-wives)* by means of a jewel—anklet which discharged some sort of poison.[18] I

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13. 'तथाहवरुद्धबन्धुता कोपतप्ता देवी बलात्कारेणाभिगच्छन्तम् etc.।'

—Com. on the same.

14. विषप्रदिग्धेन च नूपुरेण, देवी जघान किल काशिराजम्।'—B. S., 77. 1 (Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, X. p. 960).

15. तद्विषं पानादिषु चित्त्वेत्यर्थः।

16. विषदिग्धेन नूपुरेण वैरन्त्यम्।—कौ, अ, p. 41.

विषदिग्धेन सौवीरं मेखलामणिना नृपम्।
नूपुरेण तु वैरूप्यं (V. L. राज्यं, correct रन्त्यं) जारूप्यं (थ्यं) दर्पणेन च॥'

—Kāmandakīya Nītisāra, XI. 53.

17. तथा सपत्नीभिर्मिथ्याभिशस्ता विपन्तोपगूढहीता विषदिग्धबहिःपार्श्वेन नूपुरेण क्रीडन्ती किलाहत्या वन्तिराजं वैरूप्यं देवी जघान।' Com. Nītisāra, XI. 53. (Read आहत्य रन्तिराजं वैरन्त्यं देवी जघान)।

18. 'योगपरागविसरवर्षिणा च मणिनूपुरेण वल्लभा सपत्नीरुषा वैरन्त्यं रन्तिदेवम्।' H. C., VI. p. 200.

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must state here that I have not yet been able to find a second reference to the city of Vairantī in the kingdom of Avanti. On the other hand, the identification of Vairantī with modern Bairant, suggested to me by Rao Bahadur Dikshit, seems plausible and may prove the correctness of Varāha's statement, as Bairant is not very far from Kāśī. If so, Kāmandaka's commentary would be wrong, and Avantirāj is possibly a mistake for Rantirāja or Rantideva. It is, therefore, likely that the Kāśirāja, mentioned by Varāhamihira and Bhaṭṭotpala is a different person from the one mentioned by Kauṭilya, Kāmandaka and Bāṇa. There were thus two Kāśīrājas who were killed by their wives, the second Kāśīrāja being mentioned by Kauṭilya and Bāṇa as belonging to Vairantī.

We have also a tradition about Vīrasena of Sauvīra, who, according to Bāṇa was killed by Haṁsavatī by means of her jewel of the waist-belt which was poisoned in the middle[19]. Both Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka do not give any details except that a king of Sauvīra was killed (by his beloved) by means of a jewel in the waist-belt.[20] But the commentator of the Nītisāra gives Parantapa as the name of the Sauvīra king and says that the queen, being badly scolded, wished to 'cast off' her anger and hurled the jewel of the waist-belt as if in a feigned fit of anger. The name, Parantapa, is perhaps wrongly given by the commentator of Nītisāra as that of a Sauvīra king. For Bāṇa calls him Vīrasena and gives Parantapa as the name of another king who was also similarly treacherously murdered by his wife. Bāṇa is earlier than that commentator, and his account must, therefore, carry more weight. According to him, Parantapa Jārutha was a king of Ayodhyā, whose beloved Ratnāvatī feigned passion and killed him by means of a very sharp mirror.[21] Kauṭilya calls the king Jālūtha, while Kāmandaka (followed by his commentator) calls him Jārūṣya. We know a ctiy named Jārūthī from the Mahābhārata (cf. Kumbha. ed. III. 12.29-35; *cf.* Nīlkaṇṭha's com. 'Jārūthyāṁ nagaryām). It thus seems probable that Kauṭilya and Bāṇa are more correct than

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19. 'रसदिग्धमध्येन च मेखलामणिना हंसवती सौवीरं वीरसेनम्।'—Ibid, p. 200.

20. 'मेखला-मणिना सौवीरम्।'—Kauṭilya, p. 41.
'विषदिग्धेन सौवीरं मेखलामणिना नृपम्।—Nītisāra, XI. 53.

21. 'व्याजजनितकन्दर्पदर्पा च दर्पणेन क्षुरधारापर्यन्तेनायोध्यापतिं परन्तपं रत्नवती जारुथम्। H. C., VI. p. 200. Compare the commentator of the Kāmandakīya :—'तथा जारुथ्यं (थ्य) अयोध्यापतिं दारान्तरासक्तं बाह्योपचारमाचोपहृता तत्सम्भोगपीडिता प्रसाधनकाले विषदिग्धेन दर्पणेन प्रमादात्किल स्खलितेनाभिलिप्य सुखं विषस्पर्शादिसर्पोपद्रुतं देवी जघान ॥ ५३ ॥

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the commentator of the Nītisāra; since it is not impossible that Jārūthya rather than Jārūtha is the real name of the king. If, however, we adopt the form Jārūthya, and regard Parantapa as a king of Jārūthī (in addition to his being a king of Ayodhyā), we shall have to look for Jārūthī in the neighbourhood of Ayodhyā. According to the commentator of the Nītisāra, Jārūṣya, king of Ayodhyā, was attached to another lady and was merely courteous to the queen who being hard-pressed at enjoyment hurled a poison-smeared mirror at him as if 'through mistake.'

Another tradition deals with the death of Vidūratha who, according to Bāṇa,[22] was a king of the Vṛṣṇis, and was killed by his beloved Bindumatī who had hidden a small weapon in the braid of her hair. Neither Kauṭilya nor Kāmandaka says that Vidūratha was a Vṛṣṇi, and neither of them mentions the name of the queen. But the commentator of the Nītisāra[23] corroborates the Harṣacarita as regards the clan he belonged to. Varāhamihira[24] also mentions this murder, but neither he nor his commentator adds any details to what is already told by Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka.

I am unable to identify the above mentioned kings with those mentioned in the Purāṇas, etc., but Vidūratha of these traditions is possibly identical with Vidūratha, son of a Dāśārhī, mentioned in the Mahābhārata (kumbh.ed. Ādiparva, ch. 63, śl. 42-43)?[25] It is needless to say that the traditions, mentioned by Bāṇa, but not men-

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22. वेणीनिगूढेन शस्त्रेण विन्दुमती-हृषिं विदूरथम्।—H. C., p. 200.

23. 'तथा विदूरथं हृषीणामन्यतमं वेश्याभिः सहोपभुक्तभार्यार्थं तदर्थमप्यत्मानमर्थयन्तं धनमत्तममाणं देवी केशवेल्यां अल्पप्रमाणं तीक्ष्णं शस्त्रं निधाय खरतरहृदि निद्रावशं गतं मर्मच्छेदाद् जघान।' Op. cit. pp. 100-101.

24. 'शस्त्रेण वेणीविनिगूहितेन विदूरथं स्वां (स्वा) महिषी जघान।' B. S., 77. 1.

25. Bāṇa also refers to a certain Bṛhadratha of Mathurā, who because of his greed fell a victim to the army of Vidūratha (H.C., p. 198), who may or may not be the son of a Dāśārhī; but one may note here the connexion of various Yādava clans with Mathurā. The son of Dāśārhī finds mention in the famous Śārṅgadharapaddhati, st. 1506:

'न कुर्यात्परदारेच्छां विश्वासं स्त्रीषु वर्जयेत्। हतो दशास्यः सीतार्थी हतः पद्मा विदूरथः॥

(Peterson's ed.)

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tioned by Kauṭilya, can be generally regarded as later than the traditions mentioned by both of them. As to their authenticity, we certainly require more confirmation; but I submit, it would indeed be undesirable to summarily reject them as late.[26] Bāṇa's traditions at least are already corroborated in many palces, and I admit, I have not been able to follow the arguments of those who still refuse to put any credence in the traditions regarding Candragupta II, handed down by the Harṣacarita, etc. Candragupta's marriage with his brother's widow may not cause much consternation in view of the fact that Puṣkara once told his elder brother Nala (Naiṣadha) to his face that he (Puṣkara) passionately loved his (Nala's) wife and wished to have her *(vide* Nalopākhyāna).[27]

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26. Dr. H. C. Ray Choudhuri, P.H.A.I., p. 365 (4th ed.).

27. Kumbhakonam ed., Vanaparva, ch. 76. st. 16 Vṛṣṇi Vidūratha seems to be possibly mentioned in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Oriental Press ed. IV. xiv. 6).

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THE MONISTIC CONCEPTION OF *AJÑĀNA* AND ITS INFERENTIAL PROOF—A CRITICAL STUDY

By ASUTOSH BHATTACHARYA

The monists try to establish *ajñāna* and its positive character by the following form of inference :—

"Just as the first rays of a lamp, which light up and illuminate objects not already illuminated, annihilate darkness having the following four characteristics, viz. :—

(1) that the darkness is not merely the negation of light, but has a positive existence—a concrete content ;
(2) that the darkness had been screening the objects which are afterwards illuminated by the rays of light ;
(3) that the darkness is capable of being annihilated by the rays of light ; and
(4) that the darkness was located in the locality now occupied by the rays ;

So the knowledge established by one of the different means of proof (pramāṇajñānaṁ) which lights up or intellectually illuminates the objects of knowledge, which were not known before, annihilates ignorance having four similar characteristics, viz.:— (1) that ignorance is not merely the negation of knowledge, but has a positive existence ; (2) that ignorance had so long been screening the objects which are afterwards intellectually illuminated by the *pramāṇajñānaṁ* or knowledge established by the valid means of proof ; (3) that this ignorance is capable of being annihilated by the act of intellectual illumination ; and (4) that the ignorance was located in the locality of the said illumination.[1]

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1. (a) Pañcapādikāvivaraṇa, p. 13, Benares Edition.
(b) Vivādādhyāsitaṁ pramāṇajñānaṁ svaprāgabhāva vyatiriktasvaviṣayāvaraṇasvanivartyasvadeśagata vastvatarapūrvakam aprakāśitārthaprakāśakatvād andhakāre prathamotpannapradīpaśikhāvat.
Advaitasiddhi, p. 562, Bombay Edition.
(c) R.Bh., p. 172-73, Bombay Edition.
N.B. Those who hold such inference, accept the view that darkness is a positive entity first from its being more or less dense,

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To put the argument in the form of a Syllogism :—

All instances of lighting up (whether intellectual or otherwise) of objects not already illuminated are instances which are invariably accompanied by the annihilation of a substance having four characteristics mentioned before (1.2.3.4).

All instances of knowledge established by one of the different means of proof are instances of lighting up objects not already illuminated.

All instances of the knowledge of proof are instances which are invariably accompanied by the annihilation of a substance (ignorance) possessing the above four characteristics.

The Vyāpti or the universal major premise in this syllogism is established by the observation of the single instance of physical or material illumination of objects by the rays of light. It is worth noticing here that the physical illumination of material objects by means of the light of a lamp and the intellectual illumination, i.e., the apprehension of objects of knowledge by means of perception, inference, etc.—these two entirely different kinds of illumination are treated as belonging to the same category.

The above argument may be put also in the form of a hypothetical-categorical syllogism as follows :—

In all cases if there is any lighting up of objects not already illuminated, there is an antecedent annihilation of substance having the above four characteristics.

There is a lighting up of objects (not already illuminated) in the knowledge of the valid means of proof.

∴ There is an antecedent annihilation of a substance having the said four characteristics in knowledge.

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and secondly, from its being perceived as having colour, activity, etc.:—

Tamaḥ tamālavarṇābhaṁ calatīti pratīyate, rūpavatvāt kriyāvatvād dravyaṁtu daśamaṁ tamaḥ.

(d) Advaitasiddhi, p. 562-68.

(e) Vedāntakalpataru, 1.3.3.

Amalānanda in his Vdāntakalpataru, in order to establish the positive character of Ajñāna on the basis of dialectical logic, says :— Yadyapi śuktiṁ svata eva jaḍāmavidyā nāvṛṇoti tathāpi tatsthānirvācyabhāvarūparajatopādānatveneṣṭavyeti, bhāvarūpāvidyā saprayojanā pramāṇantu-Ditthapramā Ditthagatatve sati yaḥ prāmābhāvaḥ tattvānadhikaraṇā nādi nivartikā pramātvāt Dapittha pramāvat.

(f) Vedāntakalpataruparimala, p. 333, Bombay Edition.

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Here also the major premise—the Vyāpti—is a general proposition, the truth of which is established by the observation of a particular instance, viz., that in the case of illumination of objects by rays of light there is an invariable antecedent phenomenon, i.e., the annihilation of darkness which is a positive form of being.

The critics raise the following objections against the above inference of the Advaitins :—

The instance of physical illumination is not a relevant instance at all and does not establish the universal relation of concomitance between the phenomenon of illumination and the annihilation of ignorance as a positive form of existence, because intellectual illumination is quite different from physical illumination. The term 'prakāśa' is used here in two different senses. *Prakāśa* as intellectual illumination means apprehension of objects of knowledge in perception, inference, etc. This intellectual illumination is due, not to light, but to consciousness alone (vijñānasyaiva prakāśakatvam). Light cannot produce intellectual illumination or apprehension of objects of knowledge, it simply helps the operation of the organ of vision by removing the obstacle, viz., darkness which stands in the way of visual perception. Intellectual illumination (prakāśa) consists in apprehending the objects of knowledge and not in simply removing the obstacles thereto (nahi virodhinirasanamātram prakāśakatvam). Hence the relation of sequence between the physical illumination by light and the annihilation of darkness cannot establish a similar relation between intellectual illumination and annihilation of ignorance as a positive form of being. There being no resemblance in kind between the two entirely different types of illumination, the instance of physical illumination is an irrelevent instance.[1] The fallacy of false analogy, therefore, vitiates the whole chain of argument. The fallacy of ambiguity in respect of the term 'Prakāśa' (illumination) is equally worth notice.

Even assuming for argument's sake that illumination (prakāśa) means not only intellectual illumination, i.e., apprehension of the objects of knowledge, but also any function which helps or facilitates the act of intellectual illumination (such as the operations of the sense-organs, light, etc.), it follows that in every instance of illumination in this wide sense there must be present, as an invariable antecedent,

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1. R. Bh., p. 179. Bombay Edition.

दृष्टान्तश्च साधनविकलः प्रदीपप्रभाया अप्रकाशितार्थप्रकाशकत्वाभावात् ।

सत्यपि दीपे ज्ञानेन विना विषयप्रकाशाभावात् ।

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a substance bearing the four characteristics mentioned above. Just as in the instance of the rays of light, which illuminate the objects not illuminated already, the annihilation of darkness is present as an invariable antecedent ; just as in the instance of intellectual illumination of the objects of knowledge, the annihilation of a positive substance, viz., ignorance, is present as an invariable antecedent ; similarly (1) in the instance of illumination (i.e., operations helping apprehension of objects) effected by the organs of senses, the annihilation of a similar substance, another ignorance (ajñāna), must be present as an invariable antecedent. And again (2) we can infer another non-knowledge as an invariable antecedent to this ajñāna which this inference aims at ; for this ajñāna under discussion being also based on a valid inference comes under the head of 'Pramāṇajñāna' or knowledge established by valid means of proof.

Now if another ajñāna be established as an antecedent to this ajñāna which this inference tries to prove, that ajñāna must hide, as the inference implies, the non-knowledge which is located in the Brahman and veils it and not the Brahman itself. And as the second ajñāna has avidyā, the screening principle of Brhman, as its locus and object, it has no bearing upon Brahman. It, therefore, has got no utility in the range of our philosophic speculation as the supposition of such an ajñāna stands without any purpose. Ajñāna is cognised as a screening principle in our philosophic conception. It hides Brahman the locus-consciousness and as a becoming principle it produces this cosmic manifold. If no such purpose be served by admitting a sceond ajñāna as an antecedent to the positive avidyā proved by the said inference, it is completely useless to suppose such an entity.[1] And from this supposition this inference involves as well the fallacy of infinite regress. But the instance of these two separate ignorance (1) and (2) which may be proved by the same logic advanced by the opponent him-

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1. Pramāṇajñānasya aprakāśitārthaprakāśakatvāt svaviṣayāvaraṇājñānāntarasādhakatve sati tadajñānaṁ Brahmasvarūpācchādakaṁ siṣādhayiṣitam ajñānaṁ āvṛṇoti, tenāvṛtatvāt tadajñānaṁ Brahmaṇā na sākṣāt kriyate, aparamārthasya apratīyamānasya kāryakaratvāyogāt ajñānakalpanā niṣphalā tirodhānarūpakāryārthaṁ hi tat kalpanā.

Śrutaprakāśikā—p. 178.

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self would be contradictory[1] (viruddha) to the conclusion drawn by him (अज्ञानेऽनभिमताज्ञानान्तर साधनेन विरुद्धत्वात् हेतोः)

The fallacy, therefore, lies in the universal major premise—that all instances of illumination are preceded by the annihilation of a positive form of existence having certain characteristics—which is not only materially false but also, when closely examined, is found to be contradictory to the conclusion drawn by the opponent himself.[2]

If the opponent argues that in the instance of intellectual illumination alone, Ignorance having the said four characteristics is present as an invariable antecedent, but in the instance of illumination effected by the organs of senses and also in the instance of illumination indicated by the opponent's inference of Ajñāna no separate ignorances are present as invariable antecedents, then it amounts to a denial of the Vyāpti—a denial of universal relation of invariable concomitance between the phenomenon of illumination and the phenomenon of the annihilation of Ignorance. Thus the universal premise which states this relation of universal concomitance, would be false ; or in other words, if the phenomenon of illumination is sometimes preceded by the annihilation of ignorance and sometimes not, then there can be no generalisation at all of any relation of invariable concomitance between the two phenomena and therefore the existence of Ignorance on the basis of the said inference would not be established at all. The Vyāpti or the general proposition is materially true when the invariable concomitance between the two phenomena is established by observation of an adequate number of instances. But if there be some instances in which this concomitance fails, i.e., in which the pheno-

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1. (a) When the phenomenon implied by the middle term, instead of invariably accompanying the phenomenon implied by the major, is not found to occur along with it, we have a fallacy called *Viruddhahetuḥ*. According to Vātsyāyanabhāsya, *Viruddhahetuḥ* means a reason which contradicts the final conclusion. Thus it may also be taken as a fallacy of self-contradictory reasoning.
   (b) *Vide* Vātsyāyanabhāṣya, 1.2.6.:
   Siddhāntam abhyupetya tadvirodhi viruddhaḥ.
   (c) *Vide* Nyāyavārtika, p. 172. Benares Edition.
   (d) *Vide* Indian Logic & Atomism by A. B. Keith, p. 146.
2. (a) *Vide* R. Bh., p. 178. Bombay Edition.
   (b) *Vide* Śrutaprakāśikā, p. 178-79. Bombay Edition.

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menon implied by the middle term does not accompany the phenomenon implied by the major term, the result is that there can be no vyāpti—no generalisation of the relation of invariable concomitance between the two phenomena and any syllogism based upon this wrong generalisation is fallacious; this fallacy is known as 'anaikāntika hetu' in Indian logic. An illustration will make it clear. Sound is eternal, for it is devoid of tactual properties. In the instances of jars and other things it is observed that there is a relation of co-presence between tactual properties and destructibility. From these instances, one may generalise that all things having tactual properties are things which are liable to destruction; sound is not a thing having tactual properties.

∴ Sound is not a thing which is liable to destruction.

This inference is fallacious; apart from other fallacies, it is subject to the fallacy of the falsity of the major premise. It is not true that in all instances, without any exception, the presence of tactual properties invariably accompanies the presence of destructibility. There are negative instances in which tactual properties are not accompanied by destructibility. It is found that atoms though they possess tactual properties are not liable to destruction (dṛśyate sparśavāṁśca aṇuḥ nityaśca iti). These negative instances must not be neglected. Hence if the 'hetu' or the phenomenon implied by the middle term is found in some instances to accompany and in some other instances not to accompany the phenomenon implied by the major term (sādhya) then there can be no Vyāpti—no universalisation of the relation of concomitance between the two phenomena. This fallacy of inference is ultimately based upon a fallacy of non-observation, i.e., neglect of negative instances which should have been taken notice of.[1]

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1. (a) Anaikāntikaḥ savyabhicāraḥ nityaḥ śabdaḥ asparśatvāt; sparśavān kumbaḥ anityaḥ dṛṣṭaḥ; na ca tathā sparśavān śabdaḥ; tasmāt asparśatvāt nityaḥ śabdaḥ; sparśavā aṇuḥ nityaśca asparśā buddhīr anityā ca.

Vātsyāyanabhāṣya, 1.2.5.

(b) Yat khalu sādhyatajjātīyavṛttitve sati anyatra vartate tad vyabhicāri; tatra yo heturūpātta ubhāvantāvāśritya vartate saḥ anaikātīkaḥ.

Nyāyavārtika, pp. 169-70. Benares Edition.

(c) R.Bh., p. 188. Lotus Library Edition.

(d) Śrutaprakāśikā—Bombay Edition—pp. 178-79.

(e) **Indian Logic and Atomism by A. B. Keith.**

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To judge the inference under discussion from this stand-point the opponent is placed between the two horns of a dilemma.

If in all instances, without a single exception, illumination is preceded by the annihilation of ignorance then in the instance of the particular inference of the opponent and also in the instance of the operation of sense—organs, the existence of different ignorances as separate substances would be established—which is contradictory to the position of the opponent.

Again if there are some exceptions in which illumination is not preceded by annihilation of ignorance then the relation of concomitance would not be universal and consequently the opponent's conclusion would be false, being based on a false major premise.

Illumination is preceded by ignorance either in all cases without exception or there are some exceptions.

∴ The opponent's position is either self-contradictory or subject to the fallacy of the falsity of the major premise.

Hence the inference as advanced by the Advaitins for the establishment of Ajñāna as a positive entity is fallacious in more ways than one ; and on the basis of this inference, the positive character of Ajñāna cannot be established.

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THE VARMANS OF EASTERN BENGAL

By PRAMODE LAL PAUL

No definite clue has yet come from any source as to the origin of the Varmans of eastern Bengal. R. D. Bannerjee[1] remarked that the Varmans came in the train of the invasion of Rājendra Cola or Gāṅgeyadeva or Jayasiṁha II. Discussing the subject, Dr. D. C. Ganguli[2] observes that it is quite likely that Vajravarman followed the valliant Cola monarch (Rājendra Cola) with his Yādava armies, shared with him his victories and ultimately established himself on the throne of Eastern Bengal when its ruler Govindacandra took to flight. But there is no evidence to connect the establishment of Varman power in Bengal with the Colas. But it is quite likely, as Dr. Ganguli has suggested, that the military resources of Vajravarman, who was only a member of a feudatory royal family, could have hardly allowed him to march independently against such a distant country as Eastern Bengal. It is clear from the *Belāva* plate,[3] the most important record of the Varmans, that the real founder of the political fortunes of the family in Bengal was Jātavarman, son of Vajravarman. The warlike activities of the latter have been alluded to in the 6th verse, but no particular exploits have been definitely mentioned. It is to be noted that in the 8th verse, where the achievements of Jātavarman have been described, great stress has been first laid on his marriage with Vīraśrī, daughter of Karṇa, and then his political and military achievements have been mentioned, and it seems that this marriage had got something to do with the rise of the family into political power. Again, though no connected meaning can be made out of the broken *Vajrajoginī* plate[4] of Sāmalavarman, the manner in which this matrimonial alliance with the Kalacuris has been referred to and the way in which the word *mātṛvaṁśyā* occurs, also point to the same conclusion that it was probably a great factor in determining the political fortune of the Varmans.

Historical facts also seem to connect the Varmans with the

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1. *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p.276.
2. *IHQ.* 1929, p. 225.
3. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 17.
4. *Bhāratavarṣa*, 1340 B.S., p. 674.

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Kalacuris rather than with the Colas. The Varmans, according to the testimony of the *Belāva* plate, originally belonged to Siṁhapura. It is known from the Komarti and Bṛhatproshtha[5] plates that there ruled a line of kings whose names end in Varman at Siṁhapura in Kaliṅga. Most of the scholars[6] are now inclined to regard these Siṁhapuras as identical. The first country of which Jātavarman became master is said to have been Aṅga. It is stated in the Goharwa plates[7] of Kalacuri Karṇa that his father Gāṅgeyadeva had conquered as far as the sea of Utkala and vanquished the king of Aṅga. It is important to note in this connection that Karṇa assumed the proud title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* which goes to establish his political control over Kaliṅga.[8] Rājendra Cola never dominated Aṅga[9] and the invasion of Bengal by Cedi Karṇa which so long rested on the Tibetan account[10] is confirmed by the Paikore pillar inscription[11] which unmistakably goes to show that the great Kalacuri emperor in course of his invasion penetrated almost into the heart of Bengal. It is not, therefore, unlikely that the Varmans came in the train of Kalacuri invasions and Jātavarman was successful in founding a kingdom in south-eastern Bengal.

The achievements of Jātavarman are thus eulogised: "He spread his paramount sovereignty by marrying Vīraśrī, daughter of Karṇa, by extending his domination over the Aṅgas, by humiliating the dignity of Kāmarūpa, by bringing disgrace to the strength of the arms of Divya, by damaging the fortunes of Govardhana."[12] It is not known who was the local king of Aṅga in the middle of the eleventh century, but it seems that this sway over Aṅga was gained at the cost of the Pāla power. The Kāmarūpa king with whom Jātavarman came into conflict was probably Gopāla or his son Harṣapāla.[13] Divya has generally been identified with Divvoka, the leader of the Kaivarta revolution in Varendra. The Nālandā inscription of Vipula-

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5. *EI.*, XII, p. 4; IV, 145.
6. N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, *IHQ.*, 1934, pp. 371, 781-84.
7. *EI.*, XI, p. 143.
8. *EI.*, II. pp. 11, 15; V. 12.
9. *JBORS.*, 1928, pp. 489-538; *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, 1933, p. 215 ff.
10. *JBTS.*, Vol. I., p. 9.
11. *ASR.*, 1921-22, p. 78.
12. Belāva plate, v. 8.
13. Gopāla (c. 1055-75), Harṣapāla (c. 1075-1090); K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa.*

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śrīmitra[14] refers to an invasion of northern Bengal by a king of Vaṅgāla, in course of which the house of a Buddhist teacher named Karuṇāśrīmitra was set on fire and he was burnt to death. It has been suggested that this king of Vaṅgāla is to be identified with a king of the Candra dynasty of eastern Bengal.[15] But no invasion of northern Bengal by any Candra king is hitherto known. The Candras were, according to the testimony of their own records, devout Budhists, and it is highly improbable that the army of a Buddhist king would set on fire the house of a distinguished Buddhist teacher of a great *vihāra* (Somapuravihāra, i.e., the Paharpur monastery) whose memory was honoured even three generations after him. The king of Vaṅgāla who invaded northern Bengal is more reasonably to be identified with Jātavarman.

Govardhana cannot be definitely identified. R. D. Bannerjee[16] drew attention to one Dvopardhana of the Rāmacarita, ruler of Kauśāmbī, and guessed that Dvopardhana was written in place of Govardhana through copyist's mistake. Dr. R. G. Basak,[17] while editing the Belāva plate, remarked : "May he be the father of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of the Bhuvaneśwar inscription, the Brahman Govardhana, distinguished as a warrior and a scholar, whose father was the *mahāmantrī* and *sandhivigrāhika* of a king of Vaṅga?" It is to be noted that the residence of the donee of the Belāva plate is the same village Siddhala in Rāḍha where the ancestors of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva flourished for a long time. It has been suggested[18] that the Vaṅgarāja referred to in the Bhuvaneśwar inscription is to be identified with one of the kings of the Candra dynasty of eastern Bengal, after whose fall the family of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva transferred its allegiance to the Varmans. This does not seem improbable.

It is known from the Belāva plate that the successor of Jātavarman was his son Sāmalavarman. But in the recently discovered *Vajrajoginī* plate it seems that the achievements of Harivarman and his unnamed son have been described before those of Sāmalavarman. As already noted, this record is broken and no connected meaning can be made out of it. The word *jāta* occurs first and then the exploits of

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14. *EI.*, XXI, pp. 97-101. Palæographically this inscription has been placed in the first half of the 12th century A.D.

15. *Indian Culture*, Vol. 1, pp. 290-292.

16. *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 277.

17. *EI.*, XII, p. 37 ff.

18. Dr. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I. p. 335 ; Govardhana also appears in the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena a chief who was defeated by the Sena king.

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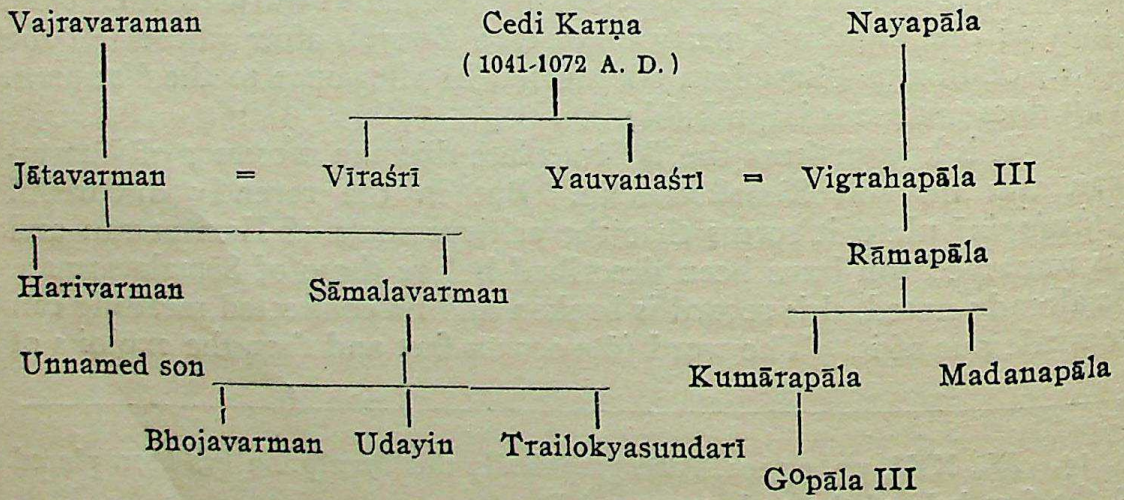
a king—most probably of Jātavarman, have been narrated. Then occurs the name of Harivarman whose mother, like that of Sāmalavarman, seems to have been a Kalacuri princess and who took part in a certain war with the Kalacuris which brought him glory. The name of Harivarman is conspicuous by the absence in the Belāva plate of that of Bhojavarman, son Sāmalavarman. The view that Harivarman and Sāmalavarman were identical, has got nothing to its credit, because in the *Vajrajoginī* plate the exploits of Harivarman and his son have been narrated and the name of Sāmalavarman figures as the reigning king and donor. In the *Bejanisār* plate of Harivarman the name of his father was read by Mr. N. N. Vasu as Jyotivarman.[19] This plate is a burnt one, and from the facsimile it is impossible to verify Mr. Vasu's reading of which he himself is not confident. After the publication of the Belāva plate, Mr. Vasu suggests the reading *jāta* (?) in place of *jyoti*.[20] All theories to place Harivarman after Sāmalavarman and Bhojavarman[21] are discounted by the evidence of the *Vajrajoginī* plate and it goes to confirm the opinion of R. D. Bannerjee that Harivarman is to be placed before the two last mentioned Varman Kings. In view of the fact that Harivarman's mother appears to have been a Kalacuri princess and in view of the evidences of the *Vajrajoginī* and *Bejanisār* plates, he may be taken to be the son of Jātavarman and the following genealogical list of the Varmans may be provisionally drawn up :—



19. *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Brāhmaṇa Kāṇḍa, Vol. II, p. 215.
20. *Ibid.*, Rājanya Kāṇḍa, p. 281.
21. *Modern Review*, 1912, p. 249.

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It is stated in the Nāgpur *praśasti*[22] of the Paramāra kings that Lakṣmadeva (who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh century) first proceeded to Hari's quarter in order to capture elephants and then entered into the town of the lord of Gauḍa. Hari's quarter has been generally taken to mean east but it may refer to the kingdom of Harivarman also.

If Harivarmadeva of the colophons of Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā and Laghukālacakraṭīkā[23] is identical with Harivarman of the Varman dynasty, it is certain that he had a reign of at least 39 years. Both from the *Vajrajoginī* plate and the Bhuvaneśwar *praśasti* it is known that he had a son, though it is not clear whether his son ever reigned or not. He fought a battle which, from the mention of the word *jadavaṅga* Dr. N. K. Bhattasali[24] surmises, was in Eastern Bengal.

Sāmalavarman figures prominently in the genealogical accounts of the *Vaidik* Brāhmaṇas[25] who are said to have migrated into Bengal from Madhyadeśa through his efforts and instrumentality. The date of this migration is given as 1001 S.E.=1079 A.D.—which cannot be far removed from the time of Sāmalavarman. In some of the genealogical acounts their original home is given as Karṇāvatī, a city founded by Cedi Karṇa with the Varmans. Though this migration of the *Vaidik* Brahmins has not yet been confirmed by any epigraphic evidence, yet it may be noted that the great-grandfather of the donee of the Belāva plate has been significantly described as *madhyadeśavinirgata.*[26] Only one inscription of Sāmalavarman has come to light and its object was to please Vāsudeva Viṣṇu by granting some land to the temple of the Buddhist goddess Prajñāpāramitā or to a Buddhist devotee named Bhīmadeva as a reward for his reading the Prajñāpāramitā. This recalls the grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa by the Buddhist Pāla king Madanapāla for his reading the Mahābhārata to the queen[27] and this also goes against the much-talked-of zeal of the Varmans for the spread of the orthodox Brahmanical religion asserted in genealogical accounts.

The establishment of the Varman power in Eastern Bengal did not go unchallenged by the Pālas. It is known from the *Rāmacarita*

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22. *EI.*, II, p. 184; V. 34.
23. N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
24. *Bhāratavarṣa*, 1340, B.S. p. 674 ff.
25. *Vaṅger Jātiya Itihās, Brāhmaṇa Kāṇḍa.*
26. The donee Rāmadevaśarman was not a *Vaidik Brāhmaṇa.*
27. *Gauḍalekhamālā*, Manahali plate.

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that after the recovery of Varendra, Rāmapāla tried to conquer Kaliṅga, Utkala and Kāmarūpa. In course of the description of his conquests it is stated that a Varman king of the east propitiated Rāmapāla by presenting an elephant and his chariot.[28] The Varman king who made his submission was most probably either Harivarman or Sāmalavarman. When the strong arm of Rāmapāla was no more, south-eastern Bengal once more revolted during the regin of his son Kumārapāla, but this rising was suppressed by his general Vaidyadeva after a naval battle.[29] Thus it seems that the Varmans were twice compelled to acknowledge the suzeranity of the Pālas.

The last known Varman king is Bhojavarman whose Belāva grant was issued from Vikramapura. The Varmans were most probably ousted by the Senas. The Barrackpore grant of Vijayasena was also issued from the same place in his 62nd regnal year where queen Vilāsadevī performed the *tulāpuruṣa* ceremony. This would fall, according to the evidence of Dānasāgara and Adbhutasāgara and Tabaquat-i-Nasiri, sometime about the middle of the 12th century A.D. Therefore the occupation of Vikramapura by the Senas must have occured sometime before this.

In the 59th chapter of the Mahāvaṁsa it is reported that Tilokasundarī, a princess of Kaliṅga, was the queen of king Vijayavāhu I of Ceylon (C. 1054-1109 A.D.). A number of copper-plates of king Niśaṅkamalla[30] and his brother Sahasamalla, who succeeded him in 1200 A.D., inform us that they came from Siṁhapura in Kaliṅga. In the inscription of Niśaṅkamalla he claims his descent from the royal line of Ikṣvāku and it is stated he was the son of the Kaliṅga king Goparāja of Siṁhapura. In the Polonnaruva inscription of Sahasamalla he claims his descent from the unbroken line of Kaliṅga kings of Kaliṅga. This, no doubt, points to close political relation of Siṁhapura of Kaliṅga with Ceylon. If Siṁhapura in Kaliṅga is identical with Siṁhapura of the Belāva plate, it is quite likely, as has been suggested by Dr. H. C. Ray, that this important city of Kaliṅga supplied two enterprising royal families—one in eastern Bengal and another in Ceylon. King Vijayavāhu I was a contemporary of Jātavarman and Sāmalavarman. The manner in which Sāmalavar-

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28. *Rāmacarita,* Ch. III, V. 44.

29. *Gauḍalekhamālā,* Kamauli plate.

30. *JRAS.,* 1913, p. 518; Ep. Zeylanica, Vol. II, pt. V. p. 227.

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man's daughter, Trailokyasundarī,[31] has been described and the good wishes for the Ceylon king have been expressed in the 14th verse of the Belāva plate raises a strong presumption for her identification with Tilokasundarī of the Mahāvaṁsa. The troubles in Ceylon by the Rākṣasas probably refer to the Cola invasions. A Maṇimaṅgala inscription of 1055 A.D. records that the Cola king Parakeśavarman *alias* Rājendradeva imprisoned two sons of the Ceylon king Manabharṇa who was, according to the Mahāvaṁsa, a nephew and son-in-law of Vijayavāhu I. If Vijayavāhu I was a brother-in-law of Bhojavarman, the expression of good wish for the Ceylon king in his difficulties in the Varman record is quite intelligible. Otherwise the occurrence of the passage *"hā dhik kaṣṭavīramadya bhuvanaṁ bhūyopī kaṁ rākṣasamutpātoyam upasthitostu kuśalī śaṅkāsu laṅkādhipaḥ"* in the *Belāva* plate cannot be properly explained.

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31. N. G. Majumdar first took *'Trailokyasundarī'* as the daughter of Sāmalavarman but later on accepted Dr. Bhandarkar's translation which makes this word an adjective qualifying Mālavyadevī, wife of Sāmalavarman. According to some scholars, Udayin and Jagamalla are to be identified with Udayāditya and Jagamalladeva of the Paramāra dynasty (Dr. D. C. Ganguli, History of the Paramāras). We are inclined to accept N. G. Majumdar's former translation of the pasage in question.

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THE MEMOIRS OF TWO BIJAPURI NOBLES

(From original Persian sources)

By K. K. Basu

The reminscences of two well-known nobles of the Court of Bijapur, viz., Afzal Khan Shirazi and Mustafa Khan Ardistani, both of whom served Ali Adil Shah (1557-1580 A.D., the illustrious ruler of the Adilshahi dynasty, are given below. The narratives are important in view of the fact that they delineate the career of two men of consequence who by dint of their personal abilities and ingenuity cast a lustre of glory upon the country they lived in. Secondly, they throw a new light on the nature and personnel of the government under Ali Adil and the state of culture and the mode of scholarship that prevailed during his time. Incidentally and towards the sequel, a very curious and interesting episode of an ill-omened diamond, which spell ruin and disaster to all its possessors among whom the Bijapur ruler was one, has been annexed.

AFZAL KHAN SHIRAZI

The father of Afzal was an *Amil* (governor in a province of Persia. On account of the wisdom and experience that he possessed, the people of Shiraz took his advice in all difficult matters. The father died when the boy was aged only eight.

The Junior Afzal had set his heart upon acquiring scholarship and accomplishments. For about two years he received a liberal education at the hand of Mir Fatehullah Shirazi, a renowned savant of the time. Having acquired an unparalleled erudition in a short time, the boy bade farewell to his native country and migrated to Hindustan ; he disembarked at Bijapur, during the rule of Ali Adil Shah. Here he began to give lessons to students, Persian and native. His scholastic attainments and high character were soon noticed by the Bijapur Sultan, who often repaired to Afzal's institution for counsel and advice. In course of time Afzal was offered a service in the court and he became the constant companion of the king. He was made the *Vakil us Saltanat* or the agent and plenipotentiary of the state, by

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virtue of which he exercised final authority in civil and financial administration. He soon acquired such a popularity that the nobility began to court his friendship.

First he began by getting together all learned and intelligent men, shrewd politicians and astute diplomats. Then he worked hard for effecting an improvement in the country by bettering the lot of the civil and military population. He engaged in public service 300 Hindu *harkarah* (officials) and 700 spies. The secret agents conveyed to him the news of the neighbouring states and kingdoms. None but the talented and sagacious were entrusted by him with important commissions. The arrogant, the obstinate and the rebel were taken to task and condemned. For instance, Shah Abul Hasan was found fault with on account of his bad conduct. Contrariwise, Mustafa Khan and Kamil Khan, the two conscientious and dependable functionaries, were invested with high powers.

Murad Khan was made the *Havildar* or the military officer of Konkan, a large and fertile tract stretching along the sea. Mu'atabar Khan, a person of light and leading, who had been appointed as the *Peshwa,* for sometime, was offered the office of *Sar-i-naubat,* the head of the military department. Sheikh Sālim a scholar of Najf (in Persia) was appointed to the post of Sar Khail or the commander of a regiment. He received the portfolios of finance and military departments. Latif Khan Nisai was appointed *Amal-i-Istifah* or the collector of imperial revenues. Latif was noted for his poetical talents and he wrote under the pseudonym of *Wasli.* Haidar Khan, a Sayyad by origin, became the head of the civil affairs of the state or *Kar-i-Mulki.* Sheikh Nuruddin Muhammad Lari was entrusted with the task of protecting the forts and the countries (Sar-i-hijāb). He had to submit to the Sultan all important letters, documents relating to the forts and the country-side and to give effect to the royal orders made thereon. Rafi-ud-din Shirazi, became *Khāji-Sālār* or as the natives called it, *Chasnigir.* Besides, he held the post of the treasurer and was in charge of the Mahals. Rafi-ud-din was the cousin (son of his uncle on his father's side) of Afzal Khan Shirazi.

There was a *Hasht Āin* or the Assembly of eight great men in the royal court. It was composed of the following personages :

(i) Kamāluddin Fatehullah Shirāzi, who was wise as Solomon. Kamāluddin was knwon as *A'aKal Hāuī 'Asar.*

(ii) Mir Ṭarāblis, who was unrivalled in his knowledge of the art of logomachy and debate.

(iii) Mir Azizuddin Fazl-ul-lah Yezdi.

(iv) Miran Sar Fidai.

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(v) Mulai Isfāhāni.
(vi) Mir Murshid Kuli.
(vii & viii) others were Deccanese or natives.

All these persons were adepts in Syntax, Etymology, Epigram, the commentaries on the Qurān, Muhammadan Law and Hadis or traditions. These *litterateurs* spent their hours in lively conversation and debate. Literary discussions were held in the presence of Sultan Ali Adil. It certainly reflects credit on Afzal Khan who assembled these men of rare worth and merit in the royal court. It is reported that about forty-thousand huns were spent in inviting Kamāluddin from Shiraz to Bijapur. Sultan Ali Adil paid occasional visits to the conference of the literary men and this soirée of the scholars continued its existence so long as the Sultan lived. This association was made up of two hundred intellectuals and men of literary attainments. There was besides no limit to the number of state pensioners and beneficiaries.

Though Afzal was a man of letters, yet he discharged his heavy public duties perfectly well. About this *illuminatus* Sultan Ali Adil once said to have made the following observation : "Since Afzal is at the head of public affairs, I have not only gathered much experience and worldly wisdom, but have also tasted the pleasures of kingship."

MUSTAFA KHAN ARDISTANI.

Mustafa Khan, originally known as Sayyad Kamāluddin Hussain, was born in the Sayyad family Ardistan. He was intelligent, wise and well-qualified. It was poverty that had forced him to migrate to Golconda during the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah. For the unusal ability and talent that Mustafa possessed the Sultan bestowed gifts and awards on him and thereby raised his status and dignity. At length, the Sultan appointed him his chief minister and thus placed him at the head of public affairs. He further honoured him with the title of Mustafa Khan.

Within a short time, Mustafa began to exercise perfect authority in all political and financial matters, so much so that the Sultan seldom disapproved of his actions. Mustafa won high praise on account of his benevolent reforms in the army and the improvements that he had effected to increase the happiness and security of the populace.

At length, Mustafa felt ill-at-ease for the Sultan's occasional interference in state affairs. Further, his long tenure of office and

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acquisition of huge wealth and supreme power made him imperious and vain-glorious. Consequently, he became an object of suspicion and malice. The Sultan took alarm and contemplated discharging him from office and even confiscating his vast wealth and property. When Mustafa was apprised of the Sutlan's intentions, he set himself to find ways and means for his own safety.

Meanwhile the course of events took a new turn. The Muslim potentates of peninsular India formed a confederacy against Ram Raja of Vijayanagara. Mustafa prevailed upon the Sultan to undertake a holy war against the unbelievers and persuaded him to his own appointment as a Bijapur envoy to the court of Ahmadnagar. The appointment to ambassadorial office brought him fresh robes of honour. On the eve of his departure, he kissed the ground in the presence of the Sultan and put up a prayer saying that His Majesty should make a solemn declaration that when the Muslim confederacy would achieve success the petitioner should be permitted to undertake a voyage of pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. The Sultan gave him the required assurance and sent him out to Ahmadnagar. Mustafa brought his commission to a successful issue. Ultimately, when the Muslims had settled their account with Ram Raja, Mustafa left the services of Golconda and joined Bijapur. Ali Adil, the Bijapur Sultan, offered him welcome, and entrusted to him the command of twenty-two thousand horsemen. After the assassination of Kishwar Khan and the incarceration of Abul Hasan, Mustafa was made the Prime Minister of Bijapur. He was in course of time vested with sovereign power, and presented with the auspicious ring *(Mohur-i-Humayuni* which the Sultan personally used. The minister would accompany the king in all expeditions and political missions, great or small, and was given access to the king's palace.

During the period of his office, he made Bijapur wonderfully rich and prosperous, so much so that other contemporary sovereigns did not possess so much wealth and riches as owned by the Bijapur Sultan. It was entirely due to this minister that Ali Adil was in possession of 180 ships that plied the sea from the coast of Gujrat to the Bay of Bengal and that the Sultan kept up a correspondence with all the powerful sovereigns of the age, such as Sultan Sulaiman, the ruler of the Byzantine empire, Shah Tahmasp of Persia and Muhammad Akbar, the great Mughal of India. There was an annual exchange of gifts and presents between the Bijapur sovereign and the aforesaid crowned heads. By virtue of his sagacious policy, wise economy and mature expereince, Mustafa effected the conquest of the country extending from Malabar and Carnatic to the coast of the sea. Thus, he brought all the heathen chiefs and nobles of the South within the

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pale of Islamic civilisation. All the pagan temples and idols were broken to pieces and mosques erected on the ruined sites. Those who accepted his allegiance were designated *Mutya-ul Islam* and they regularly paid the Zizya and other tributes to Bijapur. In fine, Mustafa was instrumental in extending Ali Adil's territories and in incorporating a great portion of Vijayanagara to the Bijapur empire.

The minister was, after all, proud haughty and stiff in his nature. He inflicted severe punishment for slight offences. He was very rash and bold in putting people in confinement, killing and injuring them. As an instance of his severity it is reported that once about twenty-two persons were severely bastinadoed and done to death for the fault of stealing an insignificant weight of a certain medicine from his personal dispensary. He maintained such a discipline in his household that not a single China-ware was said to have been broken in the kitchen.

Seven months after the demise of Ali Adil Shah, Kishwar Khan the junior, who had gained ascendancy at the court and exercised supreme power for four months only, put Mustafa to death at Bankapur and put to plunder the vast property that he once possessed !

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT DIAMOND.

Once, Bhoja Tirmul Raja of Vijayanagara requested the mediation of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur in the internal affairs of his own country. He had, in fine, sought his Muslim compeer's help in the task of deposing Ram Raja who had attained to the position of the Mayor of the Palace, and in return for this assistance the Raja promised to pay his redeemer a large sum of money. In compliance with this request, the Bijapur ruler set out for Vijayanagara. In the *interim,* Bhoja Raja being duped by the old wily wolf Ram Raja, requested Ibrahim Adil when he had but covered half the distance, to turn back, and made a remittance of 8,000,000 huns together with a big diamond to him.

This diamond weighed fifteen *misqāl* (equivalent to a weight of a dram and a half or 4 māṣas and $3\frac{1}{2}$ ratis). In shape it was a square, being equal in size to the palm of a hand. It had a black spot in the middle, which shadowed forth misfortune, and catastrophe. In fact, as future events indicate, it brought about miseries and calamities to the owner. When it first came into the possession of the Vijayanagara king, Krishna Raja, he met with his death in a most fortuitous manner, and for sometime the authority which his dynasty exercised, came to an end. Again, when the diamond found its way to the imperial treasury at Bijapur, Sultan Ibrahim Adil fell, all on

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a sudden, a victim to various ailments. However much the physicians tried their art, they could not be successful, and the Sultan took his last sleep. Further, when Sultan Ali Adil, the successor of Ibrahim, restored the diamond to Ram Raja of Vijayanagara, misfortunes and calamities befell the Raja. His relations were deprived of their estates, and he himself was driven to death.

Sometime after, it so happened, that a certain individual offered the diamond for sale at Goa. Its sale price was fixed by experts at sixty-thousand huns. Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur having made up his mind to secure the diamond for himself sent a female agent to Goa, and the latter cleverly persuaded the owner to repair to Bijapur with his valuable commodity. Meanwhile, the dealer was done to death by a certain relation of his own and the murderer decamped with the ware. In like manner, the diamond passed through the hands of five possessors, each of whom died an unnatural death. At last, the diamond was traced out and the Bijapur ruler got it by purchase. He desired to make a present of it to one of the Shia Imāms. In course of time, the diamond was sent to Shah Tahmasp, the Shah of Persia, so that it might be offered as a gift to the cemetery of Ali Musa, the eighth Imām. As soon as the present reached the hands of the Persian Shah, he was numbered with the dead. His successor Ismail Shah also ceased to live after a reign of one year and a few months. Sultan Muhammad, the brother and successor of Ismail, constructed four vaults all covered with gold at the mausoleum of the Eighth Imām, and the said diamond was placed in one of the said newly constructed vaults. Three years after the aforesaid event, Abdulla Khan Uzbek raised an insurrection in Samarkand and attacked Khorassan with a large army. The invader perpetrated terrible atrocities and put to the sword all the nobles who had, out of fear, taken shelter in the sepulchre of the Imām. The assassin even went a step further he despoiled the sarcophagus of its vast wealth, and that evil-fated diamond. And, it so turned out, that the spoiler had to die in his shoes soon. His son and successor, Abdul Momin Khan, to whom the diamond went, met with a similar fate. Later on when the sinister diamond was taken to Muhammad, the even-handed and noble ruler of the Byzantine Empire, he dropped off in the prime of his life, and his country was confronted with serious catastrophe. Not only were the Turkish nobles up in arms against their ruler, but the country had to launch upon hostilities with the Persians, and the latter had always the upper hand. Ultimately the Turkish nobles put that diamond into the hands of Shah Abbas of Persia.

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HINDU CONCEPTION OF DHARMA IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

By BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA

Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura, the fourteenth century *Nibandhakāra* of Mithilā, wrote a complete digest of Smṛti, divided into seven parts, of which the *Kṛtyaratnākara*[1] is one. This *Kṛtyaratnākara,* before prescribing the religious duties of a Hindu, appropriate to the twelve months of the year, devotes some 73 pages (p. 7 to p. 79) to introductory matter, including the "determination of dharma." It first quotes a text of Manu[2] which says that people are to follow that *dharma* which is practised by the learned, the great men, and by persons devoid of passion or hatred and which is respected by them in their very hearts. It next quotes a text of Viśvāmitra[3] to the effect that *dharma* is that, the practice of which is applauded by persons conversant with the Scriptures and *adharma* is that, the practice of which is decried by them. It then quotes a lengthy passage of Āpastamba[4] which means that determination of *dharma* is a difficult thing and *dharma* is the practice of the good, the polite, the aged, the unavaricious and the prideless persons. It last quotes a text of the Bhaviṣyapurāṇa[5] which says that *dharma* is the means of attaining prosperity. The *Kṛtyaratnākara* then says[6] that the term *"dharma"* is applicable to three kinds of *dharmas,* viz., daily, casual and voluntary. It then further subdivides[7] *dharma* into *varṇadharma, āśramadharma,*

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1. Edited by MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛititīrtha, B.I., 1925.

2. विद्वद्भिः सेवितः सद्भिर्नित्यमद्वेषरागिभिः ।
हृदयेनाभ्यनुज्ञातो यो धर्मस्तं निबोधत ॥

3. यमार्याः क्रियमाणं हि शंसन्त्यागमवेदिनः ।
स धर्मो यं विगर्हन्ति तमधर्मं प्रचक्षते ॥

4. न सुरा न गन्धर्वा न पितरोऽयं धर्मोऽयमधर्म इति । .....सर्वजनपदेष्वेकान्तसमाहितमार्याणां वृत्तं सम्यग्विनीतानां वृद्धानामेवमलोलुपानामदाम्भिकानां वृत्तसाद्गुण्यं भजेतैवमुभौ लोकावभिजयतीति ।

5. धर्मः श्रेयः समुद्दिष्टं श्रेयोऽभ्युदयलक्षणम् ।

6. अयञ्च धर्मशब्दो नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यमित्याद्यग्निमनुसारेण क्रियापर इति बोद्धव्यम् ।

7. स तु पञ्चविधः प्रोक्तो वेदमूलः सनातनः
वर्णधर्मः स्मृतस्त्वेक आश्रमाणामतः परम ।
वर्णाश्रमस्तृतीयस्तु गौणो नैमित्तिकस्तथा ।

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varṇāśramadharma, guṇadharma and *nimittadharma.* Investiture with the sacred thread (upanayana) is an instance of varṇadharma, because only the three twice-born classes (varṇa) are entitled to it. "Begging and carrying a staff" is an instance of āśramadharma, because it is resorted to in the fourth stage (āśrama) of a man's life. "Wearing the girdle made of muñja" is an instance of varṇāśramadharma, because it is prescribed for the members of the twice-born classes at the time of their upanayana, which marks their entrance into the first stage of life, viz., *brahmacarya.* "Protection of the subjects by a duly installed king" is a guṇadharma, because it is concomitant with royalty which is an attribute (guṇa), while expiation (prāyaścitta) is a nimittadharma, whereas it relates to a particular incident (nimitta), viz., incurring of sin.

The *Kṛtyaratnākara* then lays down on the authority of Manu-Smṛti and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa the duties peculiar to the four castes (varṇas), which are to the effect that reading, teaching, making sacrifices, officiating in other's sacrifices, taking gifts and making gifts are the six-fold duties of a Brāhmaṇa, protection of subjects, making gifts, making sacrifices, reading and control of passions are the five-fold duties of a Kṣatriya, tending cattle, making gifts, making sacrifices, reading, trade, usury and cultivation are the sevenfold duties of a Vaiśya, while the only duty of a Śūdra is the ungrudging service of the three higher castes.

The duties common to all the castes have been collected by our author, Caṇḍeśvara, from the Kālikāpurāṇa, Nārada, Bṛhaspati. Viṣṇupurāṇa, Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Mahābhārata, Devala, Yājñavalkya, Devīpurāṇa, Manu and Dakṣa. The quotation from the Kālikāpurāṇa[8] is to the effect that Iṣṭa and Pūrta are the *dharmas* sanctioned by Smṛti, while those sanctioned by Śruti are handed down by tradition ; that Iṣṭa which means "sacrifice" confers worldly pleasure only, and that Pūrta which means "consecration of idols and reservoirs of water" confers pleasure and salvation on the person who consecrates. The quotation from *Viṣṇu*[9] purports that forgiveness, truth,

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8. इष्टापूर्त्तौ स्मृतौ धर्मौ श्रुतौ तौ श्रिष्टसम्मतौ।
प्रतिष्ठाद्यन्तयोः पूर्त्तमिष्टं यज्ञादिलक्षणम्।
भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदं पूर्त्तं मिष्टं भोगार्थसाधनम्॥

9. क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः।
अहिंसा गुरुशुश्रूषा तीर्थानुसरणं दया॥
आर्ज्जवं लोभशून्यत्व देवब्राह्मणपूजनम्।
अनभ्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते॥

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control (of desires), cleanliness, charity, control of the senses, abstinence from killing creatures, serving one's teacher and preceptor, visit to places of pilgrimage, pity, straightforwardness, absence of avarice, worshipping gods and Brāhmaṇas, and absence of malice are the *dharma* common to all the castes. The quotations from the rest are, more or less, paraphrases of the above two quotations.

The *Kṛtyaratnākara* then devotes three chapters to the effects, sources and requisites of *dharma* respectively.

In the chapter on the effects of *dharma,* the quotations from the Taittirīya Śruti, Manusmṛti, Vasiṣṭha and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa are significant. The quotation from the first[10] means that *dharma* is the support of the whole world, people resort to those who practise *dharma,* vices are cleared away by *dharma,* so they call *dharma* as the best. The quotation from the second[11] purports that a man derives fame in this life and corresponding happiness in the next by practising *dharma,* as laid down in the Śruti and the Smṛti. The quotation from the third[12] is to the effect that the virtuous man becomes praiseworthy in this world and attains heaven in the next. The quotation from the fourth[13] states that the practice of daily duties is necessary without any end in view, that of voluntary ones with a particular end in view and that of casual ones for the removal of vices.

Of the quotations in the chapter on the sources of *dharma,* those from Manu, Yājñavalkya, Mahābhārata and Hārīta are important. The quotation from Manu[14] is to the effect that the Vedas, the Smṛtis, good behaviour (Śīla), the conduct of the good who are conversant with the above and the unanimous verdict of the learned in a religious problem—are the sources of *dharma.* The quotation from Yājñavalkya[15] means that Śruti, Smṛti, good customs and one's own discretion in the case of a conflict of the Scriptures—are the sources of *dharma.* The

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10. धर्मो विश्वस्य जगतः प्रतिष्ठा, लोके धर्मिष्ठं प्रजा उपसर्पन्ति, धर्मेण पापमपनुदति, धर्मे सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितं तस्माद्धर्मं परमं वदन्ति ।

11. श्रुतिस्मृत्युदितं धर्ममनुतिष्ठन् हि मानवः ।
इह कीर्तिमवाप्नोति प्रेत्य चानुत्तमं सुखम् ॥

12. धार्मिकः प्रशस्यतामेति लोके प्रेत्य च स्वर्गभाक् भवति ।

13. फलं विनाप्यनुष्ठानं नित्यानामिष्यते स्फुटम् ।
काम्यानां स्वफलार्थन्तु दोषघातार्थमेव च ।
नैमित्तिकानां करणं विविधं कर्मणां फलम् ।

14. वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलं स्मृतिशीले च तद्विदाम् ।
आचारश्चैव साधूनामात्मनस्तुष्टिरेव च ।

15. श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रियमात्मनः ।
सम्यक् संकल्पजः कामो धर्ममूलमिदं स्मृतम् ॥

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interpretation of the term *Śīla,*[16] occurring in the Mahābhārata, has been utilised by our author to make the meaning of that very term, occurring in the text of Manu, clear. It is to the effect that the learned call the non-infliction of injury on all creatures either by mind or by action, showing favour to them and knowledge as *śīla.* The interpretation of the term *Śīla* by Hārīta[17] has also been appended by our author just after the interpretation of the Mahābhārata. It means that *Śīla* is of thirteen kinds, viz., (1) identification of the individual self with the Supreme self, (2) adoration of the gods, (3) adoration of the Fathers, (4) comeliness, (5) absence of the habit of mortifying others, (6) absence of malice, (7) mildness, (8) absence of harshness, (9) friendship, (10) sweet speech, (11) gratitude, (12) offering shelter to others and (13) salutation, and that these are as authoritative as customs.

Caṇḍeśvara then quotes a text of Yājñavalkya[18] to the effect that the four Vedas, the six auxiliaries of the Vedas, the Purāṇas, the Nyāya, the Mīmāṁsā and the metrical works of Dharmaśāstra are the fourteen sources of knowledge and of *dharma.* Our author then quotes a text of Jābāla[19] to the effect that in the case of a conflict between the Śruti and the Smṛti, the former should be respected. The quotation from Gautama[20] purports that in the case of a conflict between two texts of Smṛti, either of them may be respected.

The chapter on the requisites of *dharma* opens with a prose passage of Śaṅkhalikhita[21] which means that the requisites of *dharma* are proper place, time, procedure, requisite article, devotion, person and sacrifice, and that *dharma* with devotion and person stands in need of proper time and that the requisite of proper time can be done away with if the proper article is associated with devotion and person. This chapter of the *Kṛtyaratnākara* ends with a text of Vasiṣṭha[22] which means that *dharma* is that which is practised and customs are those which are followed in the Āryāvarta, i.e., in the area intervening between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas.

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16. अद्रोहः सर्वभूतानां कर्मणा मनसा गिरा। अनुग्रहश्च ज्ञानञ्च शीलमेतद्विदुर्बुधाः॥

17. ब्रह्मण्यता देवपितृभक्तता सौम्यता अपरोपतापिता अनसूयता मृदुता अपारुष्यं मैत्रता प्रियवादिता कृतज्ञता शरण्यता प्रणतिश्चेति त्रयोदशविधं शीलं एतस्याचारवत् प्रामाण्यम्।

18. पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः। वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश॥

19. श्रुतिस्मृतिविरोधे तु श्रुतिरेव गरीयसी। अविरोधे सदा कार्यं स्मार्तं वैदिकवत् सदा॥

20. तुल्यबलविरोधे विकल्पः।

21. तत्र धर्मलक्षणानि—देशः काल उपायो द्रव्यं श्रद्धा पात्रं त्याग इति समस्तेषु धर्मोदयः साधारणीऽन्यथा विपरीतः। श्रद्धापात्रसम्पन्नो धर्मः कालापेक्षः श्रद्धाद्रव्योत्पत्तिरिति कालः।

22. × × दक्षिणेन हिमवतः उत्तरेण विन्ध्यात् ये धर्मा ये आचारास्ते प्रतीतव्याः।

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TWO LIṄGARĀJA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

By DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Mr. J. C. Ghosh kindly gave me two estampages of records from the famous Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvara in the Purī District of Orissa. They had been prepared by Mr. Binayak Misra, like those published by myself and Mr. Ghosh I.C., Vol. III, p. 121 ff., As I shall show below, the records belong to the time of the Eastern Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III (1212-40=34 Aṅka years=28 regnal years), son of Rājarāja III (1198-1212 A.D.) and father of Narasiṁha I (1240-63 A.D.

I. *Record of the 34th Aṅka Year of Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III.*

The record covers a space 18"×17" and consists of ten lines of writing in proto-Bengali characters, each letter measuring about $1\frac{1}{4}$"×$1\frac{1}{4}$". Initial *e* and *a* and all consonants excepting *ś, bh, c, ṭh, ṭ, ṇ* and *h* resemble the corresponding modern Bengali characters. It is interesting that the letter *rū* and subscript *u* in *puruṣottama* (1.2) are almost like those now used in Bengali. With the exception of medial *i,* which is a curved stroke above the consonant, all other medial vowels are like their modern Bengali forms. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose. Below the record is a line written in modern Oriya characters. The only intelligible letters are *Śrī-rāma-yasa* which is possibly a name.

The record belongs to the *catustiṁmattama* (sic. *catustriṁśattama)* or 34th Aṅka year of a certain *Śrīmad-Anīyaṅkabhīmadeva.* The find-spot of the record, its palæographical standard and the fact that the king ruled at least upto his 34th Aṅka year (=28th regnal year) prove beyond doubt that this Anīyaṅkabhīmadeva is to be identified with the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III (1212-40 A.D.). According to the Kendupatna grant,[1] Anaṅgabhīma II ruled for 34 (Aṅka) years, while the Purī plates assign to him a reign-period of 33 (Aṅka) years only.[2] The present record dated in the king's 34th Aṅka year proves that he ruled at least for sometime more than 33 Aṅka years. Leaving, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth, twentieth,

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1. *J.A.S.B.,* Vol. LXV, p. 235 ff.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1116.
2. Bhandarkar's List, p. 152, note 5.

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twenty-sixth and thirtieth years of the Aṅka date, we get the regnal year 28. The record is, therefore, dated in the 28th and last year of the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III. According to Mr. M. Chakravarti,[3] the king reigned in Śaka 1133-60 (=1211-38 A.D.). But, as we have already shown,[4] Narasiṁha I, son of Anaṅgabhīma III, began to reign in Śaka 1161-62, i.e., about 1240 A.D.. It is, therefore, possible that Anaṅgabhīma began to rule in the early part of Śaka 1134=1212 A.D. The date of our record is, therefore, Śaka 1161-62, i.e., 1240 A.D. which was the last year of Anaṅgabhīma III and the first year of Narasiṁha I.

The most important point in the record is that it refers to the date as *śrī-mad-anīyaṅkabhīmadevasya pravarddhamāne puruṣottama-sāmrājye catustriṁśattame aṅke.* In place of *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya or pravarddhamāna-sāmrājya,* we have *pravarddhamāna-purusottama-sāmrājya.*[5] Puruṣottama is a name of the god in the celebrated temple at Purī.[6] It is, therefore, possible to suggest that Anaṅgabhīma III considered himself a deputy of the god Puruṣottama

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3. *J.A.S.B.*, 1903, p. 118.

4. *Indian Culture.*, III, p. 121 ff.

5. Mr. M. Chakravarti wrongly read the word *sāmrājye as sombhāṅkē (J.A.S.B.*, LXXII, pt. I, p. 115, No. 2). A mark that looks like the upper part of meidal *o* in modern Devanāgarī above the first letter led Chakravarti to read it as *so.* But all signs of medial *e* and *o* in the record resemble those in modern Bengali (e.g., *so* in *puruṣottama* in line 2) and the mark above the first letter is no part of it. It should be read as s[ā]. The third letter is undoubtedly *jyē.* The second letter was read by Chakravarti as *mbhā ;* but since the first and third letters are *sā* and *jyē* respectively and since the left stroke of *bh* is rather open and not so long as in other instance of *bh* occuring in the record (see, e.g., *bhīma* in line I and *bhagavate* in line 4), I think the correct reading would be *sāmbhrāye* (sic. *sāmrājye*).

6. A Bhuvaneśvara inscription of Bhānudeva (I) dated Śaka 1200 (*Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 151 ff.) says that Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma (III)'s daughter Candrikā was marrīed to the Haihaya prince Paramardin. After Paramardin died while fighting with the enemies of Narasiṁhadēva (i.e., Narasiṁha I, father of Bhānudeva I and son of Anaṅgabhīma III), Candrikā built a temple to Puruṣottama (Keśava) at Ekāmra (Bhuvaneśvara) and decorated Baladeva, Subhadrā and Kṛṣṇa with diadems and ornaments. This fact seems to show that the deities in the Purī temple which Candrikā seems to have imitated in hers were recognised as Baladeva, Subhadrā and Kṛṣṇa as early as the 13th century A.D.

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in whose name he was ruling the kingdom.[7] According to the *Madla-pañjī,* this king built or finished the temple of Jagannātha at Purī; the statement, however, has so far remained uncorroborated by epigraphic evidence.[8] The present record thus appears to support the statement in the *Madla-pañjī,* as it shows that the god was installed before 1240 A.D., i.e., in (or before, the time of Anaṅgabhīma III.

The record registers the gift of ten *paṭikās* (of land ?) in honour of Lord Kṛttivāsa, evidently the god in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvara. One *prastha* seems to have been intended to be utilised per day; thus 30 *prasthas* were possibly equal to 10 *paṭikās,* one *paṭikā* being equal to three *prasthas.* Two learned Brāhmaṇas named Añcan and Kalika appear to be mentioned in this connection. They were possibly the donors.

Text*

L. 1. Svasti [I*] Śrī-mad-Anīyaṅkabhīmadeva -
L. 2. sya pravarddhamāna-puruṣottama-s[ā] -
L. 3. mbhrājye catustiṁmattame[9] a -
L. 4. ṅke śrī-bhagavate Kṛttivāsase
L. 5. ekāntarīya-śrīpādacurale [pra] -
L. 6. [ti] dinaṁ prastha-parimito dasa-pa -
L. 7. ṭikā pradattā [I*] etat-pravāhārttha[ṁ]
L. 8. pāṭhibhyām=añcaṅ-kalikābhyā[ṁ*]
L. 9. ṣaṭ-cihnaka-kalantarīya-dra -
L. 10. vyeṇa dey=aiṣ=eti śvīkṛ[tam*I][11]
L. 11. .....Śrī-Rāmayasa[12].....

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*From estampage.

7. Cf. the case of the present ruler of Travancore who rules his kingdom as the deputy of Śrī-Padmanābha. Mahārāja Mārtaṇḍavarman (1729-58 A.D.) of Travancore is said to have become a religious devotee and dedicated his kingdom to god in the form of Śrī-Padmanābha (Viṣṇu) with himself and his successors in rulership as *dāsa* of God, administering the state in spirit of religious devotion.

8. Ray, *Dynastic History,* Vol. I, p. 478. Puruṣottama is also the name of the city or district of Purī, and it may possibly be suggested that *puruṣottama-sāmrājya* means a kingdom with its capital at Purī. But both the names Puruṣottama and Purī, may be parts of the whole which is possibly Puruṣottama-purī, and both of them are derived from the god in the Jagannātha temple.

9. Read *sāmrājye and catustriṁśattame.*

10. Read *paraṃita-*

11. Read *dravyena* and *svīkṛtam.*

12. This line is in modern Oriya characters.

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II. *Record of the 13th or 23rd Aṅka Year of Gaṅga Anaṅga-bhīma III.*

This record consists of eleven lines of writing and covers a space 16"×19". The letters in the first four lines are bigger in size ($1\frac{3}{4}$"×$1\frac{1}{4}$") than those ($\frac{3}{4}$"×$\frac{3}{4}$") in the following seven lines. There is no palæographical difference between the present record and the one already discussed, excepting in the fact that medial *i* in some cases resemble the corresponding sign in modern Bengali (e.g., *sti ti* in line 1, and *ṣi, ti* in line 2), while in other cases it resembles, as in the previous record, the sign for medial *i* in modern Oriya (e.g., *ri, kṣi, rtti* in line 8). This fact considered with the difference in size of letters in the upper and lower part of the record appears to suggest that it was incised by two different engravers. The letter *dh* (II. 2 and 9) and medial *au* (cf. *prau* in I. 6) resemble their modern Bengali forms. *B* and *V* have noe been discriminated. The language of the record is incorrect Sanskrit. The king mentioned in the record is Śrī-Bhīmadēva whom I am inclined to identify with Anaṅgabhīma III, as the latter is sometimes called simply Bhīma.[1] The fourth line of the record which contained the date is lost and undecipherable; but traces of the first two letters appear to read *trayō* which may either *trayōdaśa or trayōviṁśa.* The record thus seems to be dated in the 12th Aṅka year (=11th regnal year) or 23rd Aṅka year (=19th regnal year) of Anaṅgabhīma III. As we have seen, this king possibly began to rule in Śaka 1134=1212 A.D.. The date of our record, therefore, appears to be 1222 A.D. or 1234 A.D. Line 5 of the record reads [*prati**] *padi guruvārē magha-nakṣatre ;* but the names of month and *pakṣa* are lost with line 4. Only faint traces of four letters are visible at the end of the lost line and they may possibly be read as *jyeṣṭha-kṛṣṇa.* But the reading would remain extremely doubtful.

The record refers to the king as *catuḥ-samudr-ādhipati.* This is no doubt an empty boast ; but is shows the continuation and popularity of a very old Vedic idea. This early *catuḥ-samudra* however, has been explained by ancient writers as *antarīkṣa,* i.e., sky in the four directions. The Purāṇic conception of seven seas possibly owes its origin to the Vedic *Sapta-sindhu* (seven rivers). According to the *Purāṇas,*

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13. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIII. p. 150 ff.

14. See, e.g., *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* 54, 6-7 :

dvīpāt tu dvi-guṇo dvīpo jambuḥ plakṣo='tha śālmalaḥ /
kuśaḥ krauñcas=tathā śākaḥ puṣkara-dvīpa eva ca //
lavaṇ-ekṣu-surā-sarpir-dadhi-dugdha-jal-ābdhibhiḥ/
dvi-guṇair=dvi-guṇair=vṛddhyā sarvataḥ parivēṣṭitaḥ//

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the world consists of seven *dvīpas* (islands), each of which is encircled by a sea, and the islands themselves encircle one another. The central island called *Jambudvīpa* is according to the Purāṇic theory encircled by the Salt sea. The idea of *sārvabhauma* kingship is consistent with the idea that universal monarchs rule the earth *encircled* by the sea. The Maurya king, Aśoka, (middle of the 3rd century B.C.) appears to refer to the country which he ruled as Jambudvīpa in his Minor Rock Edicts (No. I). Even in a *gāthā quoted* in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,*[15] king Bharata Dauṣyanti is described as a conqueror of the whole *pṛthivī*. The old conception identifying a *sārvabhauma* king's kingdom with the whole earth with a sea round it together with the Vedic idea of *catuḥ-sumudra* may be responsible for the later idea of *catuḥ-samudr-āntaritā pṛthvī,* i.e., earth having (four) seas in all the (four) directions, viz., east, west, south and north.[15a] This conventional *catuḥ-samudra* conception however does not appear to have been very popular before the Gupta age. The Nasik inscription of the 19th year of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (middle of the 2nd century A.D.) calls the king's father Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi *tri-samudra-toya-pīta-vāhana.*[16] The epithet *catur-udadhi-salil-āsvādita-yaśas* applied to Samudragupta in records like the Bilsad pillar inscription of Kumāragupta (Gupta year 96=416 A.D.) and the verse

catuḥ-samudr-ānta-vilola-mekhalāṁ
sumēru-kailāśa-bṛhat-payōdharām /
vanāta-vānta-sphuṭa-puṣpa-hāsinīṁ
Kumāraguptē pṛthivīṁ praśasati //

referring to Kumāragupta in the Mandasore inscription[17] prove the popularity of the *catuḥ-samudra* idea in the Gupta period. In this connection it is interesting to note that the custom of expressing years of the date in words instead of numerals, which became popular in the early mediæval period, recognises *samudra* as meaning "four" and not "seven."

The record registers the gift of $2\frac{1}{4}$ *vāṭikās* of land in honour of Lord Kṛttivāsa by a person whose name appears to have been

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15. XIII, iii, 5. 13 (Weber's Edition, p. 994).

15a. India has *samudras* to the east, south and west, but not to the north. Prof. Raychaudhuri suggests that any lake or lakes to the north of India may have been wrongly concieved as *samudra,* and this fact may have been responsible for the conception of *India* having four seas in four directions.

16. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, p. 60.

17. *Corp. Ins. Ind.,* Vol. III, Nos. 10 and 18.

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Gopati Ira. The donor belonged to the Kāśyapa gotra and was the son of Śrī-Caṇḍī and grandson of one whose name is possibly *Śrī-Iśvara*. The land granted was in the southern part of a village called Ucisama. The object of the grant appears to have been to meet the expenses for a lamp to be perpetually burnt before the god Kṛttivāsa and for half-share of another such lamp.

L. 1. Oṁ[17] svasti iti [I*]bhagavat-pūjā-[niya]ma[18]-yu [ta]-
L. 2. catuḥ-sāgara-paryant-ādhipati-saka[ma[19]]-
L. 3. baddha[20]jan-ālaṁkṛta-rā[ja][21]-śrī-bhīmadēv-ābdē
L. 4. [trayo].....[22]
L. 5. [prati*] [padi] guruvārē magha-nakṣatrē kāśyapa-sagōtrasya
L. 6. [śrī*]-[ī]śvara-nāmnaḥ pautrasya kāśyapa-sagōtrasya [go]-
L. 7. Śrī-caṇḍī-nāmnaḥ putrasya kāśyapasagotrasya.
L. 8. pati-ira-nāmnaḥ ucisama[23]-grāmē dakṣiṇa-bhāgē
L. 9. [chchi]laṇḍō.mi[24] pād-ādhika-vāṭikā-dvayaṁ śrī-kīrttivā[25]-
L. 10. sa-dēvasy-āgrata[26] akhaṇḍa-dīp-aikaṁ ar[dhaṁ] dadāti
L. 11. .....kīye bhūmimāṇa.....

17a. Expressed by a symbol for which see *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 55-56; 202.

18. The reading of the word and the meaning of the passage is doubtful.

19. Chakravarti reads *sakala*. It may be a mistake for *sukarma*.

20. *Chakravarti's* reading *varṇa* is wrong.

21. *Rāja* may be a mistake for *rājya*.

22. Traces of four letters are faintly visible.

23. The first and second letters of the name may also read as *da* and *ri*.

24. *Chchi* is doubtful.

25. Read *Kṛttivāsa*.

26. Read *°to=khaṇḍa-* and *°kam=ardhaṁ*.

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VEDIC ANTIQUITY FROM ŚATAPATHA BRĀHMAṆA

By JOGESH CHANDRA RAY

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa furnishes astronomical evidence of Vedic antiquity from 6000 to 3000 B.C. The passage (II. 1. 2.) containing it deserves close examination.

After marriage our Aryan fore-fathers used to set up two fires in a specially constructed shed on a suitable piece of land. The shed was carefully oriented so that the top-beam always lay on the west to east line. A few feet to the east of the shed on an open piece of ground the north and south line and the west and east line were permanently marked by driving pegs at suitable distances (III. 5. 1). The ceremony of setting up the fires was performed immediately after sunrise and never at night. It was the most important ceremony in the life of the Aryan and cannot be expected to be performed on any day. The question, therefore, arises—in what season and on what dates the fires were set up?

The seasons appropriate for the ceremony are mentioned in II. 1 - 3. Unlike most Vedic texts the *ŚB.* takes the northern course of the sun to be that portion of his path which lies on the north of the celestial equator, that is, from the vernal to the autumnal equinox. This comprises the three seasons of Vasanta, Grīṣma and Varṣā. "These are like gods, and the sun moving in his northern path remains with the gods. The fires should be set up during this period." Vasanta is specially appropriate for Brāhmaṇas, Grīṣma for Kṣatriyas and Varṣā for Vaiśyas.

The author prescribes eight Nakṣatras under which the ceremony might be conducted (II.1.2.). These are the Kṛttikās, Rohiṇī, Mṛgaśīrṣa, Punarvasu, Pūrva-Phālgunī, Uttara-Phālgunī, Hastā and Citrā. The name Kṛttikās is in the plural form and denotes the cluster of seven stars composing the Nakṣatra, the Pleiades. The other names are to be similarly understood as the Nakṣatras or stars, and not of divisions. The expressions 'under the Kṛttikās,' 'under Rohiṇi' and so on certainly mean days to be determined by observation of the Nakṣatras. These cannot be nights on which the moon comes in conjunction with the Nakṣtras. For,1) the ceremony is conducted after sun-rise and never at night ;2) as the moon passes over the twenty-seven Nakṣatras in twenty-seven days it is with them every month and thus also in the three prohibited seasons ; 3) there is no reason why the eight

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Nakṣatras are to be repeated at intervals of sixteen days, sometimes the same Nakṣatra coming twice in the same month ; 4) the number of days thus found even if restricted to the first three seasons, will be about fifty,—too many to be considered sacred.

The expression 'under the Kṛttikās' means the day on which the Kṛttikās become first visible before sun-rise. It is the day of the *Udaya* of the Nakṣatra, its heliacal rising. The other Nakṣatras are to be understood in the same way. There are thus only eight days in the period of six months, prescribed for the ceremony, of which Punarvasu is the day for the setting up of the fires of the second time, when the first has proved inauspicious within a year. That the Nakṣatras are those of the sun is also inferred from the statement that they are suns and that the sun is itself a Nakṣatra (II. 1. 2. 19).

The eight Nakṣatras are not consecutive. Ārdrā before Punarvasu, and Puṣyā, Aśleṣā and Maghā' after Punarvasu are wanting. Ārdrā in ancient times formed a part of the Mṛga Nakṣatra and is thus included in it. But what may be the reason of the exclusion of Puṣyā, Aśleṣā and Maghā ? Probably, the recommended eight Nakṣatras had traditional sanction behind them, having in former times been the Nakṣatras of sacrifices. The legendary stories related of many of them, especially of Mṛgaśīrṣa and Citrā, point to very ancient periods. This conjecture finds remarkable support in the list of the Nakṣatras itself. If will be seen that barring the Kṛttikās when the second, third and fourth were the Nakṣatras of the vernal equinox, the second four were those of the corresponding summer solstice. Thus

Rohiṇī.....Pūrva-Phālgunī (3160 B.C.).
Mṛgaśīrṣa.....Uttara-Phālgunī (3900 B.C.).
Punarvasu.....Hastā (5500 B.C.).
.....Citrā (6300 B.C.).

(The dates are those of the summer solstice of the Nakṣatras).

The Kṛttikās were not at the vernal equinox when Pūrva-Phālgunī was at the summer solstice. They came later to the place about 2300 B.C. when the Maghās became the Nakṣatra of the summer solstice. It is, therefore, clear that the Kṛttikās came to be recognized as a Nakṣatra of sacrifice before 2300 B.C., when the Maghās had no place in the calendar. Aśleṣā and Puṣyā came very much later. The omission of these three Nakṣatras shows that only those Nakṣatras were selected which had some history behind them. That history lay in the fact that they were in former times Nakṣatras under which important sacrifices were performed. They could be the Nakṣatras of the vernal equinox and summer solstice. Here then is a glimpse of Vedic antiquity ranging from 6000 to 3000 B.C.,

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The latest date is conclusively proved by the Kṛttikās. The author of the *ŚB.* gives three reasons in favour of the Nakṣatra. These are : 1) Agni is the deity of the Kṛttikās ; 2) all other Nakṣatras are composed of one, two, three or four stars, but the Kṛttikās of the largest number ; 3) the Kṛttikās do not swerve from the eastern direction, while all other Nakṣatras do. The third characteristic enables us to compute the date of the observation.

At present the Kṛttikās rise more than 24^0 north of the east point of the horizon. In 3000 B.C. they rose from the east point. A deviation of two or three degrees either to the north or the south of the east point which happened in 500 years would not be noticeable. Hence it may be said that for 500 years on either side of 3000 B.C. the Kṛttikās rose from the east point. They would be seen every year for five months and a half rising from the east point. In about 3250 B.C. the twenty-seven Nakṣatras were designed and it was probably about this time that the peculiar position of the Kṛttikās was first noticed. In 3000 B.C. the Kṛttikās rose an hour before the sun above the horizon in the last week of March, which is the first week of Vasanta, agreeing with the time desired. The Kṛttikās, therefore, led the other Nakṣatras. At present the heliacal rising of the Kṛttikās takes place far beyond the limit of Vasanta.

The Śatapatha passage was first pointed out and discussed by Shankar B. Dikshit in the *Indian Antiquary* (XXIV, August, 1895), and also in his History of Indian Astronomy (Mārāṭhi, 1869). The interpretation that the Kṛttikās rose from the east point was accepted also by Tilak and Jacobi. The statement that Kṛttikās 'do not swerve' from the eastern direction is in the present tense. This led the three scholars to infer that the *ŚB.* is as old as 3000 B.C. This is not correct. The *ŚB.* is much later than the Taittirīya Saṁhitā whose date is now known to be 2449 B.C. At the time of the composition of the *ŚB.*, they must have been rising more than 30^0 north of the east point. For instace, in 1850 B.C. the Kṛttikās were 6^0 north of the celestial equator and rose heliacally at Lat. 28^0 N at the end of the first week of April. In 1850 B.C. Aśvinī rose due east as the Kṛttikās did before. But it had not the sanctity of age and could not replace the Kṛttikās. The author of the Brāhmaṇa simply repeated what had once been a matter of common observation associated with sacrifice. It is well known that the dates of religious observances are not changed with the change of time. Our calendar furnishes numerous examples of this fact.

Professors Macdonell and Keith (*Vedic Index* under Nakṣatra) consider the Śatapatha observation inadequate and untrustworthy evidence of dates since "the Baudhāyana Śrauta-sūtra (XVIII. 5) has a

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similar notice coupled with another notice, which according to Barth, would only be true somewhere in or after the sixth century A.D." If the interpretation of the passage has given this impossible result, it has to be revised. Professor Winternitz (*History of Indian Literature,* Vol. I. page 295) writes: "The most serious objection to the argument about the Pleiades was that the Indians of the most ancient times were concerned only with the position of the Nakṣatras in relation to the moon and not to the sun, and that there is not a single trace of any observation of the equinox to be found in the most ancient times. The passage in which we read that the Pleiades 'do not swerve from the East' should probably not be interpreted as meaning that they rose 'due east' (which would have been the case in the third millenary B.C. and would point to a knowledge of the vernal equinox). The correct interpretation is more likely that they remain visible in the eastern region for a considerable time—during several hours—every night; which was the case about 1100 B.C."

But every one of these three opinions is contradicted by the author of the *ŚB*. He uses Nakṣatras for defining the position of the sun, divides the ecliptic into northern and southern halves at the equinoxes, and excludes all Nakṣatras but the Kṛttikās from the eastern direction. The only knowledge necessary for the observation is that of the east point of the horizon. The author must have this knowledge before he could make the statement. In the present case, however, these questions do not at all arise. The construction of the shed is already finished and there is nothing in the text to show that it is oriented by the Pleiades. Besides, it is not clear why one should find the eastern line for the second time by a star which constantly changes its place and construct the hut in the darkness of a night, when the line is already known and drawn on the ground.

In the passage of the Baudhāyana Śrauta-sūtra (XXV. 5. W. Caland, Calcutta), on which Professor Winternitz has relied for his theory of orientation, there are mentioned, besides the Kṛttikās, Śravaṇā and the interval between Citrā and Svātī. If by "the interval between Citrā and Svātī" is meant the middle point of the line joining the two stars, the question of orientation by an invisible point becomes impossible.

The Baudhāyana passage may, however, be simply interpreted in the same way as the Śatapatha. The author gives directions as to the selection of site and examination of the ground on which the shed for sacrifices should be erected. After this, the question naturally arises as to the date or dates on which the construction should begin. He gives three dates according to three authorities, namely the date to be found by observation of 1) the Kṛttikās which

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do not have the eastern direction, 2) Śravaṇā, and 3) the interval between Citrā and Svātī.

Baudhāyana is believed to have been a native of Deccan. Let us suppose that he lived at a place under Lat. 15° N and in 1000 B.C. It is found that the Kṛttikās rose an hour before the Sun on April 24, Śravaṇā on December 21, Citrā on September 17, and Svātī on September 26. It is obvious from these dates that the intention was to fix the dates for the construction of the shed on the day of the vernal equinox, winter solstice and autumnal equinox. The last date could not be found either by Citrā or Svātī. The correct date lay between the two, i.e., on September 22. For obvious reasons, no date was given for the summer solstice when the rains commence. The Kṛttikās long ceased to show the vernal equinox. The qualifying phrase 'they do not leave the eastern direction' is merely a sacred memory of the past and was probably borrowed from the *ŚB*. The remarkable coincidence of the dates of the autumnal equinox and the winter solstice suggests that the Baudhāyana Śrauta-sūtra was composed in the Deccan about 1000 B.C. A place in northern India and a later date would not satisfy the crucial point, the middle day between Citrā and Svātī. For instance, in 500 B.C. and at Lat. 25° N Citrā gives September 26, while Svātī September 20, reversing the order.

The date of the Kṛttikās of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has been found in three different ways. It preceded the date of the summer solstice in the Maghās. It is the date when they rose in the eastern direction and when their heliacal rising took place in the first week after the vernal equinox. The fact that Agni presided over them shows that a sacrifice was performed on the day of rising. This day cannot be any other than the day of vernal equinox. Thus the Kṛttikās form one of the series of analogous land-marks which began with Punarvasu which was known as Aditi in the Ṛgveda.*

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*A chapter from the author's *Astronomical Landmarks of Indian Antiquity* in preparation.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BHĀSA AND KĀLIDĀSA

By Asoke Kumar Bhattacharyya

The name of Bhāsa in recent years after the memorable discovery of the thirteen Trivandrum plays has been one to conjure with in Sanskrit literature. He occupies a place, according to some, in the highest ranks of the litterateurs of ancient India not only because his has been the primal attempt in the field of dramatic literature but also as it is he alone who shows us in so remote an age the real distinction between drama and poetry. For, his works really stand apart as the embodiment of action, not sentiment, represented in the most effective prose and not in charming verses. It is indeed the most remarkable fact about Bhāsa that he is a dramatist out and out. There have been since his time Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, Śūdraka and Viśākhadatta, but none so fiery in conversations, so spirited in language and so real in portraiture.

But criticism in this strain must necessarily involve the questions of identity of the real poet Bhāsa with the author of the Trivandrum plays, of the unity of the authorship of all the thirteen plays as also of the chronological priority of Bhāsa to Kālidāsa and others. These and such other questions are by themselves great problems which remain yet unsettled[1] and it should be made clear at this point that the first two conditions are assumed here and the third has been left where it is for our present purpose of a literary criticism.

The Sanskrit dramatic literature has not yet been traced to its true genesis. The orthodox theory of its revelation to the sage Bharata is on the one hand merged in mystery and the attempt of some modern scholars to attribute it to the puppet-play[2] or the dialogue-hymns[3] of the Ṛgveda is highly unconvincing on the other. Whatever may be its origin, it is, however, admitted on all hands that the character of the majority of Sanskrit dramas has been primarily romantic rather than heroic or pathetic. And if we are to classify the Sanskrit dramatists according to the theme of their plays, they

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1. Pisharoti, IHQ., I. 105 and V. 552; Barnett, JRAS., (1919) pp. 233ff. and (1921) pp. 587ff. Contrast: Thomas, JRAS., (1922) pp. 79ff.; Keith, IA., III, 49f. Sanskrit Drama, p. 93.
2. R. Pischel—The Home of the Puppet-play, p. 12.
3. A. A. Macdonnel—A History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 346.

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fall mainly into two categories, namely, dramatists of sentiment and dramatists of action. Those who show an attempt to subordinate the dialogue side of the play to the sentiment that pervades the whole narrative, belong to the former class with Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti as their representatives; while Bhāsa along with Śūdraka typifies the latter group that stands for action and vigour.

The real reason for this absence of action in most of the Sanskrit dramas lies in the fact that the primary aim of these plays has been to engender in the audience the sentiment that the drama principally represents and not to represent the real life of the society. This is also supported by the affluence of poesy noticeable in these plays often at the sacrifice of the histrionic conventions and dramatic effect. Thus in his Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam, Kālidāsa fails to elicit the interest of the audience in the scene where he depicts the mute love of Duṣyanta for Śakuntalā in the hermitage in the first act of the drama. Bhāsa, on the other hand, succeeds in arresting the attention of the audience by the vigorous flow of fiery conversations in the majority of his plays like दूतवाक्यम्, पञ्चरात्रम्, कर्णभारम्, मध्यमव्यायोगः and बालचरितम्। Further it should be noted that the little amount of conversation worth the name that we find in the fifth act of the Śakuntalam or in the trial scene in the Mālavikā, has been introduced only to heighten the interest in the prevailing sentiment of the play rather than to impart a true dramatic colour to it.

If, again, at any stage in the progress of Sanskrit drama the ideal happens to be this sentimentality of the dramatists, if poetry instead of action is regarded as the life of the drama, then Kālidāsa's place as a dramatist is unique and unassailable. With all the touches of pathos that contribute to the growth of erotic sentiment—of which he is perhaps the greatest exponent—and all the natural and moving yet restrained utterances of love,[4] Kālidāsa has drawn the picture of a royal courtship which still fascinates mankind as being of a cosmopolitan character. There are, no doubt, plays ascribed to Bhāsa, which are designated as dramas of the erotic sentiment like Svapnavāsavdattam and Avimārakam, but they are rather tame in the description of active love. Bhāsa, more like Bhavabhūti than Kālidāsa,

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4. Śakuntalam—तुज्झ ण आणे हिअअ मह उण कामो दिवा वि रत्तिं वि।
णिग्घिण तवइ बलीअं तुइ वुत्तमणोरहाइ अङ्गाइ॥ III. 13.

also, तपति तनुगात्रि मदनस्त्वाम् etc., III. 14. Similarly in the Mālavikāgnimitram too, मालविका दुल्लही पिओ, etc., II. 4 and in the Vikramorvaśīyam, नितान्तकठिनाम् etc., II. 10.

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shows a distinct leaning towards the pathetic side of the erotic sentiment—a fact which proves Bhāsa to be the product of a heroic age, of which pathos is the natural reaction.

Here again in the delineation of the deepest affliction of the human heart, Bhāsa shows a master-hand. Thus in no simpler and more pathetic way could the sorrow of King Udayana have been expressed than in the following touching words :

दुःखं त्यक्तुं बद्धमूलोऽनुरागः
स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा याति दुःखं नवत्वम् ।
यात्रा त्वेषा यद् विमुच्येद बाष्पं
प्रामानृश्या याति बुद्धिः प्रसादम् ॥ Svap. IV. 6.

Coming to the other extreme of bold tragedy, we are probably not wrong to remark that Bhāsa's productions open up a new vista, as it were, in the whole range of Sanskrit drama where the heroic finds a place bordering on tragedy. The convention among the early dramatists seems to be that no play was allowed to end in tragedy and tragedy here meant even the non-fulfilment of the desired goal and not always merely painful catastrophe. Thus we find it in keeping with this tradition even in the Abhijñānaśakuntalam, though the tragic element pervades a great portion of it in the working up of the curse of Durvāsā, yet it ends in the happy reunion of the separated lovers. So also in the Mālavikāgnimitram and the Vikramōrvaśīyam, though the note of love-affliction vibrates all through, yet the end comes with happy rejoicings. Bhāsa also appears in all of his dramas not to have disturbed this tradition ; he has, moreover, gone further in that he seems to have considered the non-fulfilment of a promise made by a character of the drama as an additional feature of tragedy and to have avoided it in his Pañcarātram even by deviating from his source—the Mahābhārata.

This tradition noted above gradually came to be stereotyped by the codes of poetics and dramaturgy and unconsciously "there was a gradual preference of the subtle and the exquisite to the fervid and the spontaneous."[5] This, however, does not mean that the Sanskrit drama excludes tragedy entirely ; on the other hand, there is very often present the tragic element which conduces to the deepening of the principal sentiment. But what may be called tradition or rules in such matters, Bhāsa has voilated boldly. In his Ūrubhaṅga he has allowed the tragic scene to be shown openly as also he has not

5. Dr. S. K. De—The Sanskrit Drama (The Cultural Heritage of India, vol. III).

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hesitated to depict the death of the wrestlers and King Kaṁsa in Bālacaritam on the stage. Yet, after all this, there is no denying the fact that all the plays of Bhāsa, not to speak of Kālidāsa, end in pure comedy, the intervening tragedy being merely a hiatus in the æsthetic pleasure. And this is perhaps what Prof. Wilson suggests when he says, "the Hindus in fact have no tragedy—a defect that subverts the theory that tragedy necessarily preceded comedy."[6]

The so-called Aristotelian Unities of Place, Time and Action are no more regarded in the Sanskrit drama than in the writings of European dramatists like Shakespeare. The unity of action though recognised in most of the Sanskrit plays, the unities of place and time are conspicuous by their absence. As for the unity of action Bhāsa finds little opportunity of introducing irrelevant episodes in his playlets and Kālidāsa's minor episodes like the quarrel between the royal musicians in the Mālavikā and the curse of Durvāsā and the ring-episodes in the Śakuntalam can hardly be said to be redundant or unconnected, so that we may with Prof. Wilson safely remark that the unity of action is fully recognized in the works of these two early Sanskrit dramatists.[7]

No dramatist perhaps violates the unity of place more outrageously than Kālidāsa. In both his Vikramōrvaśīyam and Śakuntalam the scene shifts from earth to heaven, not to speak of the changes from the royal palace to the pleasure-garden or the hermitage. To the credit of Bhāsa, however, his one-act plays are naturally free from this fault and as for the longer ones he seems rather eager to preserve the unity than to destroy it, the departure only in the Abhiṣeka being a little marked.

In Kālidāsa, again, the unity of time has been destroyed more radically than anywhere else. The time that elapses between the first act and the sixth act of the Śakuntalam is not less than five years and that between the lst and the 5th acts of the Vikramōrvaśīyam is as long as fifteen or sixteen years. In Bhāsa's one-act plays the unity is obviously not destroyed though in his longer dramas like Abhiṣeka and Bālacaritam he rather goes beyond the limit.

All the three plays of Kālidāsa show a close adherence to the conventions of dramaturgy in matters of constituent elements as also in artificial devices. Thus the Mālavikāgnimitram, the Vikramōrvaśīyam and the Śakuntalam—all begin with the Nāndi verse and have the

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6. H. H. Wilson—Introduction to "Some Select Specimens of the Hindu Theatre."

7. Prof. Wilson—Ibid. p. XXV.

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orthodox way of unfolding the plot of the play in gradual steps marked by the artifices of the five jnnctures (**सन्धि**-s), and the clever ruses like the **वीजस्थान** (Śak. I. 12.), **विष्कम्भक, पताकास्थान** (Śak. IV. 2) with the conventional characterization of the *dramatis personæ* and an end famous for its tradition. Bhāsa, however, in his peculiar way opens the plays with the Sūtradhāra and excepting some plays like **दूतवाक्यम्**, **कर्णभारम्**, etc., he betakes himself to the ornamentation of the main body of the narrative by the insertion of **वीज** (Svap. I. 11), **पताकास्थान** (Abhis. V. 10, Pratig. II) and **प्रवेशक**-s. In **स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्**, **प्रतिमा** and **प्रतिज्ञानाटकम्** the poet in a unique manner introduces the principal characters of the play through the opening verse by means of what is called Mudrālaṅkāra. The end of the Bhāsa-plays is also in keeping with the tradition though it is the same in some of them like **स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्**, **अविमारकम्**, **अभिषेक, बालचरितम्**, **दूतवाक्यम्**, **पञ्चरात्रम्** and **प्रतिज्ञानाटकम्**।

To Kālidāsa, it seems, many later developments of the theatrical art were known[8] and the stage-directions he gives in his plays are as simple as they are effective though at some places they are difficult to carry out on the modern stage. Bhāsa, on the other hand, proves to be rather tame in so far as his stage directions are concerned, for they appear quite mediocre.

Apart from the considerations of the stage-craft, Bhāsa and Kālidāsa differ by a marked degree in the presentation of the characters of a play. The most outstanding feature of Kālidāsa's genius is that he creates characters in pairs who by contrast maintain their own individuality. Thus Anasūyā and Priyambadā both bred at the same hermitage show a difference in character which is the result of a conscious attempt on the part of the poet. If Priyambadā is a frivolous and loving playmate of the heroine, Anasūyā is a more sober and intelligent well-wisher of hers. So again in Sāradvata and Śārṅgarava we find the two counter-parts of an ancient sage—one represnts the sense of responsibility and forgiveness and the other, the burning sacred fire within. In the Mālavikāgnimitra, too, Dhāriṇī and Irāvatī present two strikingly contrasted pictures of royal consorts —Irāvatī, a spiteful sharp woman, and Dhāriṇī, a queen who was strict and devoted. In Bhāsa, on the other hand, though such pairs of contrasting characters are not noticeable, yet they make up with their

8. He mentions **कलिक** in **मालविका**।

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vices and virtues a set of characters like Avimāraka, Udayana and Cārudatta whose individuality as men of this world cannot be denied.[9]

Kālidāsa's characters move about in atmospheres that themselves account for the subsequent development in their motives and manners. In other words, Kālidāsa shows a superb concordance between the inner and the outer world. Thus he makes Śakuntalā appear in the flower-garden of Kaṇva lavishly bedecked with vernal beauty at the pleasing hour of the dusk and the feeling of love is but the natural result. In the third act again, as in the outer world, the scorching sun burns bright during the midday, the hearts of the separated lovers wither love-sick.

Throughout the progress of the play Kālidāsa in his Śakuntalam has given, where possible, a foreboding of coming events in appropriate and witty cast of smaller episodes. Thus in the opening verse of the fourth act, the disciple of Kaṇva unknowingly hints at the ruin of the hitherto happy lot of Śakuntalā by the disclaimer of the king, which is also more closely implied in the statement of Anasūyā (IV. 6). More cleverly, again, the mind of the audience is prepared for the coming pang of separation by the significant song of Haṁsapadikā in the beginning of the fifth act. This suggestiveness known in western dramaturgy as the dramatic irony is as remarkable and effective in Kālidāsa as it is rare and flat in Bhāsa. It is indeed the greatest of irony that Duṣyanta—the great lover—fails to recognize his beloved Śakuntalā penetrating the barriers of a curse which neither did even know and neither had the power to transgress. It is this that makes us sympathise not only with Śakuntalā but with Duṣyanta as well. In Svapnavāsavadattam on the other hand though this pang of separation runs all through, yet the cause of separation is the result of a well-wrought political plan. It is thus not a case of irony as Prof. Kale[10] supposes, but an example of supreme martyrdom of which the heroine is painfully proud. This is not an irony, because though the king is unaware of the existence of Vāsavadattā yet there works no superhuman agent in this and at least on one side there is a definite human motive in bringing about the separation, and the heroine is fully conscious of it.

To remove the tension of feeling, very rarely a minor episode and more frequently the character of the "jester" or the Vidūṣaka is introduced. Besides the conventional traits in their character,

9. A. D. Pusalkar—The Journal of the University of Bombay, May, 1934, p. 181.

10. Introd. to Sv. by Prof. Kale. Also contrast Prof. Devadhar—Plays ascribed to Bhāsa—their authenticity and merits, p. 16.

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Kālidāsa's Vidūṣakas of all the three plays are each of a special type. The Vidūṣaka in the Śakuntalam is of more or less a serio-comic nature far removed from the field of the love-struggle of the hero, that in the Vikramorvaśīyam represents a helpless foolish character unsuccessfully trying to help the hero in his love-career, and that in the Mālavikā, the most elevated of the three, is a witty jester of the play and shrewd mate of the hero. Bhāsa, as a poet of heroism, on the other hand, shows very little skill in bringing out to full light the character of Vidūṣaka both as a jester and as an active helper in the hero's love-career. The Vidūṣaka of the Avimāraka, however, shows here and there the characteristics of the traditional jester as elaborated in books of dramaturgy of later ages. He is there 'affording amusement in society'—in the very words of the hero. But the most note-worthy fact about Bhāsa is that his sense of quiet humour[11] was manifest in places more than one in many of his dramas apart from the characterization of the jester; and the scenes of the Gātrasevaka in Pratijñānāṭakam and of Hiḍimbā meeting Bhīma in the Madhyamavyāyoga are outstanding in this connection. In this he quite legitimately claims the compliment paid to him भासो दासः। Thus Kālidāsa's humour smells of artificiality—it is more conventional than spontaneous, while Bhāsa shows a genuine earnestness for the appreciation of the element of humour and as a result he has been able to produce really comic scenes.

Unlike modern playwrights, the Sanskrit dramatists of yore often had recourse to some supra-human agency in order to heighten the dramatic effect or to serve some dramatic purpose. Thus in the Vikramorvaśīyam the 'Saṅgamanīya maṇi' serves to shorten the period of suffering of Urvaśī turned into a creeper from some fifty years to a few days. In the Śakuntalam, too, the trees are said to bring forth garments and ornaments for Śakuntalā and the apparent dramatic impasse is solved by Kaṇva being informed of his daughter's marriage by a heavenly voice. Nonetheless interesting, however, is the assent of the sylvan deity put forth through the cuckoo's note and the subsequent benediction of an earthly voice. But here, as in many other respects, Bhāsa proves to be too realistic a poet to indulge in such weaknesses with any amount of frequency, though the 'gem' in Avimāraka bears all the characteristics of a supernatural element.[12]

The language of Bhāsa in contradistinction to that of Kālidāsa is in the first place unbounded by any of the cross-fetters of an artifi-

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11. Keith, Sanskrit Drama, p. 109.

12. A. D. Pusalkar, The Journal of the University of Bombay, May, 1934, p. 201.

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cial convention. The affluence of studied poetry garbed in gorgeous rhetoric which marks the works of Kālidāsa has no charm for Bhāsa. The Alaṁkāras used by Bhāsa are the simple ones and they are mostly upamā, utprekṣā, anumāna and arthāntaranyāsa. And indeed, for Bhāsa who is out to tell the world "the real nature of things" with the details drawn out faithfully, the slightest shadow of rambling rhetorical veil will appear quite contradictory to the spirit of the age he lived in.[13] No doubt Kālidāsa's close and minute observation of nature and the human mind in all their subtleties are totally absent in Bhāsa, yet the details presented with the high-flown similes and metaphors,[14] have taken the place of the simple and life-like delineations of Bhāsa as in that of Sītā in Abhiṣeka—

असितभुजगकल्पां धारयन्तेयकवेणीं
करपरिमितमध्या कान्तसैसक्तचित्ता ।
अनशनकृशदेहा वाष्पसंसिक्तवक्त्रा
सरसिजवनमालेवातये विप्रविद्धा ॥

and of Kuraṅgī in Avimāraka—

रोगादकालागुरुचन्दनार्द्रा
विमुक्तभूषागतहावभावा ।
विभातिनिर्व्याजमनोहराङ्गी
वेदश्रुतिर्हेतुविवर्जितेव ॥ V. 1.

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13. The description of कुरङ्गी in अविमारक can be well cited as an example—

सव्य करे सभुपवेश्य मुखं सुदीनं
कालं मनोभवसहायममऽथमाणा ।
व्यया विचिन्तयति किञ्चिदलोलदृष्टि-
बौष्पं निवारयितुमूर्ध्वमवेक्षमाणा ॥

14. Frazer, A Literary History of India, p. 285.

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It is remarkable that Bhāsa uses prose more often than verses and even his verses are characterized by a "lucidity not dissimilar to prose."[15] These prose pieces are again interwoven with soliloquies which are as true to life as dramatically effective. Bhāsa's heroic tendency is reflected in his forceful language as when he describes Vālin in the Abhiṣeka-nāṭakam —

सन्दष्टौष्ठश्चण्डसंरक्तनेत्रो
मुष्टिं कृत्वा गाढमुद्वृत्तदंष्ट्रः ।
गर्जन् भीमं वानरो भाति युद्धे
संवर्ताग्निः सन्दिधक्षुर्यथैव ॥ I. 13.

and in the speech of Duryodhana in Dūtavākyam —

सृजसि यदि समन्तात् देवमायाः स्वमायाः
प्रहरसि यदि वा त्वं दुर्निवारैः सुरास्त्रैः ।
हयगजवृषभाणां पातनाज्जातदर्पो
नरपतिगणमध्ये वध्यसे त्वं मयाद्य ॥ I. 40.

Bhāsa, however, is not so skilful in choosing his similes from the spheres in which the speaker lives as is done by Kālidāsa in the Śakuntalam —

शुद्धान्तदुर्लभमिदं वपुराश्रमवासिनो यदि जनस्य ।
दूरीकृताः खलु गुणैरुद्यानलता वनलताभिः ॥

and धूमाकुलितदृष्टेरपि यजमानस्य पावक एव आहुतिः पतिता ।

While, again, on the one hand, Kālidāsa avoids describing battles, Bhāsa dilates on them as in Abhiṣeka (II. 1-18), Pañcarātram and Ūrubhaṅga (16-26). It is at all events a fault with Bhāsa that he often describes things in long trains *ad nauseam*. His descriptions of the sacrifice in Pañcarātram, of Ghaṭotkaca in Madhyamavyāyoga and of Laṅkā in Abhiṣeka are really carried to excess.

Bhāsa is a realist while Kālidāsa is an idealist. Bhāsa's descriptions are confined to some bold features of the object, while Kālidāsa is ever as cognisant of the facts as he is apt to breathe a new life to

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15. Ganapati Shastri, Introduction to Pratimā Nāṭakam.

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them.[16] Naturally, therefore, Bhāsa's descriptions of details produce a cumulative effect rather than arrest the imagination of the reader as is evidenced from his description of the sunset —

खगा वासोपेताः सलिलमवगाढ़ो मुनिजनः
प्रदीप्तोऽग्निर्भाति प्रविचरति धूमो मुनिवनम् ।
परिभ्रष्टो दूराद् रविरपि च संक्षिप्तकिरणो
रथं धावर्त्यासौ प्रविशति शनैरस्तशिखरम् ॥ I. 16.

in Svapnavāsavadattam as also the row of swans therein[17]—

ऋज्वायतां च विरलां च नतोन्नतां च
सप्तर्षिवंशकुटिलां च निवर्तनेषु ।
निर्मुच्यमानभुजगोदरनिर्मलस्य
सीमामिवाम्बरतलस्य विभज्यमानाम् ॥ IV. 2.

Yet Bhāsa cannot be said to lack imagination altogether. The flight of his imagination carries the readers at times to regions high above this mundane world. His plots and his imageries—his style and his diction—breathe of, at times, an atmosphere that is not earthly—of something that is suprasensual. These are verily like "the mural frescoes of Ajantā" in the words of Prof. Sukthankar, unsoiled as yet by the grosser technique of later ages. He has given us verses where his imagination holds us captive as if in a trance, as when he glorifies the dusk scene in the Avimāraka —

पूर्वातु काष्ठा तिमिरानुलिप्ता
सन्ध्यारुणा भाति च पश्चिमाशा ।
द्विधा विभक्तान्तरमन्तरिक्षं
यत्यर्द्धनारीश्वररूपशोभाम् ॥ II. 12.

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16. As, for example, in Śak.—

कार्या सैकतलीनहंसमिथुना स्रोतोवहा मालिनी
पादास्तामभितो निषण्णहरिणा गौरीगुरोः पावनाः ।
शाखालम्बितवल्कलस्य च तरोर्निर्मातुमिच्छाम्यधः ।
शृङ्गे कृष्णमृगस्य वामनयनं कण्डूयमानां मृगीम् ॥ VI. 16,
and Vikram. IV. 43.

17. Also, Bāl. I. 16, 19; Avim. V. 6, Abhiṣ, IV. 23,

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and the darkness of the night—

तिमिरमिव वहन्ति मार्गनद्यः
पुलिननिभाः प्रतिभान्ति हर्म्यमालाः ।
नभसि दशदिशो निमग्नरूपाः
प्लवतरणीय इवायमन्धकारः ॥ III. 4.

Thus in a word Bhāsa's imagination may be styled as passive and Kālidāsa's active in that Bhāsa reproduces merely the impression left on him while Kālidāsa's adds a gleam to it.

Nature appeals to both Bhāsa and Kālidāsa but Bhāsa's nature is not throbbing with life as is the case with Kālidāsa's. In the Śakuntalam and the Vikramorvśīyam Kālidāsa has created an animated world of nature sharing in the joys and sorrows of man. Every natural phenomenon, however minute, has a secret message for him. Indeed, with the atmosphere created in the Śakuntalam it may be called "a mytho-pastoral" sort of a Sanskrit play. In Avimāraka and Pratimā, however, nature has a moving sympathy for the human feelings and sentiments but she is there denied a life—a separate existence—living and dynamic. In Bhāsa the poet himself seems to sing the music of nature while in Kālidāsa nature seems to sing her *vivace* note to the poet. And this difference is well accounted for by that fundamental fact about these two early litterateurs that Kālidāsa is more a poet than a dramatist while Bhāsa is primarily a dramatist and poetry is his accident. Again, if Kālidāsa's hand excelled in delineating the tender feelings of the human heart and the subtle descrpition of nature, Bhāsa's genius roamed in all these spheres as well as in glowing and vivid descriptions of the horrors of the battle-field and the dire vicissitudes of life, though in none of these he is capable of being ranked foremost.

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A PHILOSOPHICAL INDEX TO THE CHĀNDOGYA UPANIṢAD

(*continued from* Indian Culture Vol. IV. No. I. pp. 130-136.)

By E. G. CARPANI

u—h

37. UTTAMAPURUṢA, m.: the supreme spirit ; —*ṣas* (nom. sg.), VIII. 12.3 :—*Evam eva eṣa samprasādo' smāc śarīrāt samutthāya paraṁ jyotir upasaṁpadya svena rūpeṇa abhiniṣpadyate. Sa uttamaḥ puruṣaḥ, sa tatra paryeti, jakṣat krīḍan ramamāṇaḥ strībhir vā yānair vā jñātibhir vā, na upajanaṁ smarann idaṁ śarīram. Sa yathā prayogya ācaraṇe yuktaḥ, evam eva ayam asmiñ śārīre prāṇo yuktaḥ.* (*See* Ch. U., VIII. 3.4 :—*eṣa samprasādo . . . etad brahmeti—the passage* recurs also at M.U., II. 2).

38. UDĀNA, m.: upward breath ; one of the five breaths of the body ; —*nas* (nom. sg.), III. 13.5 ; V. 23.1.

39. UDGĀTṚ, m.: Udgatar, priest ; chanter of the Saman ; —*tā* (nom. sg.), 1.2.13; 6.8; 7.8; 11.6; IV. 16.2.—*tāram* (acc. sg.), 1.10.10. —*tar* (voc. sg.), 1.10.10 ; 11.6. —*tṝn* (acc. pl.), 1.10.8.

40. UDGĪTHA, m.: chanting of the Sāma-Veda ; the office of the *Udgātṛ ;* —*thas* (nom. sg.), 1.1.1,2,3,4,5 ; 3.4,6,7 ; 5.1,5 ; 6.8 ; 9.2 ; 12.1; II. 2.1,2; 3.1; 4.1; 5.1; 6.1; 7.1; 8.2; 9.5; 10.3; 11.1; 12.1; 13.1; 14.1 ; 16.1 ; 17.1 ; 18.1 ; 19.1 ; 20.1 ; 21.1 ; 22.1. —*tham* (acc. sg.), I 1.7,8; 2.1,2,3,4,5,6,7,10,11,12,14; 3.1,2,3,5; 5.3; 9.2,3; 10.10; 11.6,7.—*the* (loc. sg.), 1.8.1.—*udgīthabhājin,* a.: sharing in the udgītha;—*jinas* (nom. pl. m.), II. 9.5.—*udgīthākṣara,* n.: a syllable of udgītha; (the syllable of); —*rāṇi* (acc. pl.), 1.3.6,7.

41. UPADRAVA, m.: calamity, accident (according to Monier —Williams, *"that which befalls suddenly, an unhappy accident");*—*vas* (nom. sg.), II. 8.2; 9.7; 10.3 :—*Yad ud iti sa udgīthaḥ, yat prati iti sa pratihāraḥ, yad upa iti sa upadravaḥ, yan ni iti tan nidhanam //8.2//. Atha yad ūrdhvam apara—ahṇāt prāg astamayāt sa upadravaḥ, tad asya āraṇyā anvāyattāḥ. Tasmāt te puruṣaṁ dṛṣṭvā kakṣaṁ śvabhram ity upadravanti, upadrava—bhājino hy etasya sāmnaḥ //9.7//. Udgītha iti try—akṣaram, upadrava iti caturakṣaram : tribhis tribhiḥ samaṁ bhavati, akṣaram atiśiṣyate try—akṣaram, tat samaṁ*

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//10.3//.—*upadravabhājin*, a.: sharing in calamity ; —*jinas* (nom. pl. m.), II. 9.7.

42. UPANIṢAD, f.: (implying originally sitting down [at the feet of the teacher]); esoteric doctrine ; (a certain class of writings which discuss the secret meaning of the Veda); mysterious meaning ; word of mystery ; (according to native authorities, *upa—ni—ṣad* means "to destroy ignorance by revealing the knowledge of the supreme spirit"); —*ṣat* (nom. sg.), VIII. 8.5. —*ṣadam* (acc. sg.), 1.13.4; VIII. 8.4:—*Dugdhe'smai vāg dohaṁ yo vaco dohaḥ, annavān anna—ado bhavati ya etām evaṁ sāmnām upaniṣadaṁ veda, upaniṣadaṁ veda* //13.4//. *Tau ha anvīkṣya Prajāpatir uvāca : An—upalabhya ātmānam an—anuvidya vrajataḥ Yatara etad—upaniṣado bhaviṣyanti devā vā asurā vā, te parābhaviṣyanti iti. Sa ha śānta—hṛdaya eva Virocano'surañ jagāma. Tebhyo ha etām upaniṣadaṁ provāca: Ātmā eva iha mahayyaḥ, ātmā paricaryaḥ ; ātmānam eva iha mahayann ātmānaṁ paricarann ubhau lokāv āpnoti imaṁ ca amuṁ ca iti* //8.4//. (According to Senart, *op. cit.*, p. 16, "pour *upaniṣad* le sens de "doctrine, science" semble ici[//....I. 13.4//]s'imposer. Il est caractéristique que l'expression soit justement employée à la fin d'une lecture où *upas* tient tant de place, ce qui paraît confirmer le sens de "connaître, savoir," que je revendique pour ce verbe").

43. KA, n.: happiness, joy, pleasure ; m.: the Inexplicable ; the Unknown ; the highest deity ; *kam* (nom.—acc. sag.), IV. 10.5:—*Prāṇo brahma, kaṁ brahma, khaṁ brahma iti. Sa ha uvāca : Vijānāmy ahaṁ yat prāṇo brahma, kaṁ ca tu khaṁ ca na vijānāmi iti. Te ha ūcuḥ : Yad vāva kaṁ tad eva kham, yad eva khaṁ tad eva kam iti. Prāṇaṁ ca ha asmai tad ākāśaṁ ca ūcuḥ.* (Cf. B.Ā.U., V. I.I).

44. KARMAN, n.: deed ; sacred work ; performance ; office ; (*"the obligation imposed by peculiarities of tribe, occupation, etc."*, —Monier—Williams—); —*ma* (nom. sg.), IV. 14.3; V. 2.8; VIII. 15.1. —*māṇi* (nom. —acc. pl.), 1.3.5; VII 3.1; 4.1,2; 5.1; 14.1; 26.1.—*maṇām* (gen. pl.), VII. 4.2.—*masu* (loc. pl.), V..2.9.

45. KṚTĀTMAN, a.: with self complete ; —*mā* (nom. sg.), VIII. 13.1. (*See* No. 1). —*kṛti*, f.: action, doing, work, production ; —*tis* (nom. sg.), VII. 21.1.:— *Yadā vai karoti, atha nistiṣṭhati. Na a—kṛtvā nistiṣṭhati, kṛtvā eva nistiṣṭhati. Kṛtis tv eva vijijñāsitavyā iti. ..—tim* (acc. sg.), VII. 21.1. (*See* M.U., VI. 8:— *eṣa vāva jijñāsitavyo'nveṣṭavyaḥ...*and Ch.U., VIII. 1.1; 7.3).

46. KRATU, m.: power, efficiency ; wisdom ; —*tum* (acc. sg.), III. 14.1:—*Sarvaṁ khalv idaṁ brahma. Taj—jalān iti śānta upāsīta.*

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Atha khalu kratu—mayaḥ puruṣaḥ. Yathā—kratur asmiṅl loke puruṣo bhavati, tathā itaḥ pretya bhavati. Sa kratuṁ kurvīta.—kratumaya, a.: endowed with wisdom ;—*yas* (nom. sg. m.), III. 14.1.

47. KHA, n.: hole, opening ; organ of sense ; sky, air ; *kham* (nom.—acc. sg.), IV. 10.5. *(See* No. 43).

48. CITTA, a.: observed ; thought ; understood ; n.: understanding ; attention ; reason ; —*tam* (nom.—acc. sg. n.), VII 5.1,2,3 ; 26.1:—*Cittaṁ vāva saṅkalpad bhūyaḥ. Yadā vai cetayate, atha saṅkalpayate, atha manasyati, atha vācam īrayati, tām u nāmni īrayati, nāmni mantrā ekaṁ bhavanti, mantreṣu karmāṇi //5.1//. Tāni ha vā etāni citta—ekāyanāni citta—ātmakāni citte pratiṣṭhitāni. . .//5.2//. --tāt* (abl. sg. n.), VII. 5.3; 6.1. —*tasya* (gen. sg. n.), VII. 5.3. —*te* (loc. sg. n.), VII. 5.2. —*tān* (acc. pl. m.), VII. 5.3. ——*cittavant,* a.: having understanding, reason ; sensible ; —*vān* (nom. sg.), VII. 5.2.—*cittātmaka,* a.: having reason or attention as nature ; —*kāni* (nom. pl. n.), VII. 5.2.—— *cittaikāyana,* a.: having meeting place in attention or in reason ; —*nāni* (nom. pl. n.), VII. 5.2.

49. JĪVA, a.: living ; m.: life, self, spirit ; —*vas* (nom. sg.), VI. 11.2,3. —*vena* (instr. sg.), VI. 3.2.3 ; 11.1. —*vās* (nom. pl.), VIII. 3.2. ——*jīvana,* a.: vivifying ; n.: life ; —*nam* (nom. sg n.), 1.9.3,4.—*jīvāpeta,* a.: lifeless ; with life gone away ; —*tam* (nom. sg. n.), VI. 11.3.

50. JÑĀTṚ, m.: knower ; —*tā* (nom. sg.), VIII. 5.1. —*jñāti,* m.: near relative ; —*tayas* (nom. pl.), VI. 15.1. —*tibhis* (instr. pl.), VIII. 12.3. *(See* No. 37). —*jñānavant,* a.: intelligent, wise ; —*vatas* (acc. pl.), VII. 7.2.

51. TAPAS, n.: heat ; penance ; mortification ; asceticism ; —(nom. sg.), II. 23.2; III. 17.4; V. 10.1.

52. TAMAS, n.: darkness ; —(acc. sg.), I. 3.1. —*asas* (abl. gen. sg.), 1.3,1; III. 17.7; VII. 26.2. (VII. 26.2: *cf.* M.U., VII. 11. (6); Muṇḍ. U., III. 1.8 ; M.U., V. 2,6 ; Śvet. U., III.8 ; Bh.G., VIII. 9. The phrase *tamsaḥ parastāt* recurs Muṇḍ. U., II. 2.6 ; Mahā—Bhārata, V. 44. 29a).

53. TEJAS, n.: sharpness ; fire ; vigor ; point of flame ; radiance; —(nom. —acc. sg.), III. 1.3; 2.2; 3.2; 4.2; 5.2; 13.1; VI. 2.3; 5.3; 8.4,5,6; 15.1,2; VII. 2.1; 4.2; 7.1; 11.1,2; 26.1. —*sā* (instr. sg.), V. 19.2; 20.2; 21.2; 22.2; VI. 8.4,6; VIII. 6.3. —*sas* (abl. —gen. sg.), VI. 2.3; 4.1,2,3,4,6; 6.4; VII. 11.2; 12.1. —*si* (loc. sg.), VI. 8.6; 15.1,2. —*tejasvant,* a.: possessing fire or vigor ; brilliant ; —*vatas* (acc. pl.),

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VII. 11.2. —*Tejasvin,* a.: sharp, strong ; —*vī* (nom. sg. m.), II. 14.2; III. 13.1; VII. 11.2. —*tejomaya,* a.: consisting of flame ; —*yī* (nom. sg. f.), VI. 5.4; 6.5; 7.6. (*Cf.* Senart, *op. cit.,* pp. 78—79).

54. DĪKṢĀ, f.: consecration ; —*ṣās* (nom. pl.), III. 17.1:—*Sa yad aśiśiṣati, yat pipāsati, yan na ramate, tā asya dīkṣāḥ.*

55. DHARMA, m.: custom ; right ; law ; —*mas* (nom. sg.), VII. 2.1. —*mam* (acc. sg.), VII. 2.1; —*mās* (nom. pl.), II. 1.4.—*dharmas-kandha,* m.: division of law ; —*dhās* (nom. pl.), II. 23.1.

56. DHYĀNA, n.: religious meditation ; thought ; —*nam* (nom.—acc. sg.), VII. 6.1,2: —*Dhyānaṁ vāva cittād bhūyaḥ. Dhyāyati iva pṛthivī, dhyāyati iva antarikṣam, dhyāyati iva dyauḥ, dhyāyanti iva āpaḥ, dhyāyantī iva parvatāḥ, dhyāyanti iva deva—manuṣyāḥ. Tasmād ya iha manuṣyānāṁ mahattvaṁ prāpnuvanti, dhyāna--āpāda-aṁśā iva eva te bhavanti. Atha ye 'lpāḥ, kalahinaḥ piśunā upavādinas te ; atha ye prabhavaḥ, dhyāna-āpāda-aṁśā iva eva te bhavanti..Dhyānam upāssva iti ||1||. —nāt* (abl. sg.), VII. 6.2; 7.1.—*nasya* (gen. sg.), VII. 6.2.—*dhyānopadāṅśa,* a.: having as one's portion the gift of meditation ;—*śās* (nom. pl.), VII. 6.1.

57. NĀMARŪPA, n.: name and from ; —*pe* (acc. du.), VI. 3.2,3. —*payos* (gen. du.), VIII. 14.1; —*Ākāśo vai nāma nāma-rūpayor nirvahitā. Te yad-antarā, tad brahma, tad a-mṛtam, sa ātmā.*

58. NIDHANA, n.: putting down ; end ; death ; —*nam* (nom. sg.), II.2.1.2; 3.2; 4.1; 5.1; 6.1; 7.1; 8.2; 9.8; 10.4; 11.1; 12.1; 13.1; 14.1; 15.1; 16.1; 17.1; 18.1; 19.1; 20.1; 21.1; —*nidhanabhājin,* a.: sharing in nidhana ; —*jinas* (nom. pl.), II. 9.8.

59. PURUṢA, m.: man; human being; spirit; personality;—*ṣas* (nom. sg.), I.1.2; 6.6; 7.5; II. 6.1; 18.1; III. 12.6; 14.1; 16.1; IV. 11.1; 12.1; 13.1; 15.5; V. 7.1; 10.2; 11.6; VI. 2.3; 7.1; 8.1,3,5; 14.2; VIII. 7.4; 12.4. —*ṣam* (acc. sg.), II. 9.7; VI. 4.7; 8.6; 14.1; 15.1; 16.1.—*ṣāt* (abl. sg.), III. 12.7. —*ṣasya* (gen. sg.), I. 1.2; VI. 8.6. —*ṣe* (loc. sg.), III. 12.3, 4,8; 13.7; IV. 10.3.

60. PRĀṆA, m.: breath; vital breath; life; —*ṇas* (nom. sg.), I. 1.5; 2.7; 3.3,6; 5.3; 7.1; 8.4; 11.5; 13.2; II. 7.1; 11.1; III. 13.1; 15.4; 18.2,4; IV. 3.3,4; 8.3; 10.5; 13.1 ; V. 1.1,12,15; 7.1; 14.2 ; 18.2 ; 19.1 ; VI. 5.2,4; 6.3,5; 7.1,6; 8.6 ; 15.1.2; VII. 15.1,4; 26.1; VIII. 12.3.—*ṇam* (acc. sg.), I. 2.2; 11.5; III. 15.3,4; IV. 3.3; 10.5; VI.8.2; VII. 15.1.—*ṇena* (instr. sg.), I. 3.6; V. 1.8,9,10,11; VII. 15.1. —*ṇāya* (dat. sg.), V. 19.1; VII. 15.1. —*ṇasya* (gen. sg.), I. 8.4; V. 2.1. —*ṇe* (loc. sg.), V. 19.2; VI.

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8.6; 15.1,2; VII. 15.1. —*ṇās* (nom. pl.), III. 12.3,4; 16.1,2,3,4,5,6; V. 1.6,7,15; VII. 4.2; 10.1.—*ṇān* (acc. pl.), I. 2.9; 5.4; V.1.12. —*ṇānām* (gen. pl.), III. 16.2,4,6; VII. 4.2. —*ṇeṣu* (loc. pl.), II. 7.1,2; 11.1,2; IV. 3.4. —*prāṇabandhana,* n.: fetter of breath or life; —*nam* (nom. sg.), VI. 8.2.—*prāṇaśarīra,* a.: with breath as body;—*ras* (nom. sg.), III. 14.2.—*prāṇasaṁśita,* a.: prepared by the breath;—*tam* (nom. sg. n.), III. 17.6. *prāṇāpāna,* m.: inspiration—expiration; —*nayos* (gen. du.), I. 3.3. —*prāṇin,* a.: breathing; m.: animal; —*ṇī* (nom. sg. m.), II. 11.2.

61. BRAHMAN (1), n.: devotion; worship; prayer; sacred text; theology; impersonal spirit pervading the universe; Absolute Brahman; —*ma* (nom.—acc. sg.), I. 7.5; III. 5.1,2; 11.4,5; 12.7; 14.1.4; 18.1,2; 19.1,4; IV. 10.5; 15.1,6; 17.9; V. 10.2; 11.1; VII. 1.5; 2.2; 3.1,2; 4.3; 5.3; 6.2; 7.2; 8.2; 9.2; 10.2; 11.2; 12.2; 13.2; 14.2; VIII. 3.4; 7.4; 8.3; 10.1; 11.1; 14.1; —*maṇā* (instr. sg.), III. 10.1,3; 11.2. —*maṇas* (gen. sg.), III. 18.3,4,5,6; IV. 5.2,3; 6.3,4; 7.3,4; 8.3,4; VIII. 3.4; 5.3.

62. BRAHMAN (2), m.: priest; prayer; Brahman; impersonal spirit pervading the universe; the Absolute Self and Creator; —*mā* (nom. sg.), III. 11.4; IV. 16.2,4; 17.8,9,10; VIII. 15.1. —*māṇam* (acc. sg.), IV. 17.9, 10. —*brahmapatha,* m.: path to Brahmàn; —*thas* (nom. sg.), IV. 15.6. — *brahmavarcasa,* n.: pre-eminence in brahmanic science; —*sam* (nom. —acc. sg.), III. 13.3; V. 12.2; 13.2; 14.2; 15.2; 16.2; 17.2; —*sena* (instr. sg.), II. 16.2; III. 18.3,4,5,6; V. 19.2; 20.2; 21.2; 22.2; 23.2; —*brahmavarcasin,* a.: possessing pre-eminence in brahmanic science;—*si* (nom. sg.), II. 12.2; III. 13.3. —*brahmavidyā,* f.: science of the Supreme Spirit of the universe; sacred knowledge; — (nom. sg.), VII. 1.4. —*yām* (acc. sg.), VII. 1.2; 2.1; 7.1. — *brahmopaniṣad,* f.: secret doctrine of Brahman; Brahma-Upaniṣad; —*dam* (acc. sg.), III. 11.3: — *Na ha vā asmā udeti na nimlocati sakṛd divā ha eva asmai bhavati, ya etām evaṁ brahma-upaniṣadaṁ veda.* —*brāhmaṇa,* a.: having to do with brahman; m.: theologian, Brahman, priest; —*ṇas* (nom. sg.), VII. 15.2. —*ṇam* (acc. sg.), VII. 15.2. —*ṇasya* (gen. sg.), IV. 1.7. —*ṇayos* (gen. du.), I. 8.2. —*ṇān* (acc. pl.), II. 20.2; V. 3.7. *ṇānām* (gen. pl.), VIII. 14.1.

63. MANAS, n.: mind;— (nom. —acc. sg.), I. 2.6; 7.3; II. 7.1; 11.1; III. 13.4; 18.1; IV. 3.3; 8.3; 16.1; V. 1.5,11,14; 18.2; 22.2; VI. 5.1,4; 6.2,5; 7.6; 8.2,6; 15.1,2; VII. 3.1,2; 26.1; VIII. 6.5; 12.5. —*sā* (instr. sg.), II. 22.2; IV. 16.2; V.1.8,9,10; VII. 3.1; VIII. 12.5. —*sas* (abl.—gen. sg.), VII. 3.2; 4.1. —*si* (loc. sg.), V. 22.2; VI. 8.6; 15.1,2. —*(manāṁsi)* (nom. pl.), V. 1.15.

64. MANUṢYA, a.: human; m.: man; —*yās* (nom. pl.), II. 9.3.

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—*yān* (acc. pl.), VII. 2.1; 7.1. —*yebhyas* (dat.—abl. pl.), II. 22.2; IV. 9.2. —*yānām* (gen. pl.), VII. 6.1. —*manuṣyakāma,* m.: human desires; —*mān* (acc. pl.), I. 7.8. —*mānām* (gen. pl.), I.7.6.

65. MANOMAYA, a.: spiritual, mental; (consisting of spirit or mind); —*yas* (nom. sg.), III. 14.2.

66. MṚTYU, m.: death;—*yus* (nom. sg.), I. 4.3; VIII. 4.1.—*yum* (acc. sg.), II. 22.4; VII. 26.2.—*yunā* (instr. sg.), VII. 12.1.—*yos* (abl. —gen. sg.), I. 4.2; II. 22.3,5.

67. YAJUS, n.: worship; sacrifice; —(nom. sg.), I. 4.4; 7.5. —*uṣas* (abl. sg.), I. 4.3. —*uṣi* (loc. sg.), I. 4.3. —*ūṅṣi* (nom. —acc. pl.), III. 2.1,2; IV. 17.2; VI. 7.2. —urbhyas (abl. pl.), IV. 17.3. —*uṣām* (gen. pl.), IV. 17.5.

68. YAJÑA, m.: worship; act of worship or devotional act in general (Monier—Williams); prayer, devotion; (in the older language: "praise," "homage." *Cf.* Zend *yaśna); —ñas* (nom. sg.), II. 23.1; III. 16.1,2,4,6; IV. 16. 1,3,5; 17.8,9; VIII. 5.1. —*ñam* (acc. sg.), I. 10.7; IV. 16.3,5; 17.10. —*ñasya* (gen. sg.), II. 24.16; IV. 17.4,5,6,8.

69. RŪPA, n.: form; —*pam* (nom. —acc. sg.), I. 7.5; III. 1.4; 2.3; 3.3; 4.3; 6.2,3; 7.2,3; 8.2,3; 9.2,3; 10.2,3; VI. 4.1,2,3,4,6. —*peṇa* (instr. sg.), VIII. 3.4; 12.2,3. —*pāt* (abl. sg.), III. 6.2,3; 7.2,3; 8.2,3; 9.2,3; 10.2,3;—*pāṇi* (nom. pl.), VI. 4.1,2,3,4. *(See* No. 57).

70. VIJÑĀNA, n.: discernment; distinction; intelligence; knowledge; science; learning;—*nam* (nom.—acc. sg.), VII. 7.1,2; 17.1; 26.1. —*nena* (instr. sg.), VII. 7.1.—*nāt* (abl. sg.), VII. 7.2; 8.1.—*nasya* (gen. sg.), VII. 7.2. —*vijñānavant,* a.: endowed with discernment; —*vatas* (acc. pl.), VII. 7.2.—*vatām* (gen. pl.), VII. 8.1.

71. VIDYĀ, f.: knowledge; science; philosophy;—(nom. sg.), I. 1.9,10; II. 21.1; 23.3; IV. 9.3; V. 3.7.—*yām* (acc. sg.), I. 4.2; IV. 17.3.—*yayā* (instr. sg.), I. 1.10.—*yayās* (gen. sg.), IV. 17.8.

72. VINĀŚA, m.: destruction; annihilation, ruin; —*śam* (acc. sg.), VIII. 11.1,2. *(Tad ....svapnaṁ na vijānāty* —Ch. U., VIII. 6.3).

73. VEDA, m.: knowledge; divine knowledge (*cf.* Goth. *vait* and Lith. *weizd);—das* (nom. sg.), VII. 1.4. —*dam* (acc. sg.), VII. 1.2; 2.1; 7.1; VIII. 15.1. —*dās* (nom. pl.), III. 5.4. —*dān* (acc. pl.), VI. 1.2; 7.3,6.—*dānām* (gen. pl.), VII. 1.2,4; 2.1; 7.1.

74. VAIŚVĀNARA, a.: present with all men; complete universal;—*ras* (nom. sg.), V.12.1; 13.1; 14.1; 15.1; 16.1; 17.1;—*ram* (acc. sg. m.), V. 11.2,4,6; 12.2; 13.2; 14.2; 15.2; 16.2; 17.2; 18.1.—*rasya* (gen. sg.), V. 18.2. —*re* (loc. sg.), V. 24.4.

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75. VYĀNA, m.: breath (pervading the body); *—nas* (nom. sg.), III. 13.2; V. 20.1. *—nam* (acc. sg.), I. 3.3,5. *—nāya* (dat. sg.), V. 20.1. *—ne* (loc. sg.), V. 20.2.

76. SAṄKALPA, m.: creative imagination; determination of mind; wish, intention; *—pas* (nom. sg.), VII. 4.1,2; 26.1. *—pam* (acc. sg.), VII. 4.2,3. *—pāt* (abl. sg.), VII. 4.3; 5.1; VIII. 2.1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10. *—pasya* (gen. sg.), VII. 4.3. *—pe* (loc. sg.), VII. 4.2. — saṅkalpātmaka, a.: with design as nature; *—kāni* (nom. pl. n.), VII. 4.2.—saṅkalpaikāyana, a.: with design as (meeting-place); *—nāni* (nom. pl. n.), VII. 4.2.

77. SADĀYATANA, a.: having the real as support; *—nās* (nom. pl. f.), VI. 8.4,6.

78. SAMPRASĀDA, m.: serenity; perfect calm (of the soul in sleep); *—das* (nom. sg.), VIII. 3.4; 12.3:—*Atha ya eṣa samprasādo 'smāc śarīrāt samutthāya paraṁ jyotir upasampadya svena rūpeṇa abhiniṣpadyate, eṣa ātmā, iti ha uvāca, etad a-mṛtam a-bhayam, etad brahma iti. Tasya ha vā etasya brahmaṇo nāma sat-ti-yam iti* //VIII.3.4//. (*See* No. 37. [=VIII. 12.3]).

79. SUKṚTA, n.: good deed; virtuous act; virtue, moral, merit; *—tam* (nom. sg.), VIII. 4.1. (*See* No. 28).

80. SMARA, m.: remembrance; love; *—ras* (nom. sg.), VII. 13.1; 14.1; 26.1. *—ram* (acc. sg.), VII. 13.1,2. *—reṇa* (instr. sg.), VII. 13.1. *—rāt* (abl. sg.), VII. 13.2; 14.1. *—rasya* (gen. sg.), VII. 13.2:—

> *Smaro vā ākāśād bhūyān. Tasmād yady api bahava*
> *āsīrann a-smarantaḥ, na eva te kaṁ cana śṛṇuyuḥ,*
> *na manvīran, na vijānīyuḥ. Yadā vāva te smareyuḥ,*
> *atha śṛṇuyuḥ, atha manvīran, atha vijānīyuḥ.*
> *Smareṇa vai putrān vijānāti, smareṇa paśūn.*
> Smaram upāssva iti //VII. 13.1//.
> *Sa yaḥ smaraṁ brahma ity upāste, yāvad smarasya*
> *gatam, tatra asya yathā-kāma-cāro bhavati iti.*
> *Asti, bhagavaḥ, smarād bhūya iti. Smarād vava*
> *bhūyo 'sit iti* ..//VII.13.2//.

According to Professor Senart, *op. cit.*, p. 99f., "*smara, smṛti* dit un peu plus que "memoire," et équivaut à peu près, malgré son sens étroit, à la notion de pensée consciente."

81. SMṚTI, f.: memory; tradition; *—tis* (nom. sg.), VII. 26.2:—*...Āhāra-śuddhau sattva-śuddhiḥ, sattva-śuddhau dhruvā smṛtiḥ, smṛti-lambhe sarva-granthīnāṁ vipramokṣaḥ ...* (Substantially, the

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complete passage recurs at M.U., VII. 11, stanza 6 [*na paśyo*]; [the *ātman* manifold]: *cf.* M.U., V. 2,6.26 (end); [pure nature...mystic attainment]: Muṇḍ. U., III. 1.8; [liberation from all knots]: Kāṭ. U., VI. 15—Muṇḍ. U., II. 2.8; III. 2.9; [*tamasas pāraṁ*]: Bh.G., VIII. 9; Śvet. U., III. 8; Muṇḍ. U., II. 2.6; Mahā-Bhārata, V. 44. 29a).

82. SVAPNA, m.: sleep, dream; —*nam* (acc. sg.), VIII. 6.3; 11.1. —*ne* (loc. sg.), VIII. 10.1. —*neṣu* (loc. pl.), V. 2.9. ([VIII. 10.1]: *cf.* B.Ā.U., IV. 3.20; Pr.U., IV.5). ——*svapnanidarśana,* a.: teaching by dream; n.: dream-vision; —*ne* (loc. sg.), V. 2.9. ——*svapnānta,* m.: condition of sleeping or dreaming; —*tam* (acc. sg.), VI. 8.1.

83. HṚDAYA, n.: heart;—*yam* (nom. sg.), III. 12.4; V. 18.2; VIII. 3.3.—*yasya* (gen. sg.), III. 13.1; VIII. 6.1,6.—*ye* (loc. sg.), III. 12.9; 14.3,4.——hṛdayajña, a.: knowing the heart; —*ñam* (nom.—acc. sg. n.), VII. 2.1; 7.1.

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MISCELLANEA

THIEME'S LAST

Dr. Paul Thieme has replied at last (I.C., V, pp. 363-6), but I hesitate to believe it to be his last word on Pāṇini and the Ṛkprātiśākhya, for what he has done is merely to assert that all that he had to say has been said already—by Mr. Chaturvedi in New Indian Antiquary, I, pp. 450 ff. His coadjutor Prof. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya declared more than a year ago : "It will be sometime before I shall have the leisure to join in the fray" (I.C., V, p. 98). Apparently, he has not found that leisure. Nor do I think that he will ever find it, for the conditions under which he is going to reply are frankly impossible of fulfilment : leisure and fray being mutually exclusive, Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya, I fear, will never "have the leisure to join in the fray."

I really welcome the new tone in Thieme's article which is so pointedly courteous that it makes me feel ashamed that I ever had been rude. But there is Thieme's own admission that the tenor of his first paper might have been more lenient (I.C., V. p. 363). I hope and believe that this new-found courtesy is not part of a policy to represent me as the villain of the piece, if only because the public will find it as easy to accept such a suggestion as to believe that I had maltreated a stampeding Centaur. Thieme, however, does not believe in appealing to the "ignorant" public (p. 366). But why has he then at all written this article which contains absolutely nothing by way of new material? Surely the "forum of competent scholars able to understand and weigh arguments and to arrive at independent conclusions" to which he addresses himself requires no extra admonition to recognise their duty of agreeing with him!

Thieme is mystified by the shifting nature of the "hinge" on which my conclusion drawn from Pāṇ. VIII. 4. 67 turns. But how can it be otherwise so long as he continues to consider *nodāttasvaritaparam* to be metrically equivalent to *nodāttasvaritodayam?* By means of a reference to Chaturvedi he has moreover successfully convinced himself of the propriety of his having ignored this "hinge" in his first article. But Chaturvedi has merely argued that there are other cases of metrical rhythm in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. His purpose would have been served only if he could prove that there are other metrical Sūtras in Pāṇini with this technical term *udaya,* which have nothing in

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common with the Ṛkprātiśākhya. But surely Chaturvedi has done nothing of the sort. Even Mr. Bernard Shaw had a better case than Chaturvedi's when he argued that his Balsquith was neither Balfour nor Asquith, and yet the public did not believe him.

Thieme is surprised that I accused him of "eloquent silence" regarding Pāṇ. I. 1. 17-18 even though he has "shown at length that the *Yogavibhāga* in question was proposed by Kātyāyana and accepted by Patañjali *not* because it was considered to be *vaikalpika,* but for quite a different reason" (pp. 364-5). But is it a crime to equate irrelevant talk with silence? The point at issue is the central fact that in Pāṇini's own text these two aphorisms formed but one Sūtra and that no necessity would have arisen to divide it into two if his apologists had not taken it into their heads to construe *"Śākalyasya"* in I. 1. 16 to mean *vikalpa.* It was this point which Thieme should have tried to *refute* instead of blazing away à la Mīmāṁsā that there was a purpose behind this proposed *Yogavibhāga* which nobody in his senses can ever deny. In such loose and feeble ratiocinations I really miss the Thieme whose "Plusquamperfektum" I so much admired. He has here put the cart neatly before the horse, and is then wondering naïvely why people are staring at him in astonishment.

Thieme complains that I have done him injustice also regarding the interpretation of the word *anārṣa,* for has he not said : *'anārṣa* may mean accordingly "not Vedic yet similar to Vedic, i.e. "belonging to the Padapāṭha?" ' I suspect that this utterance is due to the influence of Patañjali who in a famous passage declared that *'abrāhmaṇa'* means something similar to, though not identical with, a Brāhmaṇa, and that a servant will be reprimanded by his master if he brings a piece of stone when ordered to fetch a non-Brahmin. The principle enunciated by Patañjali is certainly right so far as non-technical terms are concerned. But the point is that *anārṣa* is precisely a technical term as I have shown in New Indian Antiquary, II, pp. 59-60. It is not, therefore, enough to say that it means "not Vedic yet similar to Vedic." *Anārṣa* as a technical term signifies only the Padapāṭha. Any less precise formulation of its meaning will inevitably lead to Chaturvedi's dangerous fallacy that *anārṣa* signifies the non-Vedic literature *including* the Padapāṭha.

Thieme asks, which case he has given away by admitting that *v iti* is rightly suspect. There should be no hesitation in replying to this question : by admitting this he has given away his whole case. By admitting this he has admitted first of all that *uñaḥ ūṁ* was one Sūtra,—by admitting which he has admitted further that Pāṇ. I. 1. 16 cannot be Vaikalpika even though Śākalya has been mentioned in it. It would be disingenuous on the part of Thieme to say that this is

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not what we are fighting over, for the immediate issue is surely this and not the relative age of Pāṇini and the Prātiśākhya.

I am intrigued beyond measure by Thieme's suggestion that I *unconsciously* resurrected Max Müller's interpretation of Pāṇ. I. 1. 16. But how can that be when I myself referred to Max Müller (I.C., IV. pp. 396-7)? Is 'resurrection' a euphemism for 'plagiarism'? I hope not. Max Müller did all that was necessary to do from the side of the Prātiśākhya; I have only tried to support his thesis from the side of Pāṇini. It was certainly necessary to support Max Müller's arguments by others, for Hannes Sköld, for instance, rejected his theory out of hand, apparently because it was unsupported from the other side.

But enough of this controversy, which is fast degenerating into empty badinage without bringing any new relevant material. Prof. Chaṭṭopādhyāya depends upon Thieme, and Thieme has now transferred the responsibility to Chaturvedi, to whom I have already replied in New Indian Antiquary, II, pp. 59-61. The vicious circle is thus complete. About a year ago I wrote another article dealing with another set of allied problems for the coming Bhandarkar-Festschrift, but I am not sure that it will not be another year before it is published. That will be my last, just as this is Thieme's. The victory remains with him so far as my personal sentiments are concerned, for he has converted to his view my own teacher Prof. Louis Renou (JAs., 1938, pp. 172-3), against whom I will not and cannot take up arms even in defence of a cherished cause. It will be for others to take up the matter if I have at all succeeded in making out a case for it. Hard words have passed between us, but after all they can break no bones. If of a philosophical temperament, we may content ourselves with the thought that they too are part of our strange life which would not be worth living without the thousand follies of love and hatred. If prone to cynicism, we may say with Voltaire : ils ne nous coûtent que rien.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

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A NOTE ON THE MALLASARUL COPPER-PLATE OF VIJAYASENA

The Mallasarul Copper-plate of Vijayasena,[1] recently edited by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, throws important light on the early history of Bengal. The inscription records that during the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Gopa(candra) Mahārāja Vijayasena granted some lands in the village of Vettragarttā in the Vakkattaka-Vīthī of the Vardhamāna-Bhukti.

Mr. Majumdar remarks[2] that palæographically it resembles the Faridpur plate of Dharmāditya and Gopacandra, and are referable to the sixth century A.D. He identifies Gopacandra of the inscription with the king of this name, mentioned in the Faridpur grant. He further remarks that Mahārāja Vijayasena of the Inscription should be identified with the Mahārāja Vijayasena, who served as *dutaka* in the Gunaighar plate of Vainyagupta (A.D. 507).[3] "The present charter, therefore, may be placed in the first half of the sixth century A.D., a conclusion, which we have already seen, is borne out by the palæography of the inscription. It appears that Vijayasena served both under Vainyagupta and Gopacandra at different dates; but it is difficult to say which of the two kings is earlier."[4]

Mr. Majumdar ignores some palæographical considerations, while arriving at the above conclusions. The charter of Mallasarul inscription is obviously similar to Dharmāditya's Faridpur grants.[5] But if we compare it with the Faridpur grant of Gopacandra,[6] a distinct change is noticeable in the form of *ya* in the latter. The Mallasarul type of *ya* appears in the Gunaighar plate (507) of Vainyagupta, in the Dāmodarpur plates (542), in the Haraha inscription of Īśānavarman (554),[7] and in all other inscriptions issued in the first three quarters of the sixth century, A.D. The latter form of *ya* is noticeable in the Ganjam plate (619) and coins of Śaśāṅka, in the Vappaghosha inscription of Jayanāga, in Harṣavardhana's inscription,[8] and in all other inscriptions, which were issued in the latter part of the sixth and in the seventh century A.D. Thus Gopacandra of the Faridpur grant cannot be placed in the first half of the sixth century. If Gopacandra

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1. *EI.*, XXXIII, 155. 2. *Ibid.*, 158. 3. *IHQ.*, 1930.
4. *EI.*, XXXIII, 158.
5. *IA.*, XXXIX, 195.
6. *Ibid.*, 203.
7. *IHQ.*, 1930; *EI.*, XV; *EI.*, XIV.
8. *EI.*, VI; Allan's *Gupta Coins; EI.*, XVIII, IV.

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of the Mallasarul grant is identical with Gopacandra of the Faridpur grant, as Mr. Majumdar has assumed, the suggestion that Gopacandra might have preceded Vainyagupta (507) or come immediatley after him, cannot be taken to be of any value. Gopacandra should be placed in the period subsequent to the third quarter of the sixth century A.D. Vijayasena of the Mallasarul grant was thus quite a different person from his namesake mentioned in the Gunaighar plate.

Jayanāga, according to Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, flourished after Śaśāṅka (619). The letter *sa* in the Vappaghosha inscription of Jayanāga is more advanced than that of Gopacandra's inscriptions. So Gopacandra may be placed before Jayanāga, who ruled in Karṇa-suvarṇa (in the Vardhamāna-Bhukti).

D. C. GANGULY.

ORIGIN OF VIJAYANAGARA

Many are the legends[1] known regarding the origin of the famous town of Vijayanagara, the principal seat of the Vijayanagara kingdom. A legend, however, that does not seem to have so far been recorded in any modern work was noticed by me in a little-known[2] Tantra digest called the *Vidyārṇava Tantra,* attributed to a disciple of Pragalbhācārya whose name is not mentioned. I give here a summary of the legend for what it is worth and leave it to competent scholars to judge its importance. A noteworthy feature of the legend is that unlike most other legends of the type it makes no reference to Harihara-Bukka and Vidyāraṇya whose names are almost invariably associated with the foundation and the naming of the town. It is not

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1. For the various legends in this connection and a discussion of their historical value cf. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire* (Vol. I., pp. 83 ff).

2. Though associated with the name of a king of Vijayanagara under whose orders it is stated to have been composed, the work is not referred to by S. Sri-Kantha Shastri in his extensive paper on *Development of Sanskrit Literature under Vijayanagara* (Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume, pp. 295 ff.).

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a version of the legends already recorded but apparently a new and independent story by itself.

Of the two known manuscripts of the work in question one belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and it contains eleven chapters *(āśvāsas)* and a portion of the twelfth. The work is a comprehensive Tantric compilation dealing with the details of the worship of various Tantric deities. The authorship of the work is definitely attributed in this manuscript to a disciple of one Pragalbhācārya whose line of teachers is indicated in the beginning of the work, while Stein[3] notices a manuscript which ascribes it to Pragalbhācārya himself.

The introductory portion of the work which concerns itself with an account of the history of the composition as well as its author incidentally refers to the foundation of Vijayanagara. The line of teachers of the author is traced to the great Śaṅkarācārya who is stated to have had fourteen disciples[4]—five *bhikṣus* and nine laymen. Of the laymen disciples Viṣṇuśarman was the *guru* of Pragalbhācārya, who in turn was the *guru* of the author of the present work which was composed at the request of an unnamed king of Vijayanagara, the posthumous son of Prauḍhadeva. Our author appears to have been a man of great influence. We are told that at the desire of the subjects of the kingdom our author acted as regent at the death of Prauḍhadeva who died leaving his queen with child.[5] As regent he is stated to have built the beautiful town of Vidyānagara, resembling the mystic

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3. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunath Temple Library, Jammu and Kashmir*, p. 237.

4. शङ्कराचार्यशिष्याश्च चतुर्दश दृढ़व्रताः।
दैव्यात्मानो दृढ़ात्मानो निग्रहानुग्रहक्षमाः॥ ६०॥
शङ्करः पद्मपादाख्यो बोधो गीर्वाण एव च[1]।
आनन्दतीर्थनामा च पञ्चैते भिक्षवः स्मृताः॥ ६१॥
सुन्दरो विष्णुशर्मा च लक्ष्मणो मल्लिकार्जुनः।
विविक्रमः श्रीधरश्च कपर्दी केशवस्ततः॥ ६२॥
दामोदर इति ख्याता गृहिणो नवसंख्यकाः।

Short accounts are found to have been given in the book of each of these disciples with an indication of their places of activity and a reference to their successors.

5. It is curious that both the author and his patron are left unnamed in the work.

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Śrīcakra[6] of the Tantra form of worship. When the son of Prauḍhadeva attained majority and was fit for carrying on the duties of a king he was placed on the throne. And at the request of the king and learned men of eminence the work was composed.[7]

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI.

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6. The sad end of the king is attributed to a curse inflicted on him by Lakṣmaṇa, one of the nine laymen disciples of Śaṅkara. It is told that Lakṣmaṇa, on attaining to an advanced stage of spiritual development, came during his movements here and there, to the capital of Prauḍhadeva who received the sage with due honour and gave him a house, ornaments and servants. One day the king received valuable cloths as present from merchants and he gave some of these to Lakṣmaṇa who offered them into the sacrificial fire with a view to the propitiation of the Divine Mother. The king hearing the report was obviously displeased and demanded them back under some pretext. The hermit felt insulted, cursed the king to die without any issue and went away to Southern India where he was approached by the king with a prayer for mercy. But the words of a hermit are immutable. He, however, made some mitigation and assured the king that he would have an issue though that would be of no use to him.

7. अर्ककोटिसहस्रेण देवेन महदद्भुतम्।
श्रीविद्यानगरं नाम्ना श्रीचक्राकारमुज्ज्वलम्॥ ९१ ॥
निर्माय प्रौढ़देवस्य पुत्रे राज्यार्हतां गते।
तमेव देवभूपालमुपवेश्य नृपासने॥ ९२ ॥

The planning of the city to resemble the Śrīcakra is also mentioned in another legend described in the *Śivatattvaratnākara* (Saletore, *op cit.*, p. 86).

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VATSABHAṬṬI'S PRAŚASTI

One of the controversial points of Indian history is the date of Vatsabhaṭṭi's *Praśasti*. Mr. K. R. Pisharoti assigns it to 493+529 or 1022 M.E., i.e., 966 A.D.[1] But the view can be easily rejected on paleographic grounds. According to Fleet the letters of the inscriptions are a very good specimen of what may be called the western Malwa alphabet of the fifth century A.D. Paleography can at times be an uncertain guide, but not so when the question to be decided is one of five or six centuries, and the scripts used in the two centuries at issue are as different as can be. So the lines,

Saṁskṛtamidaṁ bhūyaḥ.....

Vatsaraśateṣu Pañcasu Viṁśatyadhikeṣu Navasu Cābdeṣu,

can only be taken to refer to the repair of the temple in M.E. 529. That the temple had been destroyed some years ago most probably by the Huns has been already shown in my notes on the subject published in the Indian Culture.[2]

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

1. *Indian Culture,* Vol. IV, p. 111.
2. Vol. III, p. 379 ff.; Vol. IV, p. 263. The first of these notes was submitted to the last session of the Indian Cultural Conference.

CHANDAHSŪTRA OF PIṄGALA.

I have elsewhere[1] pointed out that the classical metres were not very popular long before the rise of the Guptas. After the Śaka occupation of Ujjayinī, that city appears to have become a great seat of Sanskrit learning. It is interesting to note that Rudradāman's Junagarh inscription (150 A.D.)[2] is the earliest known Sanskrit record written in a developed Kāvya style and that the Sanchi inscription of Jīvadāman (279 A.D.)[3] is probably the earliest Sanskrit record con-

1. *I.H.Q., XV,* p. 41 f.; *J.G.I.S.,* VI, p. 55.
2. *E.I.,* VIII, p. 36 ff.
3. *Ibid.,* XVI, p. 232.

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taining a verse in a classical metre. Lines 4-6 of the latter inscription have evidently a Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanza :—

— — — — — सलिलः सर्वाधिगम्यः सदा
सत्त्वानां प्रियदर्शनो जलनिधिर्धर्मामल — — ।
— — —V V—V—V V V — — —
कूपः श्रीधरवर्मणा गुणवता खानापितोयं[4] शुभः ॥

The question raised in this connection however requires the solution of two other problems, viz., (1) date of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya,* and (2) date of Piṅgala's *Chandaḥsūtra.* I am offering here a few suggestions regarding the latter, leaving the former to be discussed elsewhere.

Weber assigned[5] the work on Sanskrit prosody ascribed to Piṅgala to a period simultaneous with the close of the Vedic Sūtra literature, or the commencement of the astronomical and algebraical literatures. He also suggested[6] that Piṅgala's chapters I and II on Vedic prosody are older than the other chapters dealing with classical metres. Pandit H. P. Sastri believed in a story of the *Aśokāvadāna,* according to which Piṅgala was the teacher of Aśoka and his brothers, and assigned[7] the author of the *Chandaḥsūtra* to about 300 B.C. Dr. M. Ghosh[8] has tried to prove that the Vedic and classical parts of the work cannot be attributed to the same author, and that the Vedic part should be assigned to *circa* 600 B.C.

Weber was against a very early date for Piṅgala,[9] because in the *Chandaḥsūtra* numerals have been expressed by words. Though some words are known to have been used for numerals even in the Vedic literature,[10] the elaborate system followed by the author of the *Chandaḥsūtra* cannot but be late. In the chapters dealing with Vedic metres, Piṅgala has used the words *vasu*=8; *āditya*=12; *dik* = 10; *rudra*=11; *ṛtu*=6; and *ṛsi*=7. The use of *ṛtu* in the sense of six seems to be important; because it points to a date when six as the num-

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4. This Prākrit form would suggest that the system of Pāṇini's grammar could not eradicate the influence of Prākrit from Western India even as late as the third century A.D.
5. *Hist. Ind. Lit.,* pp. 60, 231; *Indische Studien,* VIII, pp. 173, 178.
6. *Loc. cit.*
7. *J.B.O.R.S.,* VI, p. 24.
8. *I.H.Q.,* VII, p. 728 ff.
9. *Hist. Ind. Lit.,* p. 60.
10. G.H. Ojha, *Palæography of India,* 1918, p. 121.

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ber of the seasons had been stereotyped. The *Vedic Index* (I, p. 110 f.) points out, "Three seasons of the year are often alluded to...A more usual division (not found in the R.V.) is into five seasons...sometimes six seasons are reckoned...A still more artificial arrangement makes the seasons seven..." These facts show that the number of the seasons was not stereotyped in a very early period. Inscriptions moreover prove that three or four was the popular number of the seasons as late as the second century A.D. The Brāhmī inscriptions of the Scytho-Kuṣāṇas[11] prove beyond doubt that the year was divided into three seasons *(grīṣma, varṣā* and *hemanta)* of four months each. Six as the number of the seasons was, therefore, not stereotyped long before the rise of the Guptas. If this suggestion is accepted, Chapters II and III of the *Chandaḥsūtra* cannot be assigned to a period much earlier than the fourth century A.D.

The chapters dealing with classical metres again have used the words *samudra*=4; *ṛṣi*=7; *vasu*=8; *rasa*=6; *ṛtu*=6; *indriya*=5; *kāmaśara*=5; *svara*=7; *dik*=10; *rudra*=11; *āditya*=12; *māsa*=12; *bhūta*=5; and *veda* =4. Of these at least the word *Kāmaśara* indicating five can hardly refer to a pre-Gupta date. Kāma=Manmatha=Kandarpa, as a member of the family of Purāṇic gods, is late; his arrows of flowers appear to be still later; but the number of those arrows was certainly not stereotyped as five before the Gupta period. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that whatever be the date of Piṅgala, the present *Chandaḥsūtra*—both its Vedic and classical parts—is not a pre-Gupta work.

As has been pointed out by Dr. Ghosh,[12] the numbers of the *jāti, viṣama (ardhasama)* and *samavṛtta* metres are 8, 7 and 38 respectively in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra;* but they are 30, 35 and 76 respectively in the *Chandaḥsūtra.* The *Chandaḥsūtra,* in its present form, is, therefore, later than the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* The *Nāṭyaśāstra* is assigned by different scholars to a period between 400 and 700 A.D.[13] The *Chandaḥsūtra* cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than the fifth century A.D.

D. C. SIRCAR.

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11. Cf. राज्ञ वासुदेवस्य संवत्सरे ९८ वर्षमासे ४ दिवसे ११ (Lüders' List No. 76); षाहिवं।शिष्कस्य राज्यसंवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ ग्रीष्ममासे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे विंशे ३० (Ibid. No. 149 A.) etc.

12. *I.H.Q.*, VII, p. 727.

13. S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics,* p. 23 ff.; Winternitz, *Gesch. Ind. Lit.,* III, p. 8.

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THE CASTE OF THE PĀLAS

The Pālas ruled over the greater part of Bengal for more than three centuries and a half. This was the most glorious period of the history of Eastern India. Moreover, unlike other families who built up vast empires in this part of the country, they were of indigenous origin. Unfortunately, we have no clear mention of their caste. Of course they were Buddhists. But the society was no less caste-concious for that. The silence is really strange.

There have been discussions about it by late M. M. Sastri,[1] Messrs. R. D. Banerjee[2] and J. C. Ghosh[3] and also by Mr. P. C. Sen.[4] No decision has been reached as yet and the problem still awaits solution.

Up to this time we have no less than eight references to the caste of the Pālas. Of these, the earliest is "Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa," a late eighth century MS. It was written at a time when the Pālas had just ascended the throne of Gauḍa. Here we find them described as "Dāsajīvinaḥ" or Śūdras. Next in point of time comes a MS. of "Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā"—three centuries later. According to it, the Pālas were "Rājabhaṭādi-Vaṁśapatita"—no mention of caste at all. Almost contemporary with it are the Kamauli Inscription of Vaidyadeva, the Udayasundarīkathā by Soḍhal, a Gujrat poet, and the Rāmacarita by Sandhyākara Nandī. The first calls the Pālas as *"jātaṁ vaṁśe mihirasya,"* the second as *"māndhātṛvaṁśa-prabhava."*

It is to be noted that this was the time when Pāla supremacy had reached its zenith. Two centuries later when their glory had become a story of the past, the Pālas were described in the Ballāla-Carita as low-born Kṣatriyas. Tāranātha in his "History of Buddhism in India," and Ghanarāma in his "Dharma Maṅgala," both of the 16th century, give the same story.

A consideration of the above tends to reveal the following story. The Pālas were at first known as Śūdras. With the rise of their power they began to claim a nobler descent. But the old story persisted, nevertheless. Through all these, one truth can be discovered. It is admitted that they were born of a Kṣatriya mother. Let us try to find out their position among the various castes born of a Kṣatriya mother but of fathers of different castes. The only Dāsajīvī caste is the Kaivarta. Did the Pālas, then, belong to this caste?

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1. M.A.S.B., V. (3) Preface.
2. Bānglār Itihās, Pt. I.
3. I.H.Q., Vol. IX.
4. Kāyastha Patrikā, 1336 B.S.

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Circumstantial evidences also support the contention. Sandhyākaranandī in his Rāmacarita describes Divyoka, the Kaivarta rebel of Varendra, as "Rājalakṣmī-aṁśabhāk." He had then some blood-relation with the Pālas,—a *dauhitra* perhaps. With the decline of their power, different branches of the Pālas, migrated to distant parts of the country and established new kingdoms there. Such a branch came to Sarbeswar (Mod. Sābhār) on the Eastern bank of the Baṁsavati (Mod. Baṁsi) in the District of Dacca. The story is told in Digvijaya-Prakāśa, a seventeenth-century work. The village of Sābhār abounds with the ruins of the capital of Harīśa Candra Pāla, a scion of the family. Dr. N. K. Bhattasāli, in his preface of the book "Maynāmatir gān" has shown their relation with the Pālas. To-day the direct line of Harīśa Candra cannot be traced. But his indirect descendants, by the daughter's side, now live in Jessore and in the villages of Konda, Nannar, etc., in the district of Dacca. They are generally known as the "Rays of Vākurtā" and occupy an honoured position among the Māhiṣyas of Bengal. The remains of their ancestral glory lie scattered off Konda. Rays, of course, no longer claim the honour of being "Jātaṁ vaṁśe mihirasya" but pass as ordinary Māhiṣyas.

It has been definitely established that the Māhiṣyas of Bengal are but Kaivartas. They proudly claim Divyoka as one of their caste and the illustrious Pāla kings of Bengal also, perhaps, belonged to the same.

BISWESWAR CHAKRAVARTI.

TWO READINGS IN THE GOPATHA BRĀHMAṆA

Attention is drawn to the following two places in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa where the readings in the so-far published texts of this book appear to be corrupt and which are liable to be amended with plausible certainty.

In the Gāyatrī Upaniṣad of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, Pūrva Bhāga, first Prapāṭhaka, Kaṇḍikā 31, the following sentence occurs :—

स चेत्सौम्य दुरधीयानो भविष्यति, आचार्योवाच ब्रह्मचारी ब्रह्मचारिणं सावित्रीं प्राह, इति वक्ष्यति ।

In the above the two words **आचार्योवाच** present insurmountable

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difficulty. The euphonic combination split into *ācārya* and *uvāca* presents a dilemma and does not yield any rational meaning. Pandit Jiwa Nand in his Calcutta edition and Pandit Kshema Karaṇa Das in his Allahabad edition of the Gopatha text show the corrupt reading, and the latter who has also supplied the translation of the text, makes a mess of the meaning. Even Dr. Gaastra who has published a collated edition of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa from Leyden has adopted the corrupt reading **आचार्योवाच** which fails to yield any sense.

The compound sentence quoted above contains three clauses, namely, (a) **स चेत्सौम्य दुरधीयानो भविष्यति,** (b) **आचार्योवाच ब्रह्मचारी ब्रह्मचारिणे सावित्रीं प्राह** and (c) **इति वक्ष्यति।**

In this if we only substitute **आचार्यो वाव** for the meaningless phrase **आचार्योवाच** we get an intelligible reading which does not do violence either to the sandhi or to the meaning. **वाव** is a particle common enough in the style of the Brāhmaṇas, and here only the change of one consonant is needed to restore sense to an otherwise troublesome text. The qualifying epithet Brahmacārī with Ācārya suits admirably well and is quite in accordance with the Atharva Veda text, viz., **आचार्यो ब्रह्मचारी,** XI. 5. 16.

Dr. Gaastra has adopted the reading **ब्रह्मचारिणः**, but Pandit Jiwa Nand has the reading in the dative case, viz., **आचार्यो वाव ब्रह्मचारी ब्रह्मचारिणे सावित्रीं प्राह**, which is more in agreement with the text of the Śathapatha Brāhmaṇa :—

अथ (आचार्यः) अस्मै (ब्रह्मचारिणे) सावित्रीमन्वाह। XI. 5. 4. 6.

Obviously Pandit Jiwa Nand's reading is preferable to that of Dr. Gaastra.

Again in the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, pūrva Bhāga, second Prapāṭhaka, 9th Kaṇḍikā, the following text occurs :—

अग्निरादित्याय म इत्येतेऽङ्गिरस एत इदं सर्वं समाप्नुवन्ति। वायुरापश्चन्द्रमा इत्येते भृगव। एत इदं सर्वं समाप्याययन्तेयकमेव संस्थं भवतीति ब्राह्मणम्।

In the above, the text which enumerates the three Aṅgirasas is hopelessly edited in all the printed editions. It is surprising that even the critical edition from Leyden also repeats the mistake in others. To a close student of the Vedas it should be obvious that here the text enumerates the three *Bhṛgus,* viz., Vāyu, Āpas, and Candramā, and the three *Aṅgirasas,* viz., Agni, Ādityas, and Yama. The correct reading, therefore, should be as follows : **अग्निरादित्या यम इत्येतेऽगिरसः** etc.

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Ādityā and *Yama* is the reading which seems to be at once simple and easy. In its place *Ādityāya ma iti* is a reading which can by no means be justified. Still the mistake seems to be persistent enough and in the Index Verborum of the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas published under the title of Vaidika Padānukrama Koṣa by Pandit Vishva Bandhu Shastri, Volume I, page 193, column 3, line 34, **आदित्याय** is the incorrect entry under Gopatha, I. 2. 9. This is no doubt due to a mistake of the reading **आदित्या यमः** and must be rectified.

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

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REVIEWS

THE RISE AND FALL OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ, by Dr. Mahdi Husain, Luzac & Co., 1938. Price Rs 15/-

The book has been presented to the public as an attempt to remove certain misconceptions regarding the history of medieval India. Particular reference has been made to Muḥammad bin Tughluq whom our author regards as "perhaps the most important of all the Muslim rulers of India and certainly one of the most grossly misunderstood." His special thesis is to prove that the indigenous population were not, as they are usually supposed to be, "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to their new masters. Dr. Husain has amassed a vast wealth of material in support of his contentions. His discovery of an autography of the famous Sultān (appended to the text of the book) has made us all debtors to him. The author is inclined to set store by the evidence of the *Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn,* a contemporary poetical composition dedicated to the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty by 'Iṣāmī which Briggs regards as a "historical romance." He points out in this connection that Ziyā-ud-dīn Baranī, who "presents a striking contrast to Sultān Muḥammad in almost every respect, specially in matters religious" and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who was one of the Qāẓīs who "had declared war on the emperor and had approved of his execution," can hardly be regarded as unprejudiced and unbiassed recorders of events of the reign. This is not the first attempt to form a favourable estimate of the actions of Sultān Muḥmmad. Dr. Iswari Prasad pointed out long ago that the verdict which represents him as a tyrannical ruler does little justice to him.

The book treats not only of the political events of the reign of Sultān Muḥammad but discusses such varied subjects as the causes of the rise and fall of the Delhi Sultanates, the circumstances that led to the establishment of the family of Tughluq Shāh on the throne, the political institutions and the coinage of the period. A separate chapter has been devoted to an examination of the different theories regarding the name and descent of the Tughluq family. The value of the book has been further enhanced by several appendices on the architecture and Sanskrit inscriptions of the time of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, a critical account of the sources and a select bibliography. Among other important features of the book mention may be made of the Index, several illustrations and a map.

While one may not agree with the author in every respect, one will certainly find the book useful and interesting.

GOLAPCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI,

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ANCIENT KARṆĀṬAKA, Vol. I: History of Tuḷuva by Bhasker Anand Saletore, M.A., Ph.D., Oriental Book Agency, Poona, 1936, pp. 620+Index.

This is the first of a series of five volumes in which Dr. B. A. Saletore proposes to write out the history of Ancient Karṇāṭa from the earliest times till the downfall of the Western Cālukyas. Dr. Saletore, who has by his *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire* and other writings won for himself the reputaton of being a careful and persevering researcher and a devoted student of South Indian history, gives ample indication in the volume under notice that the work, when complete, will form an excellent provincial history and keeps his reputation intact. Far more critically-minded than many of the historians who make constant efforts to acquaint us with this or that aspect of ancient and mediæval history of Southern and Western India, Dr. Saletore has also the happy gift of telling his tale in an easy and unaffected style.

The volume under review has for its theme the history in all its aspects,—legendary, political, administrative, cultural, social and religious,—of one of the most ancient dynasties of Southern India, viz., the Ālupas, whose history dates from the second century A.D. This royal family, of which much was not known till the publication of this volume, ruled over Tuḷuvanāḍu (now represented by the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency and the greater part of the North Kanara district of the Bombay Presidency), and played a very important part in the history of Karṇāṭa. In over 600 pages, Dr. Saletore gives an account of this royal family from epigraphical, literary and other sources of information.

The author emphatically denies that Satiyaputa of the Asokan Edicts is to be identified, as has been done, with Tuḷuva. In his estimate, Madhvācārya (Ānandatīrtha), the greatest son of Tuḷuva, was born in 1238 A.D. and passed away in 1317 A.D. His account of the village organisation, based upon the *Grāmapaddhati,* which is introduced for the first time in these pages, and which ascribes the division of the land into *grāmas* or villages to Mayūravarmā and the introduction of the law of inheritance through the nephew to Bhūtāḷa Pāṇḍya, is highly interesting. Noteworthy are also the facts that crowned queens participated in the administration of the country in Ālupa history, that Buddhism did exist in Tuḷuva, and so on. The volume contains an elaborate Index comprising about 40 pages, but the general get-up of a work like this should have been far more dainty and attractive.

N.

TĀṆḌAVA-LAKṢAṆAM: by Dr. Bijayeti Venkata Narayanaswami Naidu, Pasupuleti Srinivasulu Naidu and Ongole Venkata Rangayya Pantulu; G. S. Press, Madras, 1936, pp. 174+Indices

On the walls flanking the passages in the massive *Gopurams* (gate-ways) of the great Temple of Śiva Naṭarāja at Cidambaram, which were built by different

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kings at different periods,—the northern *Gopuram* being built by the celebrated Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagara,—are sculptured one hundred and eight *Karaṇas* or dance-poses, with definitions of those poses inscribed above each of them. Of these dance sculptures, there appeared in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1914, wood-cut illustrations of 93 only. A casual visit to the Great Temple by the learned writers of this treatise led them to realise that the 108 poses were but intended by the builders of the *Gopurams* to illustrate the 108 *Karaṇas* as described in the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata, with the result that we have this interesting publication on the fundamentals of ancient Hindu dancing, with original photographs of the dance sculptures as also of the Great Temple and the *Gopurams*.

The volume contains besides an *Introduction,* dealing with Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* and an account of the Great Temple from a historical point of view, an English translation of the fourth chapter of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* and an exhaustive glossary of the highly technical dance terms used by Bharata in the eighth to eleventh chapters of the *Nāṭya Śāstra,* to make the inscriptions that are carved above the *Karaṇas* readily intelligible to all sections of the readers. In the *Appendices* are reproduced the Sanskrit text of the *Tṇāḍava-Lakṣaṇaṁ* and some extracts from the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1914, which are followed by some note of æsthetic and archæological interest, pertinent to the Science of Dancing. The work has appropriately two *Indices,* an Index of the *Karaṇas* and *Aṅgahāras,* and a General Index.

The print and illustrations are neatly executed and the get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired. The volume is sure of a warm welcome by all whom it may concern.

N.

CONTRIBUTIO ALLO STUDIO SULLA CONCEZIONE E SULLO SVILUPPO STORICO DELL' APSARAS by Giuseppina Borsani; pp. 129; Milan, 1938.

In this interesting and useful publication the authoress has tried to collect the relevant data about the Apsarases from the chief sources—the Vedic literature, Epics, Purāṇas, classical literature, as well as Buddhist and Jaina literature. The treatment had naturally to be very brief, for the data about the Apsarases contained in the Purāṇas alone would fill many volumes, but the authoress has made a judicious choice not only of what to give, but also—and this is hardly less important in an account of the Apsarases—of what is there to pass over in silence. The etymology of the word *apsaras* has been discussed, but no notice has been taken of Wackernagel's suggestion in Kuhn-Festschrift that the word signifies "Gestaltlos." The word has been connected also with Pers : *fšarm,* but this too has nowhere been mentioned in the book. On the whole, however, the book is well-written and amply repays perusal.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

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PRĀKṚTAKALPATARU DE RĀMAŚARMAN par Luigia Nitti-Dolci; Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, deux cent soixante-treizième Fascicule ; pp. XII+93 ; Paris, 1939.

This is the last work of the late lamented Madame Luigia Nitti-Dolci—"une des plus brillantes figures que comptait dens les jeunes générations l'indianisme accidental." Here she has given a critical edition of the first Śākhā of Rāmaśarman's work with extracts from the commentary and a French translation. The work has been known to Indologists for more than a century, and parts of it have also been published by Grierson. Madame Nitti-Dolci, therefore, thought it necessary to publish only the unpublished portions, i.e., the whole of the first Śākhā on the principal Prākrit with the exception of the eighth Stabaka on Dhātvādeśas. The edition is based on a single manuscript full of mistakes. Yet the work of editing was not too difficult, for Rāmaśarman says practically nothing that has not been said also by Mārkaṇḍeya or Hemacandra. Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya belong to the same school and age; but whenever the former differs from the latter, it is only to agree with Hemacandra.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

HYMENES ET PRIERES DU VEDA by Louis Renou; pp. 164; Paris, 1938.

This is a book written for the general public by a master of Vedic philology. The study of the Vedic literature has been confined to a few specialists in every country ; practically no effort has been made to offer to the enlightened public of the world the universal elements of this great literature. In the little book under review Prof. Renou has undertaken to do this. Selected passages out of the RV., AV., Kauśika-sūtra, Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā, Maitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā and Taittirīya-saṁhitā have been translated in it with a view to helping the uninitiated to get a glimpse of the Vedic literature reflecting the various aspects of the life in Ancient India. In conformity with the purpose of the author, the translation in each case is literary and not literal. Such a book cannot fail to prove highly stimulating to all interested in Indian civilisation and culture.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

PROBLEME DER BUDDHISTISCHEN LOGIK in der Darstellung des Tattvasaṁgraha, by Arnold Kunst; pp. 145; Krakow, 1939.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that a new era in the history of Indian philosophical thought opened with the publication of Śāntarakṣita's Tattvasaṁgraha in the Gækwaḍ Oriental Series. Coming after Kumārila and before Śaṁkara, Śāntarakṣita in his great work gives a critical survey of all the philosophical systems of his age from the view-point of Vijñānavāda. It is a pity that the work has not received as much attention as it deserves, and the book under

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review is perhaps the first published in Europe on this veritable encyclopædia of Indian philosophy. The author deals only with the Anumānaparīkṣā of the Tattvasaṁgraha and modestly confines himself to giving as faithful a translation as possible of the text of Śāntarakṣita and his commentator Kamalaśīla. Like his teacher Prof. Schayer, Dr. Kunst too seems to be overcautious with the technical terms, many of which he leaves untranslated—a procedure which evoked a just protest from Prof. Stcherbatsky (Rocznik Orjent., 1934, p. 25). It is a special feature of the book under review that the author has taken into consideration also the Tibetan versions of the text, which, as he has amply demonstrated, often helps us to correct and improve the Sanskrit text.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

VIEILLES BALLADES DU BENGALE (Dinesh Chandra Sen); adaptation de Madeleine Rolland; Publications Chitra, No. ..; pp. 253; Paris, 1939.

Rai Bahadur Dinesh Chandra Sen has retrieved from imminent oblivion a glorious literature of mediæval Bengal. That was a time, impossible for us to conceive, when the days were long and yet so happy! The impact of European civilization was so strong that Bengal in the eighteenth century lost her moorings all on a sudden. Unable to resist the lure of the West, she broke with her past almost completely, and though blinded by the glitter of the new light from that quarter, she did not hesitate to take the decisive plunge which has brought us where we are to-day. Old Bengal lived on, however, in the distant villages, reflected in all her langourous beauty in these ballads collected by Mr. Sen, some of which have been translated into French in this volume by Mlle Madeleine Rolland. The translation is not literal, but it is more than correct: every line of it strikes in our hearts the same chord as the original Bengali. Mlle Rolland, like her illustrious brother, is a true lover of India. Hence she does not claim to have "discovered" India for the West. In the present volume she has only tried to communicate to her countrymen the emotions and sentiments evoked in her heart by these ballads of Bengal.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF MADRAS (written for the Tercentenary Celebration Committee, 1939) by Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Annamalai University; with a foreword by Diwan Bahadur S. E. Runganadhan, M.A., I.E.S., Retired Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras; published by P. Varadachary & Co., Madras, 1939; pages xlvii+363.

The history of the city of Madras is intimately connected with the rise of the British power in India. We, therefore, opened Prof. Srinivasachari's book not only as students of South Indian history, but also as those interested

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in the early history of British rule in India, and we must admit that our expectations are completely satisfied.

Besides a learned introduction giving an interesting general account of the city of Madras and its neighbourhood, the work under review is divided into eighteen chapters. Chs. I–V deal with the early history of the site of Madras and the origin and development of the settlement of the English. Chs. VI–XIV give a detailed account of the history of the city and the progress it made in different directions under the administration of such able Governors as Langhorne (1672–78), S. Master (1678–81), W. Gyfford (1681–87), E. Yale (1687–92), Higginson (1692–98), T. Pitt (1698–1709), T. Saunders (1752–55), G. Pigot (1755–63), and others. Chs. XV–XVII deal with the history of the growth of Madras in the 19th century, while in Ch. XVIII is given an interesting account of the city in the present century. The value of the book has been greatly enhanced by such illustrations as Fryer's Map of Madras (1673), Plan of Madras in 1688 from L. Langlis, prospect of Fort St. George and plan of Madras surveyed by order of Governor Pitt (1710), Madras in 1733 from Talboys Wheeler's map, Plan of Fort St. George and Bounds of Madraspatam surveyed and drawn by F. L. Conradi in 1755, Limits of Madras as fixed in 1798, etc. A chronological table which has been appended illustrates the history of Madras from 1522 when the Portuguese colonised San Thomé up to August 4, 1939, when the Tercentenary of the Foundation of the city was celebrated. There are also an exhaustive bibliography and a useful index.

The fairly long story covering three centuries of the growth of the village of Madraspatam, received by Francis Day for the East India Company of British merchants from the Rajah of Candragiri through Damarla Venkatappa (Venkatadri), the Nayak of the Coast country, to the present Madras (9 miles in length and 3 miles in breadth), one of the biggest and best Indian cities, has been delineated by Prof. Srinivasachari in the most fascinating way. Some of the sections, e.g., the last chapter dealing with such topics as the growth and activities of the Madras Corporation, are extremely interesting and highly instructive. The author has done full justice to all aspects of Madras history and life. We recommend this beautiful book to all who are interested in India.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR.

DER ARISCHE MANNERBUND, by Stig Wikander; pp. XII+111, Lund 1938.

Doctoral dissertations of Scandinavian Universities have always maintained a high standard scarcely reached elsewhere, and Wikander's work too is no exception to this rule. Yet it is difficult to agree with the author on any point, for he is wholly prepossessed with the idea of an Aryan religious cult, for the existence of which however, he has not been able to produce a scintilla of proof. It is all the more regrettable, therefore, that he should show such scant courtesy

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to the researches of such eminent scholars as Emile Benveniste and Louis Renou whom he wrongly accuses of explaining the myths as merely linguistic phenomena (p. 88). What Wikander wishes to prove is that Skt. *márya* signified not merely a young man but a member of a particular society vowed to a particular cult. *máryas* in short were the earthly counterparts of the Maruts in heaven and the two words are also etymologically connected with each other (which is quite possible). With the dissolution of these prehistoric students' corporations the word *márya* too lost its original meaning, and in the Vedic literature it came to be used merely as a colourless form of address. The erotic trait in the Vedic *márya* and the Middle Iranian *mērak* is explained in the author's opinion by the fact that young men when they are old enough to join corporations are everywhere prone to be lustful. Such are some of the conclusions reached by Wikander in this book. It is symptomatic of the author's line of thought that in his opinion only Schrader in his "Mysterium und Mimus" had succeeded in grasping the real significance of the Vedic cult. He has no faith in any one of those great Vedic scholars from Bergaigne to Geldner. It is a pity.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE by S. M. Jaffar B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.) with an Introduction by the Hon'ble Sir Abdul Qadir, Kt. Published by S. Muhammad Sadiq Khan, Kassa Khain, Peshawar. Price Rs. 5/- net.

It is a good sign of the times that Muslim scholars have themselves undertaken the task of writing the history of the Muslim rule in India in right earnest. Mr. Jaffar is already well-known by his work, "Education in Muslim India." The author claims himself to be "equipped with a thorough knowledge of the original sources and a clear conscience" and has chosen the "'right path" (as opposed to the communally ridden one). "History must not be used as an instrument of propaganda even in the best of causes; if used in a wrong sense, it may result in filling streets with human blood."

All this is quite good. Two controversial points on which he claims to have shed new light are the so-called apostasy of Akbar and the bigotry of Aurangzeb. Many will agree with him in the view that Akbar was no infidel to the religion of the Prophet and remained a Muslim at heart. But it is difficult to subscribe to his view that Aurangzeb was no bigot. His treatment of this topic seems to be apologetic rather than critical and the author is out to defend every measure of Aurangzeb. The plain truth is that an all-India empire cannot last for a long period on the goodwill and active support of a single community and Aurangzeb by his religious policy offended almost every other community excepting the orthodox followers of Islam.

The comprehensive bibliography (added at the end of the book) of works which he claims to have consulted ought to have enabled the author to speak more authoritatively on other controversial topics of the Mughal history. We do not know if that has not been reserved for future. The chapter on Mughal culture and civilisation gives only a meagre outline of the whole subject. The

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treatment is not thorough and exhaustive, and it is of doubtful value to the students in schools and colleges for whom the book is chiefly meant.

P. L. PAUL.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BENGAL SUBA[illegible] I, 1740-1770, by Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., publis[illegible]he University of Calcutta. XX & 567.

Dr. Datta is justly looked upon as a scholar whose researches invest his work with authority. In the book under review, he has made an honest and laudable attempt to collect minute and interesting details regarding the little known aspects of the social and economic history of Bengal, during the period of transition that intervened between the collapse of Mughal imperial authority in the province and the effective establishment of the British East India Company's power there. Indeed, the real history of the people of our country has yet to be written, and we have no hesitation in considering this work to be one of the pioneer works in this direction. It is striking that the learned author has laboured hard to base his accounts on comprehensive and exhaustive studies of a variety of sources, many of which were till then unpublished and little known. These are chiefly (1) contemporary manuscript works in Persian, (2) contemporary Bengali and Sanskrit literature containing useful incidental references to social and economic conditions, (3) a vast mass of records of the East India Company, and (4) accounts of contemporary European writers. Dr. Sen rightly observes in his Foreword to this book :—"His reconstruction of the social history, for instance, will prove of immense interest. He has satisfactorily proved that neither the fairer sex nor the humble castes, dubbed as "depressed" under the new dispensation, were either uneducated or uncultured. If the caste system was rigid, we should not forget that it did not stand in the way of literary *camaraderie* between the high Brahmin and the humble washerman." The work is studiously impartial in its tone, and many of its expressions are very suggestive and significant. We believe that the book would be studied with interest and profit by all, who are interested in the past history of their country, and trust that Dr. Datta would try to write a similar volume for the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

AMULYA CHARAN VIDYABHUSAN.

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PATAÑJALI AND THE VĀHĪKA-GRĀMAS

By VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

In the Mahābhārata, Karṇa Parva, ch. 44, are found the following verses which definitely point to the identification of the Vāhīka country :

पंचानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तरास्थिताः ।
तान्धर्मबाह्यानशुचान् वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥ ७ ॥
पञ्च नद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र पीलुवनान्युत ।
शतद्रुश्च विपाशा च तृतीयैरावती तथा ॥ ३१ ॥
चन्द्रभागा वितस्ता च सिन्धुषष्ठा बहिर्गिरेः ।
आरट्टा नाम ते देशा नष्टधर्मा न तान् व्रजेत् ॥ ३२ ॥
पंच नद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र निःसृत्य पर्वतात् ।
आरट्टा नाम वाहीका न तेष्वार्यो द्वयहं वसेत् ॥ ४० ॥

It is apparent from the above that the ancient Vāhīka country roughly coincided with the modern Panjab, 'Land of the Five Rivers' (*Pañca-nada,* Karṇa parva, ch. 45,30), excluding Kurukṣetra.[1]

VĀHĪKAGRĀMAS

The names of *grāmas* in the Vāhīka country were of some importance from the view-point of grammatical suffixes. Pāṇini makes a general reference to them in the following sūtra :

वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च IV. 2. 117.

i.e., the names of Vāhīka-grāmas (towns and villages) take the affixes *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭha* in the sense of *śeṣa.*

In the next sūtra, **विभाषोशीनरेषु** IV. 2. 118, Pāṇini means to say that the Uśīnara Janapada formed part of the Vāhīka country, on account

---

1. बहिष्कृता हिमवता गंगया च बहिष्कृताः ।
सरस्वत्या यमुनया कुरुचेचेण चापि ये ॥ —Karṇa Parva, ch. 44, 6.

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of which the Uśīnara-grāmas were also entitled to the rules governing the names of Vāhīka-grāmas, though the towns in the Uśīnara country took the suffixes only optionally. As examples of Vāhīka-grāma in the Uśīnara land, the Kāśikā gives the names of Ahvajāla and Sudarśana.

Patañjali in the course of his discussions on sūtras IV. 2. 104 and 124 refers to the following names of Vāhīka-grāmas :

1.	श्रारात् नाम वाहीकग्राम :	(Bhāṣya II. 293)
2.	कास्तीरो नाम वाहीकग्राम :	(„)
3.	दासरूप्यं नाम वाहीकग्राम :	(„)
4.	शाकलं नाम वाहीकग्राम :	(II.294)
5.	सौसुकं नाम वाहीकग्राम :	(II. 294; II. 301.)
6.	पातानप्रस्थं नाम वाहीकग्रामः	(II. 298)
7.	नान्दीपुरं नाम वाहीकग्राम :	(II. 298)
8.	कौक्कुडीवहं नाम वाहीकग्रामः	(II. 298)
9.	मौंजो नाम वाहीकेषु ग्रामः	(II. 299)

Kārantava may also be taken to be the name of a Vāhīka town as implied in Bhāṣya, II. 293, 297. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata in the regions of Kurukṣetra under the name of Kārantuka (Vanaparva, 83. 208).

We are indebted to the Kāśikā for the information that the names of Gauṣṭhī and Naitakī read in the Paladyādi gaṇa of Pāṇini IV. 2. 110) were also Vāhīka-grāmas :—

पलद्यादिषु यो वाहीकग्रामस्ततष्टञ्ञिठ्योरपवादः ।

यथा गाष्ठी नैतकीति ।

The Kāśikā commenting on I. 1. 75 says that Devadatta was a Vāhīka-grāma. The same is repeated in the gloss on sūtra IV. 2. 116, where we also get the information that Devadatta was also the name of an Eastern town. On the sūtra IV. 2. 117, itself dealing with Vāhīka-grāmas, the Kāśikā cites Mānthava along with Śākala, both of which must have been the names of Vāhīka towns.

The word *grāma* in the compound Vāhīka-grāma should be taken to include both *cities* and *villages*. We can confidently infer this from the example of Kāstīra. Patañjali calls it a *grāma,* as cited above, but *Pāṇini* refers to it as a *nagara* in sūtra VI. 1. 155 :

कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे ।

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Kāstīra may be identified with Kasūr in Lahore district, lying along the banks of the Satlej and situated upon the north bank of the old bed of the Beas. Its name ending in *-tīra* points to its situation in olden days immediately on the banks of the river which in course of time cut its course further east.

Śākala, the most famous in Patañjali's list of Vāhīka-grāmas, is placed on the Āpagā river by the Mahābhārata. It is identified by General Cunningham with Sanglawala-Tiba,—the country round which is still called Madradeśa,—west of the Ravi in the district of Jhang in the Punjab (Dey's *Geographical Dictionary).* It is also often identified with Sialkot, which is traditionally known to have been founded by Śalya.

Sausuka as the name of a Vāhīka-grāma is referred to by Kātyāyana also in a Vārttika :

अकेकान्तग्रहणे कोपधग्रहणं सौसुकाद्यर्थम् ।

(IV. 2. 141 ; Bhāṣya, II. 301).

Patañjali derives सौसुकीयः in the sense of one belonging to, or a resident of, Sausuka. Ptolemy mentions twelve towns situated along the river (Indus), viz. Embolima, Pentagramma, Asigramma, Tiansa, Aristobathra, Azika, Pardabathra, Piska, Pasipeda, Sousikana, Bonis and Kolaka (McCrindle's *Ptolemy,* p. 142). Dr. McCrindle writes about the identification of Sousikana :

'It is generally agreed that this (Sousikana) is a corrupt reading for Musikana, the royal city of Musikanos, who figures so conspicuously in the records of the Macedonian invasion, and whose kingdom was described to Alexander as being the richest and most populous in all India' *(op. cit.* p. 145). I disagree with this view and think that the identification of Ptolemy's Sousikana with Sausuka Vāhīka-grāma of the grammatical literature is much more plausible. Pāṇini also mentions Sausāyana in the Arīhaṇādi group (IV. 2. 80) from which we get the word-form Sausāyanaka denoting the place founded by Sausāyana. Vardhamāna derives Sausāyana from Sausa,[2] adding the familiar suffix *-āyana,* which also seems to have been the base in Sausuka. Most probably Sausāyanaka and Sausuka referred to the same locality under different terminations.

Of Ptolemy's list Tiansa has been recognised in the modern name Taunsa situated on the right bank of the Indus, where it receives the combined waters of the Luni and the Sangar.[3] Sausuka, therefore,

2. क्रौष्टुधौमतसौमेन्द्रसौसकौद्राः फणन्तकाः । *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi,* verse 289.

3. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* 1934, p. 519, Harit Krishna Deb.

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should be looked for on the lower course of the Indus below Taunsa.

IDENTIFICATION OF ĀRĀT WITH ĀRA

In Patañjali's list of Vāhīkagrāmas the first is Ārāt. It is referred to twice on p. 293 of Vol. II of the Bhāṣya. In the first instance under Vārttika on IV. 2. 104, Ārāt is an *avyaya,* from which the derivative form is Ārātīya. In the second place under Vārttika 2 on the same sūtra, the context requires Ārāt to be both an *avyaya* and a Vāhīkagrāma. Since the *avyaya* suffix *tyap* is superseded by the *Vāhīka-grāma* suffix *ṭhañ* and *ñiṭha,* the forms from Ārāt are Ārātkī and Ārātkā, a woman of Ārāt.

The genesis of the name Ārāt (that which is situated *near)* presupposes the existence of another important town in its proximity in relation to which it was so designated.

Fortunately both the philological and the geographical considerations are satisfied in the identification of Ārāt with Āra. Āra is situated in the Salt Range at the upper approach of the Nandana pass. The distance between Taxila and Āra is approximately 72 miles in a straight line, but necessarily a good deal longer by road. If we look at a map of the Punjab in some school atlas we can find out Khewrā in the Salt Range from which place the largest quantity of rock salt is quarried. Āra is about 14 miles measured in a straight line to the north-east of Khewrā.

According to Sir Aurel Stein[4] who made a detailed archæological and topographical survey of this area, this portion of the Salt Range between Dandot on the west and Dilwar in the east, is crossed by a succession of four routes which an invader coming from the north-west must conveniently use to reach the Jhelum and the open plain beyond the river. These four routes in order from east to west are those leading past the villages of Bāghānwālā, Chanuwālā and Kusuk, and the one descending from Dandot to the salt-mine of Khewrā. The Khewrā route connecting Dandot about a mile to its north-west with Pind Dādankhān on the Jhelum is the western-most route. But we are chiefly concerned here with the eastern route leading down steeply from a plateau of the eastern branch of the Salt Range to the village of Bāghānwālā and the open riverine plain of the Jhelum beyond it. Āra lies at the head of this route. From Āra the route leads to

4. *Archæological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran* by Sir Aurel Stein, pp. 24-44. I am indebted to Sir Stein for the topographical descriptions given here, except the identification.

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Nandana, and from there past Bāghānwālā to Haranpur and Jalalpur on the Jhelum. According to Sir Stein's showing, it was this route which Alexander followed to reach the Jhelum, journeying across the Salt Range, and many centuries later it was this route which Mahmūd Ghazni took when he repulsed Bhīmapāla Shāhi and besieged the fort of Nandana. In view of the geographical and historical importance of Ārāt I may quote at some length from Sir Stein's book :

'I may now proceed to give an account of the route leading down from the Salt Range through the pass of Nandana, and of the remains of the ancient stronghold, a true *chiusa,* which guarded it. I was able to make a close examination of them, with the help of Dr. Fabri, between November 28th and December 2nd, after having gained the upper approach of the pass at the rest house of Āra by a march of about 17 miles from Jalālpur. The route starting from the village of Āra may, in view of the explanations given in the preceding section well claim our interest as the main one that saw Alexander's forces descend to the bank of the Hydaspes. About 2 miles to the south of Āra the outer or southern one of the two more or less parallel chains of hills into which the highest portion of the Salt Range is here as elsewhere divided, dips down steeply towards the riverine plain. Between the two chains there extends a series of small open valleys, fertile at their bottoms and situated at elevations between 2000 and 3000 feet approximately. Approach to these valleys is easily gained by several roads which traverse the broken, but all the same for the most part carefully cultivated plateau stretching to the west of the Grand Trunk Road and the railway line between Taxila and Jhelum. Near the village of Āra there extends an open plateau, over 2 miles across and well provided with water. Sloping gently towards the watershed it would have afforded a convenient place for assembling a force before its descent to the river. We must assume that on this plain, more than thirteen centuries after Alexander's passage, there took place that battle between Mahmud of Ghazni and Bhīmapāla Shāhi, which the Mohammadan chroniclers mention as having preceded the former's siege of the fortress of Nandana in A.D. 1014. From the elevated ground of the Āra plateau, at a height of about 2,400 feet a steep winding road leads down over the rocky scrap of the range for close on 2 miles to where a small dip, about 200 yards across, at an average level of 1,300 feet stretches between two small valleys drained by streamlets which farther south unite below the ruined stronghold of Nandana" (Sir Aurel Stein, *op. cit.,* pp. 37-38). This detailed topographical account of Ārāt helps us to visualise the strategic importance of the town of Ārāt on the military route crossing the Salt Range in its eastern section by the fort of Nandana.

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NANDANA

It has been pointed out above that the name Ārāt presupposes the existence of another well-known town near it. It should be clear from the foregoing description that that town must have been Nandana. To quote again Sir Aurel Stein, 'This name Mr. Talbot found still attaching at the present time to the remarkable hill stronghold which completely closes a route leading down steeply from a plateau of the eastern branch of the Salt Range to the village of Bāghānwālā and the river plain of the Jhelum beyond it' (Sir Stein, *op. cit.* p. 25). Mr. Talbot writes in the Gazetteer of the Jhelum District about its impregnable position (p. 46): 'About fourteen miles due east of Choa Saidan Shah, between the villages of Bāghānwālā and Āra above, the outer Salt Range makes a remarkable dip ; the road over the hills winds at the face of a steep rocky hill, with perpendicular precipices at the sides, so that in former times the holder of this hill had the absolute command of what was one of the most obvious routes across the range.'[5] Immediately above the dip referred to, there rises very abruptly the bold rocky ridge of Nandana which was fortified at the top and as long as the ridge was defended not even men on foot could gain passage through the gorges of the pass. According to the Mohammadan historians, Nandana situated on the southern spur of the Salt Range commanded the main route leading into the Ganges Doab.

Thus Ārāt and Nandana commanded what was once the most important arterial route between the Udīcya and the Prācya divisions of India. In the time of Patañjali in the 2nd. century B.C., earlier than that in the fourth century B.C. when Alexander came, and possibly still earlier in the time of Pāṇini himself, the route of Ārāt and Nandana across the Saindhava mountains was a current one both for commerce and military operations. The commercial products imported by way of *Uttarāpatha* referred to in sūtra V. 1. 77 **उत्तरपथेनाहृतं च** were mostly brought through the Nandana route. It is almost tempting to look for the name Nandana in the Aṣṭādhyāyī. We would point to the *gaṇa kṣubhnādi* (VIII. 4. 39), which reads :

नन्दिन् नन्दन नगर एतान्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञायां प्रयोजयन्ति ।

The gaṇapāṭha contains the example Harinandana, which is also supported by Candra in his Vṛtti. It is just possible that the name ending in Nandana was originally called Hari-Nandana, but for the same no conclusive proof can be adduced. It is at any rate certain

5. Quoted by Sir Aurel Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

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that in the fourth century B.C. both Ārāt and Nandana[6] were important places commanding the gateway through the Salt Range, on the route from Takṣaśilā to Vitastā.

PĀTĀNAPRASTHA AND KAUKKUḌĪVAHA

Of the remaining Vāhīkā-grāmas it is proposed to identify Pātānaprastha with Paṭhān-kot and Kaukkuḍīvaha with Kahror. The *koṭ* ending in Paṭhānkoṭ is comparatively of recent origin like that in Nagarkoṭ. The word has nothing to do with the tribal name Paṭhān. General Cunningham identified it as the capital of the Audumbaras. "The name is also written Paithan and is quite unconnected with that of the Paṭhāns of Roh" (*A.S.R.*, XIV, p. 116). He also writes: "The old fort of Pathankot is, I believe, one of the most ancient sites in the Punjab, as its position is especially favourable as a mart for the interchange of produce between the hills and plains. Situated in the middle of the narrow neck of land, only 16 miles in width, which divides the valleys of the Bias and Ravi, at the point where they leave the hills, Pathankot naturally became the great emporium between the two rich valleys of Kangra and Chamba in the hills, and the great cities of Lahore and Jalandhar in the plains. The name of the place is said to have no reference to the Paṭhān Afghans, but is a genuine Hindu word derived from Pathan — a road — as if it was intended to describe the great meeting of the roads which here takes place" (*A.S.R.*, V, p. 153).

From the advantage which the place possessed as an emporium of trade of considerable importance I consider its original name to have been Pattana, a market-town, which in course of time was changed to Pātāna with the place designation *prastha* added to it. Kauṭilya uses *pattana* in the sense of a commercial town, often prefixed by the word *paṇya* (Arthaśāstra, text, p. 126). The form of the name in Patañjali's time was, however, Pātāna-prastha, and the change from Pattana to Pātāna appears to have taken place, if at all, before the 2nd century B.C.

The identification of Kaukkuḍīvaha with Kahror is only a

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6. Dr. Stein mentions having obtained several Indo-Scythian and later Kushana and Shahi coins from Āra. For a detailed topographical and archæological account of Nandana and Ārāt, the two chapters of Dr. Stein's book quoted above, headed 'nanadna and the Crossing below Jalalpur and The Pass of Nandana and is Rivers' are a source of considerable original material (*Arch. Reconnaisances in North-West India and South Eastern Iran*, 1937).

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probable suggestion, since the latter appears to be the only place having pretensions to antiquity and also philologically appropriate to be matched with Kaukkuḍīvaha. *Vaha* according to Pāṇini, IV. 2. 122, is an ending to denote a place-name. Kahror, situated on an old bed of the river, known as the Bhatiari Nala, is about 8 miles from the present right bank of the Satlej. It is famous as the scene of the battle of Vikramāditya against the Śakas. Its geographical position also shows it to have been an important town in the region between the lower courses of the Chenab and the Satlej.

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(*Vide* Article *Patañjali and the Vāhika-Grāmas*)

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JAINA IMAGES IN BENGAL

By KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI

Jaina images found in Bengal are few in number though Jainism is known to have flourished in this province for a long time.

We are told in the *Āyārāṅga Sutta* that Mahāvīra, the virtual founder of Jainism, had travelled in the pathless countries of the *Lāḍhas* (Rāḍhas, Western Bengal), through *Vajjabhūmi* and *Subbhabhūmi,* before he attained the Kevala knowledge.[1] A tradition recorded late in the 9th century A.D. says that the Jaina saint *Bhadravāhu,* the reputed spiritual guide of Chandragupta Maurya, was born at Devikot, synonymous with Koṭivarṣa and identified with modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District.[2] Godāsa, a disciple of Bhadravāhu, is said in the *Kalpasūtra* to have classified the Jainas of Eastern India into different sects, four of which were known as *Koṭivarṣīyā, Puṇḍravardhanīyā, Tāmraliptīyā,* and *Karvaṭīyā* after different place names of ancient Bengal.[3] Evidently Bengal, especially these places, had already earned fame as noted centres of Jainism, so as to lend their names to important sects of the followers of the faith. It appears that Bengal had come to be influenced by Jainism from as early as its inception and we might as well agree with the observations of Dr. Bhandarkar that "While Bihar and Kośala were taken by Buddha and his adherents, Bengal was selected by Mahāvīra and his followers for their proselytizing activities."[4]

Such was the state of Bengal in the pre-Christian days. From the references cited it is apparent that Jainism had already gained a strong foothold in Bengal in the pre-Christian days. There are sufficient data to carry us further onwards and from these one can infer the prevalence of the faith even as late as the 7th century A.D. A copper-plate inscription dated in the year 159 of the Gupta era (478-479 A.D.) discovered in the excavations at Paharpur informs us of the existence of a Jaina establishment at or near the site.[5] Yuan Chwang in

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1. S.B.E., XXVIII, pp. 84-5.
2. Kathākoṣa.
3. Jacobi, Kalpasūtra, p. 79.
4. J.A.S.B., (N.S.) XXVIII, p. 124.
5. Ep. Ind., XX, p. 39 ff.

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the 7th century A.D. testifies to the existence of numerous Jaina Nirgranthas in different parts of Bengal.[6]

Unfortunately very few relics relating to Jainism are now extant of this early period and no archæological evidence of any importance bearing any relation to the history of the faith within Bengal has yet been brought to light. It is a pity again that the literary evidences which constitute the bulk of our information on the point gradually get more scarce.

From the 8th century A.D. the Pālas established their suzerainty in Bengal and the subsequent period up till 1200 A.D. is generally known by their name. The Pāla period is remarkable for the two dominant religious systems that were in vogue at that time, namely, Buddhism and Brahmanism with their cross-currents and inter-relations with each other. Jainism apparently had no important place in the religious history of the period. But among the thousands of images of this period that have been known from different parts of the province, there have been found a few ones, though only very few, pertaining to the religion of Mahāvīra testifying to the survival of the faith even under strong pressure of the two great religions mentioned above.

The Jaina images present a definite problem. The absence of images in the earlier periods necessitates us to confront suddenly a well-advanced iconography and a mature art. The images so far found, are mostly of Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras* and do not number more than a dozen or so. Of these some have come from Northern Bengal,[7] one or two have been noticed in the western parts of the province[8] while the rest hail from the Sundarbans.[9]

They represent icons of Ṛṣabhanātha, (Ādinātha), Neminātha, Śāntinātha and Pārśvanātha. Some of these are very interesting from the point of their execution and iconographic peculiarities.

Of these images, a big one coming from Surohor in the district of Dinajpur deserves immediate notice. The image now in the V.R.S. Museum, Rajshahi, represents Ṛṣabhanātha, the first of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras of the Jainas. Seated cross-legged at the centre of the stela on a *siṁhāsana* with hands resting on the soles of the feet, he is characterised by his *lānchhana* or identifying mark, the bull placed at

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6. Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II, p. 154.
7. J.A.S.B., (N.S.) XXVIII, p. 193.
8. A.S.I., A.R., 1921-22. I.C., Vol. III, p. 524 f.
9. V.R.S. Monographs, 3 & 4. Papers on Khāḍi and Sundarban by Mr. K. D. Dutta.

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the lower compartment of the pedestal. Completely nude, he wears the *ūrṇā, uṣṇīsa,* and the wheel marks, which are the well-known *mahāpuruṣa lakṣaṇas,* on his palm and soles of the feet. He is flanked by two male figures with fly-whisks on either side and Gandharva pairs on either side of the round *prabhā-maṇḍala* which rests under the canopy of a chhattra.

What have bestowed special importance on the image are the figures of twenty-three other Tīrthaṅkaras, seated in *dhyāna* pose within niches of miniature temples arranged in relief on the two sides and top of the main figure. Each Tīrthaṅkara is marked by his distinctive *lānchhana* shown on the pedestals, but as has been pointed out by Mr. S. K. Saraswati, these *lānchhanas* do not tally exactly with the list given by Hemachandra in his *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi* in cases of Sumatinātha, Supārśvanātha, and Anatanātha.[10] The *lānchhanas* as given by Hemachandra are Krauñcha (heron,), svastika, and falcon instead of the animal, lotus and boar as shown in the sculpture. The image is in an excellent state of preservation and shows a nice specimen of Pāla art.

Another image of Ṛṣabhanātha hails from Mondoil in Rajshahi district and is now in the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University. The Jina, whose head is unfortunately lost, stands in *kāyotsarga* pose on a lotus placed upon a *pañcharatha* pedestal, on which is shown the bull, his *lānchhana* and a number of devotees. There are two fly-whisk bearing figures on two sides of the main figure and the nine *grahas* with *Gaṇeśa* are shown in low relief on either side of the stela. Behind the lost head is the decorated *prabhā-maṇḍala* upon which is a chhattra and on both sides of these there are flying *gandharvas* and celestial hands carrying garlands and other offerings. The extreme elegance of the figure of the Jina and the sensitiveness of its fingers cannot escape admiration. Several other Ṛṣabhanātha images have been noticed from other parts of Bengal of which one was described by Mr. K. D. Dutta in V.R.S. monographs, no 3.[11] In a much damaged condition this standing image of the Tīrthaṅkara was found at Ghatesvar in the Sundarbans.

Besides the specimens just mentioned several other Jaina images were found in the Sundarbans and were noticed by Mr. Dutta. Of these images of Ādinātha, Pārśvanātha and Neminātha, the Pārśvanātha image found in Raidighi is worthy of mention. Standing in *Kāyotsarga* pose, this image, which is in a nice state of preservation,

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10. J.A.S.B., (N.S.) XXVIII, p. 193.
11. V.R.S. Monographs, 4, pp. 9-10.

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has got twenty-three other Tīrthaṅkaras shown on the stela seated in *dhyāna* pose. In case of the *lānchhanas* a similar discrepancy is noticed as in the image of Ṛṣabhanātha hailing from Surohor.

All these images belong to a period when Jainism was already in a state of decay on the soil of Bengal. It is however strange to find that no image has yet been found of a period when Jainism was a predominant factor in the religion of Bengal. It may, however, be considered that very little exploration has yet been undertaken to bring to light such antiquities of Bengal as belong to an earlier period and it may be hoped that after a scientific exploration of the numerous ancient sites has been made, more Jaina images will come to light and facilitate a systematic study of the subject.

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THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BHĀṬṬA AND PRĀBHĀKARA SCHOOLS IN PŪRVAMĪMĀṂSĀ

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri

The Vedas consist of two parts: Mantras and Brāhmaṇas. Mantras, in each Veda, are generally interpreted to give advice with reference to the deity, substance of offerings, sacrifices that are already performed, to be attended to and are being performed. Vedic injunctions, based on these advices, are known as the Brāhmaṇas which give details of sacrifices with the support of the different Mantras. There are several branches or Śākhās in each Veda, and each branch possesses a Mantra and a Brāhmaṇa portion where the same sacrifices with different procedures are prescribed. To systematize the different sacrifices as found in the Vedic Śākhās, a vast literature was built up which was known as the Kalpa Sūtras and was recognised early as the sixth auxiliary to the Vedas. Each branch of the Veda has a Kalpasūtra of its own composed by ancient sages. For instance, Āpastamba, Bodhāyana, etc. were the first to fix the methods of sacrifices with full details in the Yajurveda which were good for the followers of the Taittirīya branch of that Veda.

Thus, the Vedas and the Kalpasūtras combined together, form a literature which seeks to supply full details of the Vedic sacrifices. Notwithstanding this vast literature, considerable difficulties arise in understanding the procedure when one begins to perform the sacrifices. For instance, the correct interpretation of the Vedic texts and that of the Kalpasūtras, the rules that govern the performances of the rites, the authority of the Vedas that enjoin the sacrifices for conferring different benefits on humanity and the removal of discrepancies when several ceremonies are to be performed simultaneously, are some of the questions which are not explained either in the Vedas or in the Kalpasūtras.

The necessity for the Mīmāṁsā Śāstra, therefore, arises, and this establishes the Vedas being of the supreme authority in determining the Dharma or the acts of duty, and helps in correctly interpreting the Vedic texts and so on. Mīmāṁsā decides the exact authorities on Dharma, nature of the rites obtained from different Śākhās with different details, principal and subsidiary parts of a sacrifice, and other allied subjects considered necessary for the sacrificers. Mīmāṁsā or discussion on these rules of Vedic sacrifices originated in very early

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times, and there were many sages whose views were recorded only by tradition. Jaimini, the author of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā-sūtras as available to-day, mentions many of these sages as taking part in the discussions and contributing their views on particular points.[1] Jaimini who is generally believed to be the disciple of Bādarāyaṇa,[2] is the author of the first twelve chapters of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā and the subsequent four chapters constituting the Saṅkarṣakāṇḍa are also attributed to him, though this is regarded in some quarters as doubtful.[3] Thus, Jaimini is considered to be the author of the Sūtras in sixteen chapters where he has laid down the rules for the Vedic sacrifices, and indicated the method by which Vedic injunctions may be interpreted in case of doubt. The portion of the Veda on which Jaimini carried on discussions in these sixteen chapters is called the Karmakāṇḍa which constitutes the whole of the Veda excepting the Upaniṣads of each Śākhā.

Bādarāyaṇa, who is regarded to be the teacher of Jaimini, had composed sūtras in four chapters and interpreted the Upaniṣad portion of the Vedas so as to reconcile the different philosophical statements contained therein on the question of the true knowledge of Brahman. Thus, all the twenty chapters of Mīmāṁsā represent the investigation into the contents of the Vedas and, therefore, all of them are considered to be a part and parcel of the same Śāstra by the ancient commentators. Bodhāyana, Upavarṣa and Ācārya Sundarapāṇḍya, the early writers on Mīmāṁsā, are known to have commented on all the twenty chapters,[4] taking for granted that the sole object of the Mīmāṁsā Śāstra is Vedārthavicāra or investigation into the contents of the Vedas, no matter

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1. (a) Bādarāyaṇa 1.1.5 ; 5.1.19 ; 6.1.8 ; 10.8.44 ; 11.1.64.
   (b) Bādari 3.1.3 ; 8.3.6 ; 9.2.33.
   (c) Aitiśāyana 3.2.43 ; 6.1.6.
   (d) Kārṣṇājini 4.3.17 ; 6.7.35.
   (e) Ātreya 4.3.18 ; 5.2.18.
   (f) Āśmarathya 6.5.16.
   (g) Ālekhana 6.5.17.
   (h) Lāvukāyana 6.7.37.
   (i) Kāmukāyana 11.1.57 ; 11.1.62.

2. *See* Nyāyapariśuddhi of Veṅkaṭanātha, p. 285.

3. *Ibid*, p. 299, where Kāśakṛtsṇa is mentioned as the author of the Saṅkarṣa. Patañjali also mentions him as the author of the Mīmāṁsā. *See* P. V. Kane's Pūrvamīmāṁsā System, p. 3.

4. *See* pp. 465-468 of the Proceedings of the 3rd Oriental Conference. Also *see* pp. 298-299 of the Nyāyapariśuddhi. For Ācāryasundara Pāṇḍya *see*. MM. S. K. Sastri's paper in J.O.R., Madras vol. I. 1.

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whether it is for Dharma, Devatā or Brahman. It may be said, therefore, that both the Karma and Brahma Mīmāṁsās belonged to the same Śāstra, at least it was considered to be so in ancient days. Thus, it is easy to understand why Jaimini and Bādarāyaṇa frequently quoted each other's views in their respective works.[5] Later on Bhavadāsa and Devasvāmin commented upon the first sixteen chapters of Jaimini and, thus, paved the way for considering the Brahmamīmāṁsā as something separate from the Karmamīmāṁsā.[6] The object of Jaimini's sūtras was said to be the investigation on Dharma and that of Bādarāyaṇa on Brahman. Thus one common Śāstra of Vedārthavicāra was divided into two distinct Śāstras. Śabarasvāmin, the next commentator, also favoured the same view, and his commentary for twelve chapters alone has come down to us. It appears, however, doubtful whether Śabara commented on the Saṅkarṣasūtras or not.

The period of Śabarasvāmin was the period when the Buddhists came forward with their own advanced tenets which led them to discuss and refute the orthodox systems of philosophy and religion. Great strides were made by them in establishing their favourite theories of Kṣaṇikavāda, Śūnyavāda, Nirālambanavāda, Nairātmya and Vijñānavāda. Destructive criticisms with rational arguments were freely made by the Buddhists in order to destroy the social structure of the community which was based on the Cāturvarṇya system advocated in the Vedic texts. Powerful attacks of the Buddhists, on the traditional faith of the people and on the supreme authority of the Vedas gradually shook the faith of the people in the Vedas and the Vedic sacrifices. Under these threatening circumstances it fell on the great thinkers of the period like Śabarasvāmin, Vātsyāyana, Praśastapāda, Patañjali, Īśvarakṛṣṇa and others to re-view and re-establish the six orthodox systems of philosophy on more rational arguments and on absolutely sure grounds to counter the attacks of the Buddhists.

Śabarasvāmin's part was peculiarly difficult and his efforts were particularly strenuous, since the Buddhists were specially vehement in their attacks against the Vedas and Vedic sacrifices. The system of the Pūrvamīmāṁsā moreover possessed no independent system of philosophy to establish the validity of the knowledge derived from the Karmakāṇḍa of the Vedic texts. The Pūrvamīmāṁsā was, therefore, required to be separated from the Uttaramīmāṁsā and had to be given an independent status amongst the orthodox systems of

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5. *See.* p. 8. of the introduction of the Tattvabindu (Annāmalai University edition).

6. *See* Prapañcahṛdaya, p. 39 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series).

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philosophy with its object to establish Dharma as the chief means of emancipation. In order to raise the Pūrvamīmāṁsā to the status of an independent system, Śabarasvāmin had to go beyond the range of the Sūtras of Jaimini in order to state the Mīmāṁsā-views on all topics and tenets.[7] In his work, he was practically forced to adopt entirely the views stated by Upavarṣa in his commentary on the Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras regarding Ātman[8] and Pramāṇas, and with their help he made an attempt to refute the different schools of Buddhistic thought. The object of the Mīmāṁsā Śāstra was narrowed down by him. From Vedārtha it was limited to Dharma alone, in the same way as the knowledge of Brahman was the sole object of the other Mīmāṁsā. He introduced several new theories on Bhāvanā, Apūrva, Vākyārthanirṇaya, Nityakāmyaviveka and the theory of knowledge and thus opened a new school of thought. While doing so, he attacked the theories of the ancient Vṛttikāras Bhavadāsa and others.

Bhartṛmitra, who followed Śabarasvāmin, did not favour the innovations introduced by him, and, therefore, made an attempt to uphold the earlier views of the Vṛttikāras in his commentary on the sūtras.[9]

Kumārilabhaṭṭa, who came later in the field of Mīmāṁsā literature, in his turn upheld the views of Śabarasvāmin in his commentaries on the Śābarabhāṣya against the views adumbrated by Bhartṛmitra. Kumārila writes in his Ślokavārtika that some of the earlier writers had introduced atheism into Mīmāṁsā in many respects, and his efforts here are to refute them and to re-establish the Mīmāṁsā as one of

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7. *See* Vṛttikāragrantha of the Śābarabhāṣya on 1.1.3 where he has refuted many Vādas of the Buddhists in his own accord. *See* also Maṇḍana's Mīmāṁsānukramaṇī on the same topic :

वह्वर्थं वक्तुकामेन तदर्थं सौत्रमिच्छता ।
हस्तिकारमतेनेयं विसृत्तृी वर्णतेऽन्यथा ॥

It is evident from this verse that Śabara's Vṛttikāragrantha contains his own views based on the Upavarṣa's Vṛtti on the three sūtras.

8. *See* Śaṅkara's Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya 3.3.53 :

ननु शास्त्रमुख एव प्रथमे पादे···देहव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनोऽस्तित्वमुक्तम् । सत्यमुक्तं भाष्यकृता । न तु तत्रात्मास्तित्वे सूत्रमस्ति, इह तु स्वयमेव सूत्रकृता तदस्तित्वमाक्षेपपुरःसरं प्रतिष्ठापितम् । इत एव चाक्षिप्य आचार्येण शबरस्वामिना प्रमाणलक्षणे वर्णितम् । अतश्च च भगवतापवर्षेण प्रथमे तन्त्रे आत्मास्तित्वाभिधानप्रसक्तौ शारीरके वक्ष्यामः इत्युद्धारः कृतः ।

9. *See* Ślokavārttika, pp. 4; 763.

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the *āstikadarśanas.*[10] Pārthasārathimiśra informs us further in this connection that Bhartṛmitra and others have propounded the views that actions prescribed or prohibited in the Vedas cannot be capable of producing benefic or malefic results and that such extraordinary doctrines have been refuted by Kumārila.[11] From these statements of Kumārila and Pārthasārathi it can be surmised that Bhartṛmitra stood for the old views, and thus came in the way of introducing reforms by later writers like Śabarasvāmin which were necessary in order to save the Śāstra from the attacks of the Buddhists.

The early writers seem to have been thoroughly conservative and they expected from all absolute obedience to the Vedic injunctions without expecting any result whatever. Vedic injunctions or Niyogas are of three kinds : one prescribes duties to be observed throughout the life-time ; the second relates to the rites for obtaining some benefits such as Svarga, Paśu, etc.; while the third prohibits wrong actions. These three kinds are technically known as Nitya, Kāmya and Pratisiddha. All these Niyogas or commands from the Vedas should be strictly observed by all and sundry, simply on the ground that the authority of the Vedas is unquestionable. It is, however, said that in the first and the third kinds of Niyogas, no result should be expected as there is hardly any provision for such results in the Vedic sentences. In this respect, the Mīmāṁsā view is identical with that of the atheists because in both, the life-long performance of Vedic rites is incapable of conferring any beneficial result. Even so, the actions that are prohibited in the Vedas cannot be calculated to produce any harm whatsoever. The atheists hold the view stated above as they do not believe in the next birth, nor in the existence of the soul which is supposed to transmigrate. The reason for the Mīmāṁsakas' holding the same views is that the Vedic Niyogas, being supreme commands, require to be obeyed no matter whether they give rise to good or bad results or no result. Even those Niyogas which seem to have been prescribed for the fulfilment of certain desires such as Svarga or Paśu should be obeyed since they are Vedic commands, while the desired results are obtained automatically. Similarly, there are many other instances where the early Mīmāṁsakas were very strict in preserving the authority of the Vedas.[12]

Śabarasvāmin and Kumārilabhaṭṭa being of a reformative ten-

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10. *Ibid.* p. 4.

11. *Ibid.*

12. For instance, the Niyogavākyārthavāda, Kāryaparavākyavāda, Akhyātivāda, Śrutivirudhasmṛtiprāmāṇyavāda, etc., may be cited in this respect.

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dency were not in favour of these ancient theories which failed to satisfy them. On the contrary they sought to establish that there is no difference between Vedic and non-Vedic injunctions.[13] None is likely to undertake an action without knowing the result, particularly in the case of Non-Vedic injunctions. Even so is the case with the Vedic injunctions. There ought to be some expectation of results, otherwise none is likely to obey the Vedic injunctions or undertake to perform the rituals.[14] They, thus, formulated that no Vedic injunction would be complete without indicating the result to be expected, and the means and methods to be adopted for its realisation.[15] Moreover, according to Kumārila, it is the knowledge of Dharma and not Vedārthavicāra which is to be considered as the supreme goal.[16] He, therefore, tried to establish that each Dharma based on Vedic injunctions *does* confer a specific result.[17] Reforms of this kind were introduced by Kumārilabhaṭṭa on the lines of Śabara and he adversely criticised the old method of the Vṛttikāras and Bhartṛmitra. No wonder that Kumārilabhaṭṭa should be considered as one of the greatest reformers in the domain of Vedic thought, especially as embodied in the Karmakāṇḍa.[18] He may also be called the saviour of the Vedic religion which was almost tottering under the onslaught of the celebrated Buddhist scholars such as Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti. He boldly declared that Dharma should be learnt only from the Vedas and the fourteen Vidyāsthānas supported by the Vedas and not from any other source such as the works of the Buddhists and the

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13. *See* the Bhāṣya and Vārttika on the first and second sūtras of Jaimini where a comparison on the Vedic and non-Vedic sentences has been made.

14. सर्वस्यैव हि शास्त्रस्य कर्मणो वापि कस्यचित्। यावत्प्रयोजनं नोक्तं तावत्तत्कः न गृह्यते ॥ *Ślokavārttika*, p. 4. प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न मन्दो ऽपि प्रवर्तते ॥ *Ibid.* p. 653.

15. *See* Bhāṣya on the following Adhikaraṇas :—6.1.1 ; 4.3.5 ; 4.3.6 ; 7.1.1 ; 9.1.1 ; 2.1.2 ; 11.1.4. *See* also :—

तस्मात् क्रान्तरूपोपि विधिस्तावत् भाव प्रतीच्यते।
यावद्याग्यत्वमापन्ना नाऽव्यातपेक्षणी ॥ S. V. 7. 276.
एकभावनयोपात्तास्त्रयेऽप्यंशाः परस्परम्।
उपकार्योपकारित्वं पश्चादनुभवन्ति ते ॥ S. V. 7.265.

16. *Ibid.* p. 4.

17. मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्त्तेत तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः।
नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात् प्रत्यवायजिहासया ॥ *Ibid. 5. 110.*

18. *See* Tantravārttika, 1.3.2 and 3.

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Jainas which deny the supreme authority of the Vedas.[19] He did not follow the Niyogavākyārthavāda or Kāryavākyārthavāda but established the Bhāvanāvākyārthavāda as suggested earlier by Śabarasvāmin.

Prabhākara, another very celebrated thinker of the period, appeared after Kumārila, and it is said that he received direct instructions from Kumārilabhaṭṭa. Nevertheless, he totally differed from his preceptor and predecessor and was not in favour of his reforms and deviations from the early writers. He re-established the views of Bhartṛmitra on the Niyogas of Nitya and Niṣiddha duties already referred to, and accepted Vedārthavicāra as the sole purpose of Mīmāṁsā instead of Dharma as inculcated by the old Vṛttikāras like Bodhāyana and others. He upheld the Niyogavākyārthāvāda, Kāryaparavākyavāda, Anvitābhidhānavāda and Akhyātivāda in consonance with the orthodox views on Mīmāṁsā. He opposed all the reforms introduced by Kumārila in his five Vārttikas on the Śabarabhāṣya. In doing so, Prabhākara did not directly quote Kumārila's passages for the purpose of refutation, but, instead, following in the footsteps of Kumārila he refuted him, while commenting on the Śabarabhāṣya itself, often twisting the original sentences so as to suit his own purposes.[20] His followers on the other hand have supplied the necessary information wherever he meant to refute the views of Kumārila. Prabhākara commanded great respect and prominence in the field of Mīmāṁsā, because of his adopting an indirect method in rejecting the innovations of Kumārila and also because he had contrived to derive his own views from the Bhāṣya of Śabara, as if they were the views of Śabara himself. In the above manner the Bhāṣya of Śabara was interpreted by two eminent scholars, Kumārila and Prabhākara, equally staunch followers of the new and the old schools of Mīmāṁsā.

Maṇḍanamiśra who is believed to have been another disciple of Kumārila was, however, true to his preceptor and condemned the methods of Prabhākara. He established in his works Vidhiviveka, Bhāvanāviveka, Vibhramaviveka and Brahmasiddhi all the reforms introduced by Kumārila with some modifications representing the results of his own independent thinking. Kumārila seems to

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19. *Ibid.* 1.3.5.

20. Compare Bṛhatī of Prabhākara on the following Bhāṣyas :

1-1-1 दृष्टोहि तस्यार्थः कर्मावबोधनं नाम। किं परस्येति। क्व पुरुषपरत्वं क्वचा पुरुषो गुणभूतः स हि निःश्रेयसेन पुरुषं संयुनक्ति। अनर्थं चर्च्छेत्

1-1-2 चोदनेति क्रियायाः प्रवर्तकं वचनमाहुः। शक्नोत्यवगमयितुम्, यो यागमनुतिष्ठति तं धार्मिक इति। श्रेयस्करः। कोऽर्थः यो निःश्रेयसाय। कोऽर्थः यः प्रत्यवायाय etc.

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have excited a desire for independent thinking on the part of his disciples by his own example of reforming the old school of Mīmāṁsā. It is for this reason that we find his disciples, Maṇḍana and Umbeka at times differing from him. Umbeka, otherwise known as Bhavabhūti, is said to have written a commentary on Kumārila's Ślokavārttika in which he introduced certain deviations from Kumārila.

Śālikanātha is the celebrated follower of Prabhākara's system and he appeared after Maṇḍana. He is believed to have been a disciple of Prabhākara himself. He, in his turn, commented upon the Bṛhatī and the Laghvī of Prabhākara in which he very ably established the views of his teacher. He quoted from all the Vārttikas of Kumārila wherever Prabhākara differed from him and made an able attempt to show that the Bhāṣya of Śabarasvāmin favoured only the theories of Prabhākara and not those of Kumārila. He wrote also several independent works[21] in which he tried to show that the views of Kumārila were not based on the Bhāṣya, and that the views of Prabhākara and the orthodox methods he followed, were adopted by Śabara in his Bhāṣya. He ably replied to the criticisms of Maṇḍana on Prabhākara's Kāryavākyārthavāda,[22] and supported the Akhyātivāda of Prabhākara against all other systems of philosophy such as the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṁsā of Bhāṭṭa and the Vedāntins.

Thus, in course of time, the ancient system of Mīmāṁsā, taking its origin from thinkers like Jaimini, Upavarṣa and others, was forgotten, disintegrating itself in the two distinct schools antagonistic to each other known as the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools of Mīmāṁsā, though both relied on the same source, namely, the Bhāṣya of Śabarasvāmin.

It may be pointed out that it was during this period that the great Śaṅkarācārya flourished and wrote his immortal Bhāṣyas on the Upaniṣads and the Bādarāyaṇasūtras. He was guided mostly by the views of Kumārila in his statements regarding the Mīmāṁsā system. He believed in the separation of the two systems of Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṁsās[23] as these had different objects, namely, the Dharma and Brahman. He thought that Śabaravāmin was right in making the Pūrvamīmāṁsā a separate school of philosophy in order to defend the Vedic religion against the attacks of the Buddhists. He believed that it was Śabara and Kumārila who made his way easy in establishing the Advaitism as the philosophy of the Upaniṣads against the contending Buddhists. He was disposed to think that Kumārila was right in his

21. Prakaraṇapañcikā and Mīmāṁsā-Bhāṣya-Pariśiṣṭa.
22. *See Ṛjuvimalā*, pp. 20-24 (Madras edition).
23. *See* 1.1.1 of his Bhāṣya on the Bādarāyaṇasūtra.

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interpretation of the Śabarabhāṣya with reference to Bhāvanāvākyārthavāda, Nityakāmyaviveka, Abhihitānvayavāda and the theory of knowledge. He was visibly not in favour of the theories of Prabhākara and his interpretations of Śabarabhāṣya. He was believed to be in an attitude of compromise between the two conflicting parties, namely, the Mīmāṁsakas and the Buddhists. Śaṅkara not only pointed out the evil arising out of a blind faith in the Vedic sacrifices but also warned the people against the dangers of following the purely rationalistic philosophy of the Buddhists.

Vācaspatimiśra was the next great writer on all the Brāhmanical systems of philosophy and pleaded for an independent status for every one of them. He upheld the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṁsā on the lines of Maṇḍanamiśra. He answered all the charges brought against Maṇḍana by Śālikanātha, and condemned the views of Prabhākara which were really not supported by Śabarasvāmin. It was a common practice of scholars in those days to oppose or support either of the two schools of Mīmāṁsā, and thus we come across several works dealing with the Mīmāṁsā system. Authors such as Mahodadhi, Mahāvrata, etc., are known to have written works in support of either of these schools[24] though their works still remain to be discovered. In the last phase, the two schools were supported by two great figures, namely, Bhavanātha and Pārthasārathimiśra. Bhavanātha, in his work Nayaviveka, written in the concise form of Adhikaraṇa without reference to the sūtras of Jaimini, sought to establish the views of Prabhākara, and actually supplied all instances where Prabhākara deviated from the path of Kumārila. From Śālikanātha and Bhavanātha we can easily understand that Prabhākara was later than Kumārila. It also appears from their testimony that Prabhākara refuted the views of Kumārila inculcated in his Bṛhaṭṭīkā which is now no longer extant, but the existence of which can be proved by the numerous quotations preserved in the philosophical literature.

Pārthasārathimiśra in his four works on Mīmāṁsā followed the Bhāṭṭa school, and vehemently opposed the other system. The object of writing these works appears to be to show on the one hand that Prabhākara was not correct in saying that his views were supported by the text of Śabara's Bhāṣya, and on the other to prove that Kumārila was correct in interpreting the Bhāṣya and in recording what was meant by Śabarasvāmin. Nyāyaratnamālā may be considered as the last important work written with the object stated above in the literature of Mīmāṁsāśāstra and its author Pārthasārathi therein freely discusses

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24. *Vide* J.O.R. Madras, Vol. II, pp. 62-64.

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the merits of the arguments of both the parties, and delivers his own considered judgment on them. The writers on Mīmāṁsā after the 11th century A.D., as a matter of fact, have neglected to refute the theories of Prābhākara school in their works but generally followed the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṁsā.

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ADMINISTRATION IN PRE-PĀLA BENGAL *

By BENOYCHANDRA SEN

Lack of positive data stands in way of an attempt being made towards the reconstruction of a systematic and consistent history of the administration of Bengal in ancient times. It is doubtless true that some evidence useful for the purpose is available, but it has two drawbacks. Firstly, it does not cover the entire range of time qualified by the word 'ancient,' which to a student of Indian history means a period extending at least from the time of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty to that of the establishment of Moslem power; secondly, even for the circumscribed period to which it applies, extending for purposes of this paper from the 4th to the middle of the 8th century A.D., it is too inadequate to satisfy one's curiosity regarding all the varied departments of administration without which no normal government can function. Regarding those centuries which practically go unrepresented in this imperfect history of administration, some inferences are often drawn from observations embodied in foreign accounts, from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra, from the inscriptions of Aśoka and sundry other literary and archæological sources. Against the use of such materials there may be two principal objections. The first objection is on the ground of uncertainty involved in the supposition that institutions parallel or analogous to those obtaining in the Maurya empire also existed in Bengal, of which it must be presumed to have formed an integral part. The second objection is based on the well-known arguments against the ascription of the Arthaśāstra to the Maurya Age. Even if these arguments are substantially refutable, how can a work which includes a large speculative element be taken to represent conditions actually existing and dealt with specifically from the stand-point of Bengal history, which will make it appear as if it were not a general treatise on polity partly realise and partly idealistic, whatever that description means, but one bearing a settled relation to a fixed geographical and political area?

Those who are interested in the Maurya administration will find a critical account of it based on the Aśokan inscriptions in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (Vol. I), re-edited by Hultzsch, an account which can be hardly altered or modified materially. Those

* Read at the Indian History Congress, held in Calcutta.

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who hold that the Arthaśāstra can be well utilised for the purpose of acquainting oneself with administrative conditions in Bengal, may find some guidance from Monahan's work on the early history of Bengal. The point of view, however, which is adhered to in the following pages is that no evidence is to be considered applicable to Bengal, which does not connect itself definitely and beyond doubt with that province.

In the pre-Mauryan period the country of the Gangaridae,[1] which may be located in Bengal, was well defended militarily, and was ruled by a king commanding 60,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry and 700 elephants always "ready for action." A point of military interest is that in the 4th century A.D. a memorable battle took place in Vaṅga, in which several chiefs participated, ending with the victory of Candra mentioned in the Meharauli Iron Pillar inscription.[2] The rulers defeated by him in this battle were probably those exercising local authority only in their respective spheres, which would mean that Bengal was divided at the time into a number of principalities. Inscriptions of subsequent times also go to show that the military unity of Bengal was seldom achieved, which is one of the reasons why the country could be successfully attacked from outside and subordinated. The absence of such unity was also a means of preserving local independence and a bar to the easy creation of a single state.[3]

In the Maurya Age[4] the city of Puṇḍravardhana was probably the administrative seat of a Mahāmātra. His functions are not described in the Mahāsthān inscription, but he seems to have control over the local granary, from which under instructions from superior authorities, not actually traceable in the fragmentary record, he could make loans to people when they fell into a state of economic distress on account of any unforeseen occurrence.

All the available inscriptions of the subsequent period point to only one form of government, viz. monarchy. They refer either to local dynasties or rulers, or to imperial families ruling over dominions which included portions of Bengal. As to the position actually occupied by the king himself in the prevalent system of government or

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1. M'cCrindle, Invasion of India, pp. 364-365.

2. Fleet, Corp. Insc. Ind., vol. III, p. 141.

3. The Army in later days consisted of three elements—infantry, cavalry and elephants, and the Navy. cf. The Nidhanpur Plates of Bhaskaravarman containing the phrase: mahā-nau-hasty-aśva-patty-sainpaty-upātajaya-sāvd-ānvartha-Skandhā vārāt-Karṇnasuvarṇa-vāsakāt-ll. 2-3, Ep. Ind., XII, p. 73.

4. Ep. Ind., p. 85. The inscriation bears a an undoubted affinity to the Sohgaura Copper-plate, sea ibid., p. 89; Ep. Ind. XXII p. ff.

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the specific duties performed by him in connection with the administration of his realm, there is no detailed evidence available. There is no reference to any cabinet of ministers such as is mentioned in the Kautilīya[5] and in the Aśokan inscriptions.[6] There were two distinctive epochs when Bengal formed an integral part of an imperial organization, one under the Gupta dynasty and the other under Śaśāṅka. It is likely that for some time during Harṣavardhana's reign also portions of this province were ruled from the imperial centre Kanauj. Regarding the subordination of Bengal to other rulers, more or less powerful, such as Harṣa mentioned in the Kātmāṇḍu Temple inscription (759 A.D.)[7] all that can be gathered from inscriptional sources may be important from the stand-point of political history, but is of no material use to a student of administration. Among the local dynasties or rulers mention should be made of the Varmans of the Susuniā inscription (early fourth century), the Khaḍgas of Samataṭa (7th century);[9] local chiefs with varying degrees of power and authority were Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva of East Bengal,[10] Jayanāga of Karṇasuvarṇa[11] and Vainya-Gupta of Tippera.[12]

Early in the 4th century the title of a king was simply Mahārāja. This was the designation enjoyed by Siṇhavarman and his son Candravarman of Puṣkharaṇa (Pokharan in the Bankura district). The latter was undoubtedly a potentate of some importance as he is mentioned as one of the prominent rulers of Āryāvarta in the Allahabad *Praśasti* of Samudra-Gupta. The titles Mahārājādhirāja, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Parama-daivata were used by the Gupta sovereigns, by Kumāra-Gupta I (Dāmodarpur copper-plates No. 1, lines 1-2; No. 2, lines 1-2 ; in the Dhanāidaha grant only "Parmadaivata-para-" can be traced, EI., XVII, p. 347), by Budha-Gupta (Dāmodarpur Nos. 3 and 4) and also the king who issued the Damodarpur Plate No. 5. Among local rulers the title Mahārājādhirāja only was used by Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva (6th century), by Jayanāga of Karṇasuvarṇa (6th century). This title was also used by Śaśāṅka (Ganjām Plates). Even in the imperial Gupta period, if the ruler's name was not given explicitly, he was simply referred to

5. I, 15,11 (Sham Shastri's edition, p. 29).
6. *See* Rock-edicts IV, VI.
7. Ind. Ant., IX, p. 178.
8. Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 133.
9. *See* Asrafarpur Plates, Mem. A.S.B., vol. I, p. 85.
10. Ind. Ant., 1910 pp. 193 ff ; Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 74.
11. Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 60.
12. Ind. Hist. Quart., 1930, p. 45. Political history and Chronology relating to the rulers of Bengal have been discussed in my work on Bengal to be shortly out.

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by the title 'bhaṭṭāraka' (cf. bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām ṣaḍbhāgaḥ-Baigram Plate ; also Pāhārpur Plate). The title "Parama-bhaṭṭāraka" was not always used along with the title Mahārājādhirāja. In the Faridpur copper-plates of Dharmāditya (No. 2) and Gopacandra (No. 3) the simpler form bhaṭṭāraka is used. While in the earlier times the simple, unostentatious designation 'Mahārāja' was enough for an independent sovereign like Candravarman, in succeeding centuries this title was generally reserved for high officials or feudatories. The only exception known to us so far as Bengal is concerned is the case of Vainya-Gupta who in the Tippera copper-plate inscription is styled Mahārāja though under him there were at least two men enjoying the same title (pādadāsa Mahārāja Rudradatta—line 2; Dūtaka Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Vijayasena—lines 15-16). This is again the title adopted along with the designation Uparika by the officer in charge of the bhukti of Puṇḍravardhana who was holding this post in 544 AD., by Sthāṇudatta who served under Dharmāditya (Faridpur Plate No. 1) and by Vijayasena as shown by the Mallasārul grant. Probably, as in the Tippera grant he acts as Dūta, Mahāsāmanta and Mahāpratīhāra, his capacity in this grant also is of a twofold character, as a feudatory as well as an official who actually participated in the government of his suzerain. The titles Sāmanta and Mahārāja do not always go together ; in the Vappaghoshavāṭa grant, Nārāyaṇabhadra who is called a Sāmanta is designated neither a Rājan nor a Mahārāja. It is to be noted, however, that the Sāmanta in this grant was either a feudatory who administered his own territory as a vassal or governed a district or province as an official of the king (Nārāyaṇabhadrasy-Audum-varīka-viṣaya-saṁbhoga-kāle ca).

The largest unit governed by a deputy of the king was called *bhukti*. Such a division was Puṇḍravardhana which practically corresponded to the whole of North Bengal, appearing in Dāmodarpur Plates, Nos. 1-5. In the Pāhārpur grant of Budha-Gupta this *bhukti* is to be found mentioned by implication, as its chief city which was called by the same name is clearly noted in it. Another *bhukti* is that of Vardhamāna referred to in the Mallasārul grant of Gopacandra (6th century), which seems to have comprised the southern part of ancient Rāḍha. What was the denomination of the region entrusted to the government of Mahārāja Sthāṇudatta (Faridpur grant No. 1) by Dharmāditya, or to Uparika Nāgadeva who had his headquarters at Navāyvakaśikā (Faridpur Plates B, C), who served respectively under Dharmāditya and Gopacandra, or to Jīvadatta whose name is found in another grant of Samācāradeva, carrying on his administration from the same centre, is not known definitely, but the position and status of these officers were apparently not inferior but corresponded to those

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of the deputies appointed by the imperial sovereigns to administer the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana. A *bhukti* was to comprise a number of *Viṣayas* or districts. The inscriptions of the period name only a few *Viṣayas*. The *viṣaya* which appears in the Dāmodarpur Plates Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5 is called Koṭivarṣa belonging to the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana. The Dhanāidaha copper plate of the reign of Kumāra-Gupta 1 (113 G.E.) makes mention of another such administrative division called Khāṭāpāra or Khadāpāra which must also have been comprised in the same *bhukti*. The Baigram copper-plate refers to a *viṣaya* which included Pañcanagarī as its headquarters ; it is most likely that this was the name of the *viṣaya* too *(etad-viṣaya—)*. This is the third *viṣaya* that we know of, as belonging to the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*, although the last-named two *viṣayas* are not explicitly assigned to any *bhukti*. From the Faridpur grants the existence of a *viṣaya* named Vāraka-Maṇḍala is proved. This was under the administrative control exercised from Navyāvakaśikā. The Vappaghoṣavāṭa grant, as stated already, refers to the Audumvarīka-viṣaya, whose governor meditated on the feet of Mahārājādhirāja Jayanāga of Karṇasuvarṇa. A subdivision which is generally found in inscriptions to have been smaller than and included in a *viṣaya* is known by the name *Maṇḍala*. There is no definite reference to such a subdivision in the Bengal inscriptions of the period, except in the Pāhārpur inscription which mentions Nāgiraṭṭa-Maṇḍala. The Tippera (Gunaighar) copper-plate's reference to Uttara-Maṇḍala may suggest the existence of an administrative area comprised within an unnamed *viṣaya* or *bhukti*, corresponding to a Maṇḍala in the northern part of the kingdom indicated by the inscription and implying a Maṇḍala in the southern part as well. It is neither improbable that the term *maṇḍala* here used bears no such administrative signification as is attached to it as a technical term. It may denote an unspecified area of political authority. From the Faridpur grants (A,B,C) and the Ghugrahāṭi grant of Samācāradeva the name of Vāraka-Maṇḍala-Viṣaya is available. This may mean either a *viṣaya* comprised within the Vāraka-Maṇḍala, called by the same name or it may have been the name of the *viṣaya* itself. The weakness of the former interpretation lies in the fact that the inscriptions concerned are not found to supply any information regarding the place occupied by the Vāraka-Maṇḍala in the administrative arrangement followed, apart from the deviation that it will necessitate from the usual practice of regarding a *viṣaya* as larger than a *maṇḍala*, which, however, may be supported by certain known exceptions. There is more probability, therefore, that the name of the *viṣaya* itself was Vāraka-Maṇḍala, which will show that the term *maṇḍala* as used in these records does not bear its usual technical sense.

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Several inscriptions refer to another type of administrative area to which the name Vīthi is given. The reading Suvarṇa-Vīthi (2,3) in the Ghugrahāṭi inscription of Samācāradeva is right, but its interpretation as meaning 'the bullion market' in Navyāvakāśikā seems to be unwarranted, for Vīthi in the sense of an administrative district is available (cf. the Mallasārul and Nandapur grants). In the Ghugrahāṭi grant the expression Suvarṇa-Vīthi is to be taken as the name of one such district. This is found to have been included in the jurisdiction exercised by Navyāvakāśikā, the governor of which enjoyed a status higher than that of the officer-in-charge of the Vāraka-Maṇḍala-Viṣaya(. . .Navyāvakāśikāyāṁ Suvarṇa-vīthy-adhikṛt-āntaraṅga-uparika-Jīvadattas-tad-anumoditaka—). The Mallasārul grant shows that in the reign of Gopacandra (6th century) there was a Vīthi called Vakkattaka comprised in the Vardhamāna-*bhukti*. The relevant passage in this grant while referring to the situation of a village names only the *bhukti* and the Vīthi. The Vīthi here referred to is thus found affiliated to a *bhukti ;* being not connected with any *viṣaya* and belonging to a division wider than that denoted by this term it presents an undoubted affinity to the Suvarṇa-Vīthi of the Ghugrahāṭi grant. The position of the Vīthi mentioned in the Nandapur grant (Gupta year 169) is in this respect different from that of the two others above referred to. Thus this copper-plate furnishing the name of Nanda-Vīthi refers to it as lying within the jurisdiction of Ambila-grām-āgrahāra, where the headquarters of *Viṣayapati* Chatramaha were probably situated. The case of the Dakṣiṇaṁśaka-Vīthi is uncertain. It appears to have been under the jurisdiction of Puṇḍravardhana, as recorded in the Pāhārpur grant. The *adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa,* referred to in this inscription, may have been the court situated in the headquarters of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti,* in which case this Vīthi must have been under its jurisdiction. The position of Nāgiraṭṭa-Maṇḍala as standing next to Dakṣiṇāṁśaka-Vīthi in the geographical portion of the Pāhārpur inscription seems to point to the inclusion of the former in the administrative area of which the latter was the name.

In the system of administration, revealed in our inscriptions, villages, as will be seen later, played a significant part. The name used in these records to denote a village is *grāma.* Perhaps the village was the smallest administrative unit. Some village-names end with the term *agrahāra.* Thus in the Tippera copper-plate appears the name of the village Guṇekagrāhāra-grāma ; in the Pāhārpur grant that of Ambila-grāma-āgrahāra, the importance of which can be realised from the fact that it was the seat of a district officer's (*viṣayapati's*) administration. It may be supposed that an *āgrahāra* considered from the standpoint of administration was often more important and

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better developed than an ordinary *grāma* but there was nothing to prevent the latter from being raised to the status of an *agrahāra* through administrative exigencies. Behind the expression *grāmāgrahāra* or *agrahāra-grāma* may, therefore, lie a history of internal expansion, a process which some of the more fortunate villages underwent through pressure of administrative and economic necessities. Grouping of villages for purposes of administration are well-known (cf. Manu), but our inscriptions do not make any direct reference to any such combination. The name 'Palāśavṛndaka' occurring in the Dāmodarpur copper-plate No. 3 may denote a larger area than usually indicated by the term *grāma*. It may be noted here that the administrative machinery that worked at Palāśvṛndaka does not appear to have been wholly identical in type and structure with the one operating at Caṇḍagrāma, both of which are indicated side by side as if for comparison in the same inscription. Names of some cities are available, Koṭivarṣa, Puṇḍravardhana, Karṇasuvaraṇa, Pañcanagarī. The second was the name of a *bhukti* also, the first and the fourth those of two *viṣayas* and the third that of a considerably wide area ; these names are not actually furnished as names of cities, but the presumption that they were so may be safely made from the context in each case ; for example Puṇḍravardhana is mentioned as an *adhiṣṭhāna* in the Pāhārpur inscription ; the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya was presumbly at a city called by the same name ; if the latter had a different name it should have been given separately. Karṇasuvarṇa, where Bhāskaravarman's forces assembled as known in the Nidhanpur grant must have been a city and not a wide territory merely of which it was a part. Navyāvakāśikā (Faridpur Plates), Kripura (Tippera copper-plate), Pañcanagarī (Baigrām copper-plate) are probably names of well-organised cities or towns although these may have been parts of extensive areas also called by these names. Similarly, Vaigrāma of the Baigrām copper-plate may have represented a combination of hamlets ; it is found to have included at least two distinct localities Trivṛta and Srīgohāli.

We shall now proceed to a discussion of the material furnished by our inscriptions regarding the nature of administrative arrangements connected with the different units mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs. The extremely limited character of the information available on the subject must be admitted at the outset. Most of the inscriptions deal with transactions relating to sale of lands ; in setting forth details about these, they refer only to those parts of the administrative machinery which had to work in accordance with certain fixed rules for purposes of a legal conveyance or deed. The very nature of

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these documents did not require them to cover the entire field of administration.

The *bhukti* was to be under the government of an officer whose appointment to this post was either in the gift or subject to the approval of the Crown. Thus in each of the five Dāmodarpur copper-plates the governor of the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana is described as *tatpādaparigṛhīta* in relation to the king under whom he may have served. The designation of this high official is Uparika (Dāmodarpur Plates 1,2,3,4); to this is added 'Mahārāja' in two plates only (Nos. 3 and 5), dated respectively in 483 (?) and 544 A.D.). Cirātadatta was in charge of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* at least from 124 to 128 G.E. (1 and 2); Uparika Mahārāja Brahmadatta was in this post in 163 (?) Gupta year; in the reign of Budha-Gupta Mahārāja Jaydatta occupied the same office; in 544 A.D. the governorship was held by another Uparika-Mahārāja. In the last-named year the officer who was in charge of the province is further styled as Rājaputra-deva-bhaṭṭāraka, from which it may be concluded that a member of the royal household itself, if not himself a son of the king, had been appointed to the governorship of the Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. Thus in this year this particular governorship was regarded as a sort of viceroyalty to which only a prince could be appointed. The Uparikas of the preceding years as recorded in the other Dāmodarpur inscriptions did not belong to the reigning family, as the surname Datta in their names shows that they were different from the Guptas. The Faridpur grants while not mentioning the term *bhukti* name certain officers decidedly of a high rank, serving under the different rulers, Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva, who definitely appear to have enjoyed a status higher than that of those who were placed in charge of the Vāraka-Maṇḍala-*viṣaya*. These officers also owed their post to the favour or approval of the kind (*tad-anumodana-labdha-āspadasya*—Plate B; *tat-prasāda-labdh-āspade*—A, C; *caraṇa-kamala-yugalārādhan-opātta*—Ghugrahāṭi Plate. The titles adopted by these officers are not, however, wholly identical with those enjoyed by the Dāmodarpur governors. Copper-plate A from Faridpur styles Sthāṇudatta as Mahārāja simply; copper-plate B confers the two designations Mahāpratīhāra and Uparika on Nāgadeva (serving successively under Dharmāditya and Gopacandra), to which some more (including Kumārāmātya ?) appear to be added (cf. C). The Ghugrahāṭi grant calls Jīvadatta both as Antaraṅga and Uparika. In three out of the four plates from Faridpur, therefore, the title Uparika is found to be used, which will surely warrant the assumption that the officials to whom this designation attached occupied a post which was as important in the dominions of Gopacandra, Dharmāditya and Samācāradeva as that of the Uparika-Mahārājas of the

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Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti* in the Gupta empire. The designation Mahāpratīhāra which Nāgadeva enjoyed seems to show that the region which he governed was so situated that he had to co-operate in the defence of the frontiers of his master's territory. It is not unlikely that these officers were sometimes originally local chiefs who, having been subjugated by their more powerful neighbours, agreed to serve under them as provincial governors. The Mallasārul grant while referring to the officials connected with the administration of the Vardhamāna *bhukti*, mentions amongst these an Uparika, who, judging from the evidence of the Dāmodarpur plates, must have been employed as a governor of that province. The Mahārāja-Uparikas who were at different times in charge of the Navyāvakaśikā division had their tenure of office characterised as *adhyāsanakāla* (Faridpur Plate C, also cf. B, where, however, the title Uparika is not given). If the reading *Pañcādhikaraṇoparika* and *Purapāloparika* in the Tippera copper-plate of Vainya-Gupta is correct, it will be seen that the designation Uparika could stand singly as in the Dāmodarpur and some of the Faridpur plates, also as in the Mallasārul inscription, or as an element of a compound as in the Tippera plate. In the latter case it will be found to have denoted only a position of headship, which might be held by a person not necessarily employed as a provincial governor, that position of headship being one connected with the office or offices indicated by the compound. The designations quoted above on this supposition will mean respectively the head of five *Adhikaraṇas* or *the Adhikaraṇa of five* (i.e. consisting of five members) and the head of city-administrators, both offices having been held by the same person mentioned in the Tippera grant. There is no certain indication, it must be admitted, that he held the post of a provincial governor. Regarding the manner in which a provincial governor carried on his administration there is so little evidence that it is impossible to draw even a bare outline of the system followed. A Basarh seal[13] shows that a provincial governor had his own Adhikaraṇa (office or court, probably the entire establishment through which he carried out his official duties), situated at his headquarters or *adhiṣṭhāna*. It is evident also that he was directly responsible to the king as he owed his appointment to the king's choice or approval. It was the provincial governor who appointed the heads of the districts or *viṣayas* which were comprised in his own province. The Pāhārpur inscription of the time of Budha-Gupta (159 Gupta Era)[14] may be interpreted to mean that the head of

13. Annual Rep. Arch. Survy, of India, 1903-04, p. 103.

14. This interpretation is different from those suggested in Ep. Ind., XX, p. 59.

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the provincial government of Puṇḍravardhana was not directly connected with his Adhikaraṇa at least in so far as it concerned itself with transactions of land-sale. This copper-plate mentions at the beginning that certain officials, designated Āyuktakas, and the Adhikaraṇa of Puṇḍravardhana communicated a proposal (a reference to officials of this category may perhaps be traced in the Nandapur grant also) of land-sale, which was originally received by them, to subordinate local staffs. Here, there is no mention of the Uparika of the *bhukti* concerned. The record-keepers who examined the proposal were Divākara Nandī, Dhṛtiviṣṇu, Virocana, Ramādāsa, Haridāsa and Śaśinandī.

The Mallasārul grant mentions among officials apparently connected with the Vardhamāna-bhukti, the Kārttakṛtika (officer-in-charge of manufactures?), the Audraṅgika (chief officer of a town), the Aurṇasthānika (officer-in-charge of wollen articles?) the Hiraṇyasamudāyika (officer-in-charge of all taxes, both in money and in kind?), the Āvasathika (officer-in-charge of "dwellings for pupils and ascetics"?) the Cauroddharaṇika[15] and the Bhogapatika.[16] The mention of the Kārttakṛtika and the Aurṇasthānika, will show, if our interpretations of these two derivations are correct, that the Provincial Government exercised some sort of control over the industrial life of the people.

The district officers were usually designated *viṣayapatis*. Vetravarman was in charge of the Koṭivarṣa-*viṣaya* from 124 to 128 G.E., being appointed to this post by the provincial governor Cirātadatta (*tanniyuktaka*—Damodarpur, 1 & 2); the same office was held by another person, whose name is not clear, owing his appointment to Uparika-Mahārāja Jayadatta, at an unknown date in the reign of Budha-Gupta ; and in the year 544 A.D. this *viṣaya* was being administered by Svyambhūdeva who was the nominee of the officer in charge of Puṇḍravardhana-*bhukti*. The Baigrām copper-plate seems to suggest that the district officer Kulavṛddhi was directly responsible to the *bhaṭṭāraka*, who may have been the king himself (Kumāra-Gupta I). The term *bhaṭṭāraka* is found used in this inscription as definitely applying to the sovereign himself (*bhaṭṭāraka-pādānāṁ dharma-phala-ṣaḍbhāg-āvaptiś-ca*-1,13). From the Faridpur copper-plates names of four district officers are available ; Viṣayapati Jajava appointed by Mahārāja Sthāṇudatta (Plate A), Gopālaśvāmī (Plate B), and after him Vatsapāla by Nāgādeva (Plate C), himself the officer in charge of Navyāvakāśikā enjoying the titles of Uparika and Mahāpratīhāra (reading *vyaparakāraṇḍya* is probably wrong, read *vyāpāra-kāraṇāya* in Plate B). Pavi-

15. Cf. Vogel, Antiquities of Chambā State, p. 129.
16. Ibid., p. 130.

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truka in the year 14 of Samācāradeva's reign was holding this post of Viṣayapati, his appointment having been approved or confirmed by Jīvadatta, the Uparika in charge of the office of Navyāvakāśikā at Suvarṇāvīthi. Between the Baigrām Plate and the Vappaghoṣavāṭa grant there is one affinity ; in both the officer carrying on the administration of a *viṣaya* pays his respects directly to the sovereign (*tat-pād-ānudhyātā — Sāmanta-Nārāyaṇabhadra — viṣaya — sambhogakāle*-Vappaghoṣavāṭa grant). It is not clear, however, whether the duties, functions and status of Nārāyaṇabhadra were the same as those assigned to a Viṣayapati in ordinary circumstances. In the first place the latter is usually found to have been a subordinate of a higher officer, viz. the provincial governor ; here there is no such official referred to. Nārāyaṇabhadra is under direct obligations to the sovereign. Secondly, he has under him an officer styled Mahāpratīhāra (chief Warden of the Marches), to whom he issues orders to be carried out (*tad-asy-ājñā — tad-vyavahāri —*). The title Viṣayapati or Kumārāmātya applied in other inscriptions to the district officer is not bestowed on Nārāyaṇabhadra ; instead he is given the designation of Sāmanta. On these considerations, one may incline to think that the Audumvarīka-Viṣaya was not a district governed by an officer but a territory governed by a feudatory.

No detailed information is available regarding district administration. The little light that is provided by our inscriptions may be deemed sufficient for the purpose of ascertaining the part played by the administrative machinery in connexion with sale of lands. The information that can be gleaned, therefore, touches a very small part of the authority exercised by the district-officer and his staff. Like the officer-in-charge of a *bhukti*, the district-officer too had his Adhikaraṇa in his headquarters (*adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇam*). From the picture of an Adhikaraṇa drawn in the Mṛcchakaṭikā with its building (*Maṇḍapa*) and staff such as *Adhikaraṇikas, Adhikaraṇabhojakas,* the *Śreṣṭhī* and *Kāyasthas,* it will be quite reasonable to infer that the Viṣayapati's Adhikaraṇa referred to in our inscriptions was of a type similar to it. The business of this Adhikaraṇa was not probably limited to transactions of land-sale, as recorded in these inscriptions, but for want of evidence its other functions cannot be fully determined. The direct responsibility for managing the affairs of the Adhikaraṇa lay in the hands of the district officer, the deputy of the Uparika (*tanniyuktaka—; cf. adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇam — saṁvyavaharati*-Dāmodarpur, 1,2,3,4,5). But he carried out his duties in the presence of the *Nāgaraśreṣṭhī,* the *Prathama-Kulika,* the *Prathama-Kāyastha* and *Sārthavāha.* From 124 to 128 C.E. the district officer of Koṭivarṣa was assisted by Dhṛtipāla as the Nagaraśreṣṭhī, Bandhumitra as the

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Sārthavāha, Dhṛtimitra as the Prathama-Kulika and Sāmbapāla as the Prathama-Kāyastha. The district officer mentioned in Dāmodarpur Plate No. 4, who held his post in Budha-Gupta's reign conducted the business of the Adhikaraṇa with Ribhupāla as the Nagaraśreṣṭhī, Vasumitra as the Sārthavāha, Varadatta as the Prathama-Kulika and Viprapāla as the Prathama-Kāyastha. Svayambhūdeva, the district officer, in 544 A.D. had for his colleagues Sthāṇudatta the Sārthavāha, Matidatta the Prathama-Kulika,[17] Skandapāla the Prathama-Kāyastha and a Nagaraśreṣṭhī whose name unfortunately is lost. There is no need of raising the question here whether the Nagaraśreṣṭhī, the Sārthavāha and the Prathama-kulika were elected by their respective communities or guilds, or appointed by the government to the posts assigned to them in the Adhikaraṇa, as there is no means of giving a correct and definite answer to this question. That they were heads of the different organizations of trade, industry and commerce in the leading city of the district can be well imagined ; perhaps it was provided that such heads were to advise the local government in the Court by virtue of their eminent and responsible position in the economic life of the people. Their special knowledge of men and affairs, particularly the guild-laws, made their services essential to the proper administration of justice at least in so far as it related to questions of transfer of porperty. The Prathama-Kāyastha, however, being probably the chief secretary to the district government, does not seem to have held a position similar to that of his other colleagues. The constitution of the district court as revealed in the Faridpur grants is not found drawn with sufficient clarity. Here, however, the elements present are not those mentioned above. In Faridpur plate No A beside the Adhikaraṇa, where the Viṣayapati is engaged, there is a considerable assembly of Viṣaya-Mahattaras (including Iṭitta, Kulacandra, Garuḍa, Vṛhaccaṭṭa, Āluka, Anācāra, Bhāśaitya (?), Śubhadeva, Ghoṣacandra, Anamitra, Guṇacandra, Kālasakha, Kulasvāmī, Durlabha, Satyacandra, Arjuna, Bappa, Kundalipta (or Bappa-Kundalipta), followed by other men of lesser importance (*purogāḥ prakṛtyaśca*). It is apparent that the connexion of such an indefinitely large body of men with the Adhikaraṇa could not have been of such an organic character as that of the three non-official representatives who used to sit with the district officer of Koṭivarṣa, as found in the Gupta copper-plates. These Mahattaras or leading men of the district along with other who attended the Adhikaraṇa of Viṣayapati Jajāva must have done so in the capacity of witnesses

17. On the meaning of 'Kulika', cf. Voget, Antiquities of Chambā State, p. 127.

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who were not mere idle spectators of its proceedings but had the right of raising any question or objection, and as far as the particular business, viz., that of land-sale was concerned, no such transaction could have taken place without their consent or approval. It appears that in three of the documents from Faridpur including the Ghugrāhāti grant, it is not the Viṣayapati who controls the affairs of the Adhikaraṇa but one who is either designated Jyeṣṭha-Kāyastha or Jyeṣṭhādhikaraṇika (cf. Adhikaraṇika of the Mṛcchakaṭikā). This is enough to show that the term Adhikaraṇa as used in these records must mean as in the Mṛcchakaṭikā a court of law. It may be noted here that in three inscriptions designation Viṣayapati is not used, but the functions assigned to the officer connected with the Vārakamaṇḍala-viṣaya must have been those performed by a Viṣayapati (cf. *saṁvyaharati* as in other inscriptions), for it is distinctly stated that he was appointed for the purpose of administering the affairs of the district *(viṣaya-vyāpāra-kāraṇāya-B ; viṣayapati-Yotasya vyavahārataḥ*—Ghugrahāti), the only difference being that he is not found attached to the Adhikaraṇa. The Adhikaraṇa (plates B. & C) is referred to as presided over by a Jyeṣṭha-Kāyastha named Nayasena who served under both Dharmāditya and Gopacandra. In Samācāradeva's Plate the Adhikaraṇa is under the leadership of the Jyeṣṭhādhikaraṇika Dāmuka *(-pramukham-adhikaraṇm).* Other Adhikaraṇikas who took part in the work of the court are not mentioned, but it may be presumed that the Jyeṣṭhādhikaraṇika carried on his work with the assistance of juniors, probably also the Nagaraśreṣṭhī and a Kāyastha. If, as these inscriptions seem to suggest, the functions of the district officer were separated from those connected with the court of law, the change must have resulted in a differentiation of the executive from the judiciary in the field of district-administration. An annexe of the court was the assembly of a number of Viṣaya-Mahattaras (Ghugrahāti ; *viṣayiṇaḥ,* not *viṣayāṇām,* as read by Pargiter—Plate B), of infiuential men styled Mahattaras, including one Viṣaya-Mahattara and others designted as Pradhāna-Vyāpāriṇaḥ or Pradhāna-Vyavahāriṇaḥ (business men). As a distinction has been drawn between a Mahattara and a Viṣaya-Mahattara, it seems that the latter belonged to a higher category than the former. Plate B shows that this assembly which met along with the court consisted of Samoghoṣa and other Mahattaras ; there is no clear reference here to the presence of one belonging to the rank of a Viṣaya-Mahattara. In the Ghugrahāti plate it consists of the Viṣaya-Mahattara Vatsakuṇḍa, Mahattaras Śucipālita, Vihitaghoṣa, Suradatta and Priyadatta, Janārdana and other Mahattaras together with many Vyavahārins of high status. Did the Mahattaras represent the landed gentry and the Vyavahārins the industrial or commercial interests of the district ?

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There was a staff of record-keepers whose services were available to the Viṣayādhikaraṇa. Ṛṣidatta, Jayanandī and Vibhudatta were the record-keepers consulted by the Adhikaraṇa in Dāmodarpur Plates 1 & 2; Viṣṇudatta, Vijayanandī and Sthāṇunandī in Plate 4 and Naranandī, Gopadatta and Bhaṭanandī in Plate 5. Names of two Pustapālas, Durgādatta and Arkkadāsa, who were available for consultation by the district authorities of Pañcanagarī in 448 A.D., are given in the Baigrām inscription. The Nandapur copper-plate also furnishes names of some record-keepers.

The administration of a Vīthi should next engage our attention. It was to have its own Adhikaraṇa as shown in the Mallasārul inscription. How this Adhikaraṇa was constituted is, however, not known. So far as the question of sales and gifts of lands were concerned, the Adhikaraṇa of the Vīthi performed the same functions, as were assigned to the district-adhikaraṇa. As in the Faridpur grants the Viṣaya-adhikaraṇa is found to have been assisted by an assembly of important personages, the adhikaraṇa, Mahattara Suvarṇayaśāḥ of Trivṛta-Vāṭaka—Agrahāra, Mahattara Dhanasvāmī of Kapiṣṭa-Vāṭaka-Agrahāra, Bhaṭṭa Vāmanasvāmī of Koddavīra—Agrahāra, Mahīdatta and Rājyadatta of Godhagārma-Agrahāra, Jīvasvāmī of Śālmalī—Vāṭaka, Khāḍgī Hari of Vakkattaka, Khāḍgī Goika of Madhu Vāṭaka, Khāḍgī Bhadranandī of Khaṇḍa-Jotika, and Hari, the Vāha-Nāyaka of Vindhapura, co-operating with the Adhikaraṇa and issuing orders under a system of joint authority. Thus among those who had to attend to the business of the Vīthi-adhikaraṇa there were not only Mahattaras hailing from different localities or wards of the Vīthi but also others in place of the Pradhāna-vyavahārins mentioned in the Faridpur inscriptions. The occupations of these latter are not definitely ascertainable. At least there were two Brahmins (Bhaṭṭa Vāmanasvāmī and Jīvasvamī) in the assembly; no designations are attached to the names of Śrīdatta, Mahidatta and Rājyadatta; there were three Khāḍgīs (swordsmen), and one Vāha-Nāyaka (superintendent of conveyances or a cavalry leader ?).

Prominent persons in villages had some share in the administration of local affairs, but their activity seems to have been limited to co-operation with state-officers, paralleled by the participation of Mahattaras and other influential men in the business of the Adhikaraṇa of a viṣaya or a vīthi. From the available material it will be difficult to assert that at the head of administration in every village there was a Grāmika. By whom the official side was represented in villages not administered by Grāmikas, it is not at all clear from the evidence furnished by our inscriptions. The non-official element was represented by Brahmins, Kuṭumbins and Mahattaras in one village

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(Pāhārpur inscription): in the village Caṇḍagrāma, in Budha-Gupta's reign (Damodarpur Plate No. 4), those who served in a similar capacity included prominent subjects headed by Brahmins, and also Kuṭumbins (the chief Brāhmaṇas, the prominent subjects and house-holders). It appears, however, that as these are the only persons to whom orders are issued for being carried out, they may have constituted the sole authority in the localities concerned in respect of matters to which these orders applied. The administration of such villages where these people were solely responsible differed from that of others, where powers lay not only in the hands of local Mahattaras and Kuṭumbins but also the Aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa and the Grāmika (Dāmodarpur Plate No. 4 ; cf. the Dhanāidaha grant mentioning Mahattaras, Kuṭumbins and the *Aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa*).[18] In view of the very damaged condition of its writing, it is impossible to be certain that the inscription did refer to a Grāmika also. The official side in such villages was represented by an Adhikaraṇa, which was probably a body of eight persons (cf. Pañcakula)[19] and the Grāmika. This system reminds one of the parallel institutions obtaining in a larger sphere of administration, in the Varākamaṇḍala-viṣaya, with the Viṣayapati at the head, and an adhikaraṇa together with an assembly of prominent men. There appears to have been an office of record-keepers also attached to such villages. At Palāśavṛndaka, as shown in the Dāmodarpur copper-plate No. 4, where responsibility was shared between the Grāmika, the Adhikaraṇa, Mahattaras and Kuṭumbins, there was only one record-keeper, Patradāsa, who was consulted by those authorities.

We may now proceed to see how the different functionaries operated in response to requirements of a specific character. As we have already said, the administrative machinery is to be observed in action mostly in connexion with matters relating to the business of land-sale. One intending to purchase lands was required to put an application before the Adhikaraṇa to whose jurisdiction he was attached, in which he was to state the purpose for which such lands were needed, their total measurement, whether these were fallow lands to be brought under cultivation or lands meant for building purposes, or both ; mention had to be made also of the price that was to be offered for these in conformity with current local rates, and also

18. For a discussion of the meaning of the term, see Ind. Cult., vol v, No. 1, pp. 109-11.

19. References to a body called Pañcakula are to be found in several inscriptions, which was concerned with financial matters of various kinds including those connected with lands; see U. N. Ghosal, Hindu Revenue System, pp. 238, 255, 257-58.

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whether the ownership of such lands was to be of a non-transferable character. In the application presented by Brahmin Karpaṭika to the Adhiṣṭhāna-Adhikaraṇa of Koṭivarṣa in 444 A.D. (Plate 1), the facts stated (vijñāpitam) were that for purposes of Agnihotra rites he required one Kulyavāpa of uncultivated, fallow land, which had not been given to anybody before, that it was to be given him under the law known as *Nīvidharma* or the law of non-transferability of the principal, that it was to be perpetually enjoyed (i.e. by himself and his successors). The application made by another Brahmin to the same authority five years later (Plate 2) was on similar lines. The land required by him was to be of the class described as *Aprada ;* it was to be given in accordance with *akṣaya-nīvi-maryāda ;* it was to be acquired in order to enable the buyer to conduct the five daily sacrifices. The application in the form in which it is found does not refer to the current rates, but the price actually paid by him is described as being in accordance with the usage obtaining in the locality (yathānuvṛtta). Śreṣṭhī Ṛbhupāla who was a member of the advisory board connected with the district adhikaraṇa of Koṭivarṣa in Buha-Gupta's reign (Dāmodarpur, 4) applied for some *vāstu* land in the neighbourhood of 11 Kulyavāpas of *aprada* land formerly purchased by him to enable him to build two temples of Kokāmukhasvāmī and Śveta Varāhasvāmī with two store-rooms. The implied undertaking was to pay the price for this land, as determined by the current rate which was three *dināras for each kulyavāpa* of land. A similar application was submitted by Amṛta-deva, the kulaputra from Ayodhyā, to the Koṭivarṣa-Adhikaraṇa in 544 A.D. (Dāmodarpur, 5), stating his desire to purchase some land (kṣetrastokam) in a forest area (atrāraṇye) within the district where the rate was also three dināras for each kulyavāpa of land, such land being required for the purpose of providing himself with the cost of carrying out necessary repairs in the temple of Śveta Varāhasvāmī, of *bali, caru, sattra,* the supply of cow's milk, incense and flowers, and the maintenance of madhuparka, lamp, etc., and also for the purpose of increasing his mother's merits. The applicant was able to secure altogether five kulyavāpas of *khila* land with *vāstu* in different localities. In the Faridpur inscriptions the same procedure seems to have been followed. What was essential on the part of an intending purchaser was to make an application to the local authorities. This application is not always found reproduced in all its details, but there is no lack of information as to the different items which a complete application was to touch upon, these being generally dealt with in another part of the record describing the final stage of the transaction. Some applications, as recorded in the Dāmodarpur Plates, are brief inasmuch as

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they do not mention the current rates, but these are referred to when transactions reach their concluding stages. Similarly, in the Faridpur Plates, the application, as embodied in Plate No. A, simply states that the applicant Vāṭabhoga wants some land (kṣetra-khaṇḍam) for the purpose of making a gift of it to a Brahmin. There is no reference here to the current rates, neither to the nature of land wanted, nor to the character of ownership required to be transferred, nor to the total area of land, etc. These details are provided in the latter part of the inscription. Application in Plate B. is fuller than the preceding one ; the applicant Vāsudevasvāmī, stating that he requires some land (area unspecified) for a gift at certain rates (not mentioned). In the concluding part it is said that the rate was four dināras for each kulyavāpa of fallow land, but it is not clear how much land was sold to the applicant. Application in Plate C is almost as brief as the former, stating only that one kulyavāpa was required which after purchase was to be given to a Brahmin Bhaṭṭa Gomidattasvāmī. The inscription being in a fragmentary condition it is impossible to say that other details were given in this portion, but necessary information as to local rates etc. is to be found only in the concluding part. Application D (Ghugrāhāṭi) made by Supratīkasvāmī for some land required for the establishment of *bali, caru* and satra so that it might be useful to a Brahmin, does not specify the area of land needed, nor the price to be paid for it, nor does it include an expression of his willingness to pay at the current rates. In the portion that follows there is no mention of the price paid, but of the total area which was given, amounting to three kulyavāpas of land. It is doubtful if this inscription records a case of land-sale of the nature above discussed. There however, may, be some difficulty in regarding it as a free gift to one who applied for it, since in that case it will be necessary to infer that a *viṣaya-adhikaraṇa* was empowered to make such a gift. Secondly, the expectation of revenue from this land is implied where the inscription holds that if 'it is capable of being used,' it will be a source of revenue to the king. The interpretation of this passage as meaning that a general improvement in local conditions leading to a consequential increase in revenu would be facilitated by the grant of this particular piece of land lying fallow and unexploited is not barred out as improbable. In regard to the question why applications are sometimes so brief, making no reference to certain essential items which are found included in other similar statements (cf. Dāmodarpur, 1 & 2), it may be suggested that certain details were excluded for the sake of avoiding superfluity and repetition, for these in any case were to be incorporated in the portion dealing with the concluding stages of the transaction, and also that it was found

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convenient by experience that it was better not to be precise regarding the measurement of land required, for the authorities alone after proper consultation of state-records and suitable enquiries were to decide how much land could be spared.

We have so far dealt with cases appearing before a district adhikaraṇa. There was the village adhikaraṇa also which was empowered to consider similar applications. Thus Grāmika Nābhaka applied before the authorities of Palāśavṛndaka (the Mahattaras, the Adhikaraṇa or the Committee of Eight, the Grāmika and the Kuṭumbins) with a request that he might purchase some land (not specified in the application portion) in the village Caṇḍagrāma, enabling him to settle a certain Brahmin on it, the land so required was to be *aprada, khila* (fallow), and free from all taxes *(samudayabāhya-),* for he was ready to pay in accordance with the rate prevalent in the village *(grāmānukrama-vikraya-maryādā).* As the land required was not situated in *Palāśavṛndaka,* but in Caṇḍragrāma, the authorities had to be in communication with the Brahmins, Kuṭumbins and other prominent residents of the latter. It is very likely that Caṇḍagrāma was under the jurisdiction of the court at Palāśavṛndaka and that its authorities must have helped the latter in finding out a suitable piece of land for Nābhaka and also in other ways locally under the supervision of the higher staff. The Dhaniādaha inscription also refers to an application which was received by the aṣṭakulādhikaraṇa of a certain village (name not available) and its leaders of the different categories. The Pāhārpur inscription refers to an application which was received by the Āyuktas and the Adhikaraṇa of Puṇḍravardhana, where the Nagaraśreṣṭhī was present, giving all requisite details but as the land required was situated outside the adhiṣṭhāna, prominent Brahmins, Kuṭumbins and Mahattaras of the locality where it was available were informed of it, so that with their help suitable lands could be selected and steps taken to demarcate the area to be sold. The village-authorities who co-operated with the *Bhukti*-staff in the Pāhārpur grant belonged to the same categories as mentioned in the Dāmodarpur Plate No. 4. The Baigrām copper-plate is the third available record showing how an application received by a higher authority (in this case the Kumārāmātya and the Viṣayādhikaraṇa of Pañcanagarī) was passed on to the authorities of a village (saṁvyavahāri-pramukham), such as Brahmins Kuṭumbins, for necessary help in giving effect to it. The Adhikaraṇa of the Vakkattaka Vīthi heard an application for purchase of land as stated in the Mallasārul inscription. The proceedings of the Adhikaraṇa which opened with the representation of his case by the applicant reached their next stage when it was referred to the record-keepers for an expression of their opinion as to whether the land required

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could be given under the terms mentioned or implied by him. If the record-keeepers who were consulted signified their consent, then only could the application be granted. As already stated, the applicant does not always give particulars about rates etc. These are to be found out by the pustapālas after proper investigation. It appears that a transaction could not take place immediately after the Pustapālas referred to by an Adhikaraṇa had submitted their report in the event of certain conditions intervening. In the case recorded in the Dāmodarpur Plate No. 5, the Viṣayapati of Koṭivarṣa seems to have differed from the opinion given by the Pustapālas that the proposed transaction would be perfectly valid and proper. The question that arises here is : when did the difference originate ? The report submitted by the Pustapālas seems to have attempted to meet a point raised by the Viṣayapati. Their argument was that Amṛtadeva, the prospective buyer, intended to make the proposed gift under the impression that he had a legitimate right to do so, while the Viṣayapati alone (not in combination with his advisory committee) perhaps entertained some suspicion on this point. If the Viṣayapati gave his personal opinion after the report from the Pustapālas had been received, then it will have to be inferred that the case had been referred to them twice. This is however not stated in the inscription. Perhaps when the case after having been presented to the Adhikaraṇa was on its way to the Pustapālas the Viṣayapati made a note of his objection. In csae of disagreement with the Viṣayapati, it was for the king himself to decide the matter. It is to be noted here that the case did not go up to the provincial governor whose subordinate the Viṣayapati was, but straightway to the king for final disposal. Apparantly, therefore, in certain reserved matters appeals from a district were to be heard directly by the king himself. In regard to the disputed point that was referred to the king as recorded in the above-mentioned Dāmodarpur Plate, his decision upheld the findings of the Pustapālas (dharmaparat-āvāpti) it was found by him that Amṛtadeva had a right to the act of piety which he wanted to perform, viz. to make the gift under conditions mentioned by him. This shows beyond doubt that the record-keepers were not bound to follow the dictates of the highest officer of the district, but that it was required that they should judge everything in an unfettered manner.

All the other cases recorded in our inscriptions show that steps were taken to complete sale-transactions immediately after record-keepers had given their verdict in favour of those proposed. This will prove that rarely did differences arise between Pustapālas and other authorities such as the district officer in regard to the bona fides or competence of a person applying for purchase of land.

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As regards the payment of price, the documents are not clear as to how it was collected. The measurement and demarcation of the land sold took place after the price for the same had been collected (*upasaṅgṛhya āyīkṛta*), following the pustapālas' approval to the proposed transaction. There is probably no serious reason to doubt that the price in every case was paid to Government. So far as the documents of the Guptas are concerned, the same authority that received applications, forwarded them to pustapālas for scrutiny and opinion, directed (as in some cases) local staffs to select and measure the land that was to be given, arranged for a copper-plate to be drawn embodying the terms of the sale, accompanied sometimes by conditions of the gift made by the third party, must also have been responsible for the collection of the price. Whether this was done directly by them, or through some other department of Government, is a question that cannot be answered definitely. It was evidently the district government of Koṭivarṣa to which prices were paid for transactions recorded in Dāmodarpur Plates No. 1,2, & 5; the government of Palāśavṛndaka (the aṣṭakul-ādhikaraṇa, the Grāmika, the Mahattaras) to which Nābhaka, the Grāmika, submitted the price of the land situated in a different locality which was most probably under the former's jurisdiction. Similarly, for the transaction recorded in the Pāhārpur inscription, it was the government of Puṇḍravardhana (the Adhikaraṇa in this case was under some Āyuktakas) that received the application for the purchase of land and arranged for its scrutiny by Pustapālas and directed the local staff to collect the price from the purchasers (dinārā-trayam-āyikṛtya). The Viṣayādhikaraṇa of Pañcanagarī which directed the authorities at Vaigrāma with regard to their duties in connexion with sale of lands within their area to Bhāskara and Bhoyila, must have taken the price amounting to six dināras and eight rūpakas (āyīkṛtya) from them. The Mallasārul grant shows definitely that the price of the land purchased by Vijayasena from the Adhikaraṇa of the Vakkattaka Vīthi was paid to the same authorities. As there is no reference to any other authorities entrusted with the task of collecting prices from buyers of land, it may be taken as certain that this was a matter for local government and that this was one of the sources of income to them. According to Pargiter, Faridpur Plate B shows that Vāsudevasvāmī bought his land from a private individual named Thoḍa, a Mahattara (l.17), Faridpur Plate A shows that the land purchased by the Sādhanika Vātabhoga was the common property of Mahattaras and common-folk, and Faridpur Plate C records a case of purchase of land belonging to certain Bhāradvāja Brahmins, or in other words, to a joint family. The Mahattaras and others from whom the land was purchased according to Plate A were those who sat in the

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Adhikaraṇa receiving the application from Vātabhoga. They were connected with the application for purchase as well as the whole process of sale itself like the Adhikaraṇa of the Koṭivarṣa-viṣaya, associated with the Nagaraśreṣṭhi, the Kulika, etc. in the Dāmodarpur Plates. As nowhere in these plates it is said that the lands sold were the common property of villagers as represented by these elements, the assumption that they were so will be wholly unwarrantable. Then again in the same Faridpur Plate there is no indication that the Mahattaras and others referred to by Pargiter came from any village, i.e. Dhruvilāṭī, where the land was situated. In regard to Plates B & C, Pargiter's conclusions are based on highly doubtful readings of certain passages which are damaged beyond recovery. The word *samvaddha* in what Pargiter reads as *Mahattaras-Thoḍa-samvaddha*—is a pure guess (Plate B, cf. note 95, p. 201 n. 18, p. 202), and the reading *Bhāradvāja-sagotra-* as referring to *bhavanta* (*bhavantaḥ-* l. 14) is equally doubtful in Plate C. There is sufficient space for a single or conjunct letter between '*tra*' of sagotra and '*bha*' of 'bhavanta' and this may be referred to *asmāt* i.e. the purchaser. It is difficult to understand how in a legal document like this a set of owners could be referred to vaguely as belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and not actually named. .'*Bhavantaḥ*' must be taken as referring to the authorities before whom the purchaser submitted his application (cf. *tadarhatha matto dināram-upasaṅgṛihya*—Dāmodarpur Plate 5). The discovery of the Dāmodarpur and other Plates of the Gupta period has rendered a correct interpretation of the Faridpur Plates easier, for most of the former are better preserved and more explicit than the latter.

One of the essential duties of the local administrators in connexion with these land-sales was to take the utmost care in measuring accurately each piece of land sold. Some of the inscriptions do not say by whom the measurement was carried out (Dāmodarpur Plates 1,2,4, & 5; Faridpur, A,B,C; Ghugrāhāṭi). In respect of these it may be safely said that the business of measurement was conducted under the supervision of the authorities who received the respective applications for purchase of lands. The places where such lands were situated must have been comprised within the direct sphere of work of the Adhikaraṇa, the Viṣayapati and others connected with it. In regard to lands situated in villages for the administration of which local staffs were responsible, directions were issued by these higher authorities to them to the effect that they were free to select such sites as would not conflict with their own agricultural operations, carry out measurements as fixed by them in accordance with the current system of measurement and mark the boundaries with permanent signs of chaff and charcoal. These directions (cf. Baigrām) were issued after the price for the land

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had already been paid and a copper-plate engraved. It is to be mentioned here that some inscriptions do not record the result of the steps taken by the village authorities on the lines of such communications received by them from superior administrators. In these inscriptions also details regarding boundaries etc. are not be found (cf. Baigram etc.), for the copper-plates which have come down are originals or copies of them which were engraved before the finishing stages were concluded, recording circumstances which end with the payment of the sale-price for the land with its measurement and situation fixed, subject to rights of ownership which are defined. The actual position of the land sold and its boundary-marks were noted at a later stage when these had been carefully determined by local staffs in accordance with instructions received from higher quarters. Dāmodarpur copper-plate No. 3 seems to suggest that the land sold to the Grāmika Nābhaka had been inspected and measured by the Adhikaraṇa of Palāśavṛndaka accompanied by Mahattaras, Kuṭumbins, etc. before the communication regarding the sale had been issued by them to the local authorities of Vāigrāma. If oui interpretation is correct, it will mean that nothing was left to be done by the latter except that they were required to take note of a completed transaction.

Local administrators are in some cases found to have utilised the services of a set of persons appointed by them to carry out some well-defined work. In the Mallasārul grant it is noticed that several persons were entrusted by the Adhikaraṇa of the Vakkattaka Vīthi with the task of distributing the money paid by Vijayasena as the price of the land he purchased and already 'credited to the revenue of the Vīthi' in accordance with the instructions issued by them (Ep. Ind. XXXII, p. 155f.). These officers are described in the inscription as Kulavārakṛta. In the Ghurāhāṭi inscription Samācāradeva, the Adhikaraṇa of the Vārakamaṇḍala-viṣaya governed by the viṣayapati Pavitruka, is found to have appointed *Karaṇikas* Nayanāga, Keśava and others as *Kulavāras,* with whose assistance three kulyavāpas of land were separated from an area formerly granted by the issue of a copper-plate, and who after setting up proper boundaries on four sides gave away what remained in Vyāgracoraka to the applicant Supratīkasvāmī. Faridpur Plate No C shows that the district Adhikaraṇa chose some persons (names not given) as Kulavāras who seem to have rendered their services at the concluding stage of the transaction recorded in that inscription viz. the effecting of the separation of the particular plot of land from the connected areas and its proper measurement. The specific duties of the Kulavāras in this inscription have not been detailed as in the two other inscriptions referred to above. The Kulavāras from these records appear to have been chosen from among those who were con-

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versant with the business conducted by adhikaraṇas *(adhikaraṇajñān-*Faridpur C) or with matters relating to document *(karaṇikas)* which clearly fell within the Adhikaraṇa's cognizance. It may not be wrong to suppose that there was a panel of such experts formed by local authorities, from whom the requisite number had to be appointed in turn as cases appeared requiring their services. From the non-mention of kulavāras in some inscriptions it may be natural to infer that their services were not always necessary ; where the help of village institutions was available, there was no need to appoint kulavāras. It is also possible from the evidence available to infer that they were appointed particularly in such cases where it was not possible for various reasons for the local authorities to be present to inspect measurement etc. at the site, where they had to act as deputies or representatives.

It may be asserted without hesitation that the law which the State administered relating to transfer of property was of a definite character not only in its provisions as regards conditions of owenership, but also in the matter of procedure. This law accorded full recognition to local usage. Prices of lands, for instance, were to be determined in accordance with rates current locally. The Pāhārpur and Baigrām inscriptions show that in the years 159 and 128 (Gupta era) the price of one kulyavāpa of land in the localities respectively referred to by them was 2 Dināras ; in the Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscriptions of the years 124-224 the current rate is given as 3 Dināras, in the Faridpur Plates as 4 Dināras (*prākpravṛtti-maryādā*—C; *prāk-vikrīyamānaka-maryādā*—B; *prāk-samudra-mayrādā—A*). That within a comparatively circumscribed area rates varied even in the same year is shown by the discrepancies between the Dāmodarpur copper-plate No. 2 and the Baigrām copper-plate, both belonging to the same year, 128 G.E. Such variations must have been due primarily to differences in the economic conditions existing in different localities, which should also explain the discrepancy between the Dāmodarpur and Pāhārpur rates, applying to the same *bhukti* and practically to the same period (Dāmodarpur Plate No. 4 and the Pāhārpur inscription). Differences between Dāmodarpur No. 5, Pāhārpur and Baigrām on the one hand and Faridpur rates on the other can be accounted for by the supposition that with the advance of time prices of lands rose higher, but the absence of any record belonging to the same area as indicated in the Faridpur Plates, which might be assigned to the age of the Dāmodarpur Plates stands in the way of judging if prices in the same locality had increased, if so by how much. The law regarding transfer of property drew an essential distinction, which is only natural, between lands meant for purposes of cultivation and those for building *(kṣetra* and *vāstu)*. In an application for purchase of land the candidate had

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to note clearly whether he wanted (a) cultivable land or (b) homestead land or (c) both [instances of (a) Dāmodarpur, 1,2,3; instances of (b) Dāmodarpur, 4,5,; Pāhārpur; Baigram]. It was not always necessary as in the Baigrām Plate to specify separately the area of cultivable and homestead lands, for instance in the Dāmodarpur Plates 4 & 5 and the Pāhārpur Plate the total area of land given away is stated as inculsive of *vāstu*. From the Baigrām Plate it appears that vāstu land could be used for purposes of drainage and passage (*tala-vāṭka-ārtham*—l.9); in Pāhārpur the lands sold included *tala, vāṭaka* and *vāstu*. In the law relating to transfer of property there was presumably a section dealing with the sale of lands belonging to the category of those described as *aprada* (not given, i.e. remaining open to occupation), *aprahata,* and *khila* (uncultivated, fallow) lands (*kṣetra,* Dāmodarpur, 1) which could be disposed of as exempt from payment of all the usual dues and extra taxes (*samudaya-bāhya* and *apratikara*-Pāhārpur ; *akiñcit-partikara* and *samudaya-bāhya—Baigrām*; *samudaya-bāhya-Mallasārul*). The right to enjoy such pieces of land with the above-specified advantages attached to it, which took effect from the moment of the completion of a sale-transaction was a both restrictive and perpetual one ; it was not allowed to the transferee to change or modify its owenership by means of sale, mortgage or otherwise, but to confine its enjoyment to himself and his line in perpetuity ; if the property was transferred to a religious institution or establishment, the same principle applied, that is to say it was to remain non-transferable till eternity (*Varāhasvāmine śāśvatī-kāla-bhogya-dattaḥ—Dāmodarpur* 5; *śāśvadācandratārakābhogyatayā*—Dāmodarpur 1 ; *putra-pautra-krmeṇa vidhinā pratipāditam*—Faridpur C.). This conditional owenership was provided by the rule termed as *Nīvi-dharma* (Dāmodarpur, 1). Lands sold under the provisions of this rule were described as *akṣaya-nīvi* (Pāhārpur, Baigrām). It was thus not open to a private individual or institution in whose favour a property had been transferred subject to the operation of this rule to violate it by effecting a second transfer of its ownership. The grant of this kind of limited ownership fixed in perpetuity extending over a whole village in the case of a direct and voluntary gift was within the legal competence of a Sāmanta as conditioned by the *akṣaya-nīvi-dharma* (Vappaghoshavāṭa grant). 'Undistributed wastes' were treated as involving economic loss to the state, or more appropriately, to the king. The existing law encouraged private enterprise, allowing a suitable person to secure portions of such lands for valuable consideration, for his own use or for purposes of a gift to another person or religious establishment. Usually it was the State's duty to encourage the cause of learning or education by attractive gifts of entire villages; the Ghugrahati copper-plate recording a gift of land to a Brahmin who applied

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for the same to the authorities of the Vāraka-Maṇḍala-Viṣaya and the Vappaghosavāṭa copper-plate recording the gift of a whole village to a Brahmin named Bhaṭṭa Brahmavīrasvāmī, preserve two instances of such encouragement by the State where no price was paid by the parties benefited or others seeking to benefit them. Other inscriptions record purchases of untilled and undeveloped lands by private individuals either for themselves or for others. Rights conferred on the transferee in such cases were as sacred and inviolate as those attached to gifts made by kings. The transferee's rights were ensured by the issue of a copper-plate. Even when a particular piece of land was bought by a certain Brahmin, and the transaction effected in conformity with the custom of sale, it would still be regarded as a case of land-gift to be protected by all future administrators (*api ca bhūmidāna-samvaddhāvimau ślokau bhavataḥ*). Every such transaction was profitable to the State in two ways ; firstly, being treated as a case of gift it would mean the acquisition of a share of religious merit *(dharma-phala-ṣaḍbhāgam or dharma-ṣaḍ-bhāgam),* secondly, as the land could be had only for consideration, it brought in some revenue *(parama-bhaṭṭārakapādānām arthopacayaḥ — dharma-ṣaḍ-bhāg-āpyāyanañca*-Pāhārpur). Prices of lands purchased were to be paid to local authorities before whom applications had been submitted. The Mallasārul grant mentions that payment was made at the Vīthi court of Vakkattaka by Vijayasena. Other inscriptions show how applicants had to state that they were prepared to pay due prices to district or village authorities approached by them with their respective requests.

The law regulating transfer of porperty took proper care in respecting other people's rights, particularly those acquired in connexion with those vacant lands which were available for purchase by outsiders. The protective attitude of the State seems to be indicated in the terms embodied in communications addressed to village authorities which required them to select sites that would not cause any interruption to their own agricultural work *(sva-karmmaṇāvirodhena*-Pāhārpur). It appears to be evident from this that every step was taken to avoid transgressing any such right as that of passage or of the use of a tank, when the question of selecting the land for which money had been already paid was taken up.

As a means of preventing undesirable elements from securing a footing in village-life, it was required to state details as to the object of buying the land for which an application had been made, which was to be examined by the Adhikaraṇa. The Nīvidharma which applied to all these trasactions of land-sale extended to the property taken as a whole including *vāstu* and *khila-kṣetra* both, when in any case of sale these two kinds of land were involved. Thus the law,

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provided for the maintenance of the indivisible character of the land, which might be altered at the option of the transferee or his representative at any time if one part of the land sold was to be regarded as transferable and the other non-transferable. This was another means of preserving the integrity of village-life and checking competition in prices of lands.

Every piece of land to be sold had to be measured under a fixed system which had been devised and was current in those days. What was the exact measurement of a *kulyavāpa* in terms of the modern system is not known. Whatever the derivative meaning of this term might be, there is no doubt that it meant a definite extent of land in this period. This was adjusted to the system of measurement based on a unit of 8 by 9, in which the length was greater than the width by 1 (*aṣṭaka-navaka-nalena* or *aṣṭaka-navaka-nalābhyām*),[20] the unit being represented by two *nalas,* one for measuring the length and the other for measuring the breadth of the area disposed of. That the figures 8 and 9 stood for the corresponding numbers of cubits representing the measurements of the two *nalas* respectively is shown by the explict reference in some inscriptions to the employment of *hasta* (cubit) in the prevalent system of land-measurement (Dāmodarpur, 3, *aṣṭaka-nabaka-nalābhyām,* also Baigrām, Mallasārul ; *aṣṭaka-navaka-nalena*-Faridpur, A & B; *darvvikarmma-hastena*-Mallasārul ; *Dharmmaśīla-Śivacandra-hasta*—Faridpur B & C; *Śivacandra-hastena*—Faridpur A). Thus two *nalas* were used in turn for the measurement of length and breadth respectively, one measureing nine cubits and the other eight. The element 'aṣṭaka' as well as 'navaka' in the compound can well be taken as representing the size of the Nala employed in each case, and the custom of measuring by *hasta*-standard having been shown in some inscriptions to have been current, it is evident that whether the compound is preceded by *hasta* or not, the same practice must have been followed throughout. Taking the average measurement of a *hasta* to be 19 inches (Pargiter, Ind. Ant., 1910, p 215), the unit represented by the aṣṭaka and navaka nalas will correspond to an oblong area of $19\times8\times19\times9=25992$ sq. inches. How many times this area a Kulyavāpa contained is not possible to determine. In measuring one kulyavāpa of land either the same two *nalas* were applied as many times as would give the required area lengthwise and breadthwise respectively or as many numbers of nalas, divided into two sets of unequal sizes as required by the standard system for the measurement of length and breadth, were employed till the fixed area was fully covered. If one Kulyavāpa corresponded exactly to an area

20. cf. Ep. Ind., XX, p. 63, n. 2.

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measuring 8 reeds by 9 (as suggested by Pargiter), it would have been superfluous to mention the two identical expressions separtely. It is to be added that no word is used to denote this assumed correspondence between the two. Besides, Pargiter's calculation does not give a definite result, for the equivalence of one reed to 16 hastas is a mere suggestion. One kulyavāpa of land was equivalent to 8 droṇas as shown by the Baigrām Plate. This is also borne out by the Pāhārpur grant according to which 12 droṇavāpas + $\frac{1}{2}$ Kulyavāpa of waste-land corresponded to an area measuring two Kulyavāpas, 40 droṇavāpas or 5 Kulyavāpas corresponded to one Pāṭaka, as illustrated by the Tippera plate of Vainya-Gupta, which should correct Gangamohan Laskar's[21] fixation of 1 Pāṭaka (1) as being equivalent to 50 droṇavāpas, which he attempted on the basis of the Asrafpur Plates. The Tippera Plate gives a definite basis of calculation mentioning that 11 Pāṭakas of land were distributed in one village in five separate plots consisting respectively of 7 Pāṭakas, 9 Droṇavāpas, 33 Droṇavāpas, 30 Droṇavāpas, $1\frac{3}{4}$ Pāṭakas (thus 90 Droṇavāpas were equivalent to $2\frac{1}{4}$ Pāṭakas, which means that 1 Pāṭaka was equal to 40 Droṇavāpas). As Pāṭaka and Droṇovāpa are names of measures of capacity, it is quite possible that the system of land-measurement which was in vogue during the period was based on an average calculation as to the extent of area on which one Droṇa of seeds could be sown. The emergence of such a principle of calculation adjusted to the *hasta-unit* of measurement presupposes a detailed study of agricultural conditions and much experience in survey and assessment work.

That gold coins were in use in this province is proved not only by actual specimens which have been recovered but by references in inscriptions to Dināras used in payment of prices of lands. Silver money was also in use; for instance in the Baigrām Plate there is a reference to Rūpakas, eight Rūpakas being equivalent to a half-Dināra, which means that one Dīnāra was worth 16 Rūpakas in value. During the reign of Kumāra-Gupta I (Dhanāidaha and Dāmodarpur Plates) the weight of a gold coin as judged from extant specimens varied from 124.7 to 127.3 (original weight

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21. There is no sure basis of his calculations. The reading of the Asrafpur Plates is uncertain in many places. According to him 5 Pāṭakas + 60 Droṇavāpas = 6 Pāṭakas + 10 Droṇavāpas; therefore, 50 Droṇavāpas = 1 Pāṭaka. He interprets 'Droṇavāpa' as meaning land on which one Droṇa of seeds could be sown.

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must have been slightly higher) grains. In the time of Skanda-Gupta the Dināra coin nearly approximated to the weight of a Suvarṇa i.e. 146 grains (coins weighing about 142 grains have been found). The weight of gold coins slightly increased later, as shown by Plate XVI, 13 (V.A. Smith, Catalogue of coins). The usual weight of a silver coin was that of a silver Kārṣāpaṇa i.e. 56 grains.

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SOME ASPECTS OF MUSLIM POLITY IN EARLY MEDIÆVAL INDIA (1210-36 A.D.)

By S. K. Banerji

In the last year of his reign, Sultān Qutbuddīn stayed in Lahore and died there of an accident, early in November, 1210 A.D. Ārām Shah, his reputed son, was present there. The nobles of Lahore felt that Ārām Shāh, whether actually Qutbuddīn's son or not, was their best refuge for the preservation of tranquillity in the kingdom. They, therefore, proclaimed him king under the title of Sultān Ārām Shāh. He maintained order in the districts round Lahore, but the outlying parts of the kingdom, particularly Bengal and Sindh, declared their independence under Hisāmuddīn Iwaz and Nāsiruddīn Qabācha respectively. The first few weeks of the reign did not inspire much confidence and so a move was made to depose him. The lead was taken by several of the nobles of Delhi who had not liked the change of capital from Delhi to Lahore; so at the suggestion of the most important nobleman of the State, Alī Ismaīl, who held the double office of the Commander-in-Chief and Lord Chief Justice (*Amīr-i-dād*),[1] they invited Iltutmish who hurried from his fief of Badāūn, reached Delhi, and ascended the throne as Shamsudduniyā-waddīn Iltutmish Abul Muzaffar.

But Delhi was not wholly united in Iltutmish's cause, and some of those who had not joined his party, gave information to Ārām Shāh, who also hurried eastward. The Muizī and Qutbī nobles from the provinces gathered in aid of their late master's son Ārām Shāh, and if the actual number of soldiers be counted, probably Ārām Shāh's army was larger than Iltutmish's. A battle took place in the vicinity of Delhi in which Iltutmish's ability enabled him to obtain a decisive victory. Ārām Shāh was defeated and captured and later on was done away with.

Iltutmish was a self-made man and rose from the lowest rung in life. It is true that his father, Ilam Khān, was the chief of the Ilbarī tribe in Turkistān, but when he was young, owing to his comeliness and intelligence, became an object of envy to his brethren and was sold as a slave to a slave-dealer of Bokhārā, who in his turn

1. Farishta mentions Amīr Dāūd Dailmī as the second leader of the party

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sold him to a kinsman of the Sadr Jahān of the city. While he stayed with the family 'the most beneficent of the family used to nourish him in the hall of his kindness like his own children in infancy.' We may presume that the Sadr Jahān and his kinsmen had given Iltutmish liberal education just as they had given to his own children.[2] When he was finally sold to Sultān Qutbuddīn, the latter, 'discerning within him proofs of rectitude and integrity both in movements and at rest, outwardly as well as inwardly, by the light thereof, advanced him from one position to another until he raised him to the office of *Amīr-i-Shikār.*' Subsequently, he successively held the governorships of Gwālior, of Baran, and of Badāūn.

Iltutmish's success against Ārām Shāh was due to his abilities as a soldier and administrator. When Muhammad Ghūrī had been defeated by Alāuddīn Muhammad Khwārazm Shāh at Andkhūī in 1205 A.D., and the Khokhars rose in the Punjāb, Qutbuddīn, then the Viceroy of India, hurried to his master's succour and with Qutbuddīn went his slave, Shamsuddīn Iltutmish, with his Badāūn contingent. The conflict may be described in Minhāj-i-Sirāj's words :—

"In the height of the conflict Shamsuddīn drove his armour-laden horse into the river Jhelam where the enemy had taken shelter and with his arrows was routing the enemy..... While engaged in this brave contest, Sultān Muizuddīn's eye fell on these proofs of his courage and bravery. He made enquiries about him and having satisfied himself, sent for Iltutmish, rewarded him with special robe of honour, and commanded Qutbuddīn to treat him well ; for he observed 'good deeds will come out of him'; so that under his orders the letter of manumission was written. (Ever afterwards) he was treated with royal favour, and was allowed to enjoy the felicity of freedom."

As an administrator also, Iltutmish's record was above reproach. To take up the period of his governorship of Badāūn, he was engaged in satisfying the spiritual needs of his Muslim subjects and material needs of all classes of his subjects. For the Muslims, he built an Īdgāh with a brick wall running to 302' and for Muslims and non-Muslims both, he dug a large tank known as the *Hauz-i-Shamsi.* Both the works exist to-day. These benefactions must have made him popular with the inhabitants of the province.

Against Iltutmish, Ārām Shāh's was an unknown name. Even if it be accepted that he was Qutbuddīn's son, we know of no other fact to his credit. Farishta emphasizes his incapacity and says that at first even the nobles of Delhi accepted him but because of his

2. Minhāj-i-Sirāj supports the assumption and maintains Iltutmish's ability

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incompetence he could not rule for even a full year. In this period great misfortune befell the kingdom, e.g., Sind and Bengal became independent and the various Hindu Rājās raised their heads. The Delhi nobles regretted their former decision and now acting under the leadership of Alī Ismaīl and Amīr Dāūd Dailmī send word to Iltutmish to come and occupy Delhi.

From Farishta it is evident that the nobles found out Ārām Shāh's incapacity and in the interests of the State proposed a change, viz., the substitution of Iltutmish for Ārām Shāh. Iltutmish's previous record gave a promise of better prospect for the State ; and Iltutmish fulfilled it.

To sum up : in those difficult times, Ārām Shāh did not prove a worthy leader, and so his deposition was determined upon by the same set of people that had raised him to the throne. Their choice now fell upon Iltutmish who possessed all the requisite qualifications of a leader, viz., liberal education and long service as soldier and administrator. He had also been like a son to Qutbuddīn and had actually married his daughter. If the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* is to be believed, 'Qutbuddīn had comtemplated Shamsuddin's acquiring dominion,' a circumlocutory way of prophesying his future kingship.

On his accession to the throne in the latter half of 1211 A.D., Iltutmish removed the capital of the kingdom from Lahore to Delhi ; probably the idea being to keep himself further away from Tājuddīn Yildiz and Nāsiruddīn Qabācha, who were originally Sultān Muizuddīn's slaves and hence his seniors. With the former he made a treaty, on account of which Iltutmish accepted from him as suzerain an umbrella and a royal mace and thus got some recognition of his kingship from a neighbour. The alliance proved fruitful to the new king ; for he had to face next the seditious Muizī and Qutbī nobles in his kingdom. Nāsiruddīn Qabācha who had been loyal to Qutbuddīn, now refused to acknowledge Iltutmish's claims to the throne of Delhi and the result was a long continued struggle between the two. But even before Iltutmish reckoned with Nāsiruddīn Qabācha, he had to deal with the refractory Muizī and Qutbī nobles. Minhāj's words in this connexion may be quoted :—

"Iltutmish called himself Sultān Shamsuddīn and in 607 A.H. =1210-1 A.D. sat on the throne. Many of the Qutbī *maliks* and *amīrs* strove (in his cause), but a few of the Muizī and Qutbī nobles of the districts surrounding Delhi had rebelled and collected together ; but as Iltutmish's lamp of felicity was lit by the heavenly light, the rebels in trying to put out the light met with nothing but failure. All the rebels came fodder for the sword and the plains of the kingdom were cleansed of the straws of their existence."

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The reason of the rebellion of the Muizī and Qutbī nobles is clear. The Muizī nobles being the nobles from the time of Muizuddīn Muhammad Ghūrī considered themselves his seniors and superiors and the Qutbī nobles at least his equals. With the defeat of these rebellious nobles, Iltutmish finished the first part of the work viz., restoration of peace in the eastern districts of Hindustan. Minhāj says[3]:—

"The different parts of the kingdom and the suburbs of Delhi and the districts of Badāūn, Oudh, Benāres, and Siwālik came under his control."

Next occurred his friction wtih Tājuddīn Yildiz. Tājuddīn Yildiz had ruled for a decade or so in Ghaznī and had meant to be a friend to Iltutmish and his goodwill had enabled the latter to overcome the opposition of the rebellious nobles. But now misfortune befell Yildiz. Jalāluddīn Mangbarnī, the ruler of Khwārazm and a noted warrior, flying before Chinghīz Khān, had occupied Ghaznī and driven away Yildiz. Yildiz turned to Lahore, held by one of Qabācha's officers, drove him away and occupied it himself. Iltutmish decided to intervene in his own interest. He protested against Yildiz's aggression and when his protests went unheeded, attacked and defeated him at the battle of Tarāorī, January, 1216 A.D. Yildiz was captured in the battle, paraded in Delhi, and secretly dispatched at at Badāūn.

Let us now analyse Iltutmish's action. He had withdrawn from Lahore to Delhi in order to avoid coming into a conflict with his seniors. Yildiz with his eyes fixed on the west where the unprecedented success of Chinghīz Khān boded ill for him, had allowed Lahore to remain with Qabācha. Iltutmish also was busy in settling his account with the refractory nobles of Delhi, and so for the present overlooked the usurpation of Lahore by Qabācha, by no means a friend of his. Next Qabācha's officer was defeated by Yildiz. Iltutmish who had by this time, i.e., 1216 A.D., strengthened his position, knew the superiority of his arm and so when informed of Yildiz's success in occupying Lahore, moved swiftly and crushed him.

After Iltutmish's return to Delhi, Qabācha hoped that the *status quo ante* would return. He again occupied Lahore. But Iltutmish had now realized his strength and would not submit to Qabācha's usurpation. He drove him away from the city[4] and recovered the whole of the upper Punjāb. Qabācha remained for sometime in possession of the lower Punjāb, Multān, and Sind. But the same

3. *T.N.* p. 171., ll. 2-3.
4. *T.N.* p. 171 l. 10.

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deluge that had overhelmed Yildiz, viz., Jalāluddīn Mangbarnī and his Khwārazm followers, now submerged him. He was driven away from his territories and Jalāluddīn ruled in Sind and Multān in place of Qabācha for the next three years, 1221-4 A.D. It was only when Jalāl of his own accord, left his Indian kingdom that Qabācha recovered his lost province. For the next two years he remained the undisturbed master of them. In 1226 A.D. partly due to the unwise provocation given by his son, Alāuddīn Bahrām Shāh, by attacking Iltutmish's kingdom, war was renewed ending with the defeat and death of Qabācha and the annexation of all his territories up to the very sea-shore to the Delhi kingdom.

In Bengal too Iltutmish had achieved success. Hisāmuddīn Iwaz Husain was ruling from 1211 A.D. and had acknowledged Iltutmish's suzerainty till 617 A.H. = 1220-1,[5] assumed independance in 1222 A.D.[6] or so and stamped many high-sounding titles mostly in imitation of the Delhi rulers, e.g., he called himself Sultān the great; Sultān the honoured; aid to the Prince of the faithful and his successor; the lamp of God and the faith; coparcener with the Prince of the faithful; the strengthener of the world and the faith; father of victory; aid of the world and the faith; the king of the kings. But these high-sounding titles did not signify much; for when Iltutmish invaded Bengal in 1225 A.D., he accepted Iltutmish's suzerainty and made peace.

"A treaty was signed between them. Thirty-eight elephants and eight lacs of treasure were given away and *khutbah* was read in the Sultān's (Iltutmish's) name."

But Ghiyāsuddīn's submission was not sincere; for as soon as Iltutmish turned his back on Bengal, Ghiyāsuddīn attacked Bihār, now included in the Delhi kingdom and molested some of Iltutmish's Bihār officials. As the Delhi Sultān was engaged elsewhere, he could not come himself but his eldest son, Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, placed in Oudh, went to Bengal, defeated and killed Ghiyāsuddīn in 1227 A.D. Iltutmish now annexed Bengal to the Delhi kingdom and appointed Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd its goveror. This was probably one of the earliest occasions when the governors of Bengal were actually nominated by the ruler of Delhi. Prior to this, the governor of Bengal was usually nominated by the nobles of Lakhnawti, the capital of Bengal, and recognized as governor by the king of Delhi. Nāsiruddīn had won the hearts of the *ulema* and the pius men of Delhi by his munificence

5. As proved by his coins. *See* H. Nelson Wright—*the Sultāns of Delhi: Their coinage and metrology*, (S.D.C.M.), p. 16. coins nos. 49 H, I, and j.

6. *See* his coin in the *catalogue of the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, p. 145 no. I.

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and now in Bengal too he became popular with his nobles on account of his munificence.

Two years later, in February 1229 A.D., an envoy came from the Abbasid *Khalīfa* of Baghdād bringing a confirmation of regal title and several *khilats* for Iltutmish. The Delhi Sultān who had acted as a *de facto* ruler for the last eighteen years now became a *de jure* ruler also. He announced the honour in several ways ; for instance, issuing coins bearing the name of the *Khalīfa* and not his own. One such coin has been noticed by Thomas[7] and by Nelson Wright.[8]

Obverse	*reverse*
	فی عهد الامام المستنصر امیر المومنین
The kalima	
	margin
	مائته ضرب ۴

On the reverse the coin bears the legend : In the time of the Imām, Almustansir, the Prince of the faithful.
Struck in.....hundred.....*Hijra.*

Almustansir ruled from 623-40 A.H. = 1226-42 A.D. The only other king that issued similar coins was Muhammad Tughluq. Again, in honour of this recognition, he completed the Qutb *minār* at Delhi and the *Arhāī-din-kā-jhompra* masjid at Ajmer, extended the Quwwat-ul-Islām at Delhi and dug the Hauz-i-Shamsī at Delhi. The Qutb *minār* and the *Arhāī din-ka-jhompra* are not dated but the dates are obtained from internal evidences.[9] The *Quwwat-ul-Islām* is dated. On the left pillar of the south central arch is inscribed ستمائته فی شهور سنته سبع عشرین و "in the months of the year 627 A.H.=1221-30 A.D." The *Hauz-i-Shamsī* is assigned by tradition to the year 627 A.H. = 1229-30.[10] All these works he constructed in honour of the occa-

7. *The Chronocles*, p. 46.
8. *S.D.C.M.* p. 71.
9. *See* the *Epigraphica Indo-Moslemica* for the years 1911-2.
10. *See* Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's *Āsār-us-Sanādīd*, p. 23.

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sion. And again, he introduced additions or change in his titles as seen in his inscriptions. One is that he called himself السلطان الشرق the king of the east or سلطان سلاطين الشرق [11] king of the kings of the East, as against Muizuddīn's or Ghiyāsuddīn's title سلطان السلاطين or سلطان الاعظم or السلطان المعظم Iltutmish wanted to signify that his sphere of action was confined to the East, and the West belonged to the *Khalīfa* of the day. The second change is that he substituted *as Sultān* for as *as Sultānī*. So long he used to call himself the slave of the king, Qutbuddīn. Now he calls himself a king. The third change is that he substituted the phrase, مولى ملوك الترك والعجم the master of the king of the Turks and the Persians, for the former title مفخر ملوك العرب والعجم boast of the kings of Arabia and Persia. The change announced, on the one hand, his amicable relations with the *Khalīfa* of Arabia, and on the other, his might and majesty as compared to the insignificance of the petty kings of Turkistān and Persia.

It is clear from the above that by 1229 A.D. Iltutmish had thoroughly stabilized his throne. His fame had spread far and wide and the Muslim world had recognized his greatness. Iltutmish now desired to strenghten further his hold on the kingdom by the recognition of his eldest son, Nāsiruddin Mahmūd as his heir-apparent and so he sent him one of the *khilats* sent to him by the *Khalīfa*. The recognition of Mahmūd as heir-apparent is mentioned by Minhāj in these words :—

'All people from the maliks and nobles of Hind downwards looked upon him as the heir to the Shamsi kingdom.'[12] But Mahmūd's death in April 1229 A.D. frustrated Iltutmish's plan of succession and administration in Bengal. The late Sultān Ghiyāsuddīn's son rose against Iltutmish's new governor of Bengal. What he desired now was not an independent kingdom for himself but only the governorship of the province under the Delhi ruler.' This is clear from his coins. One, issued in 629 A.H. = 1231-2 A.D. has the following inscription.

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11. It should really be لشرق, السلاطين السلطان the phrases quoted in the text occur in the inscriptions of the minarets of the *Arhāi-din-kā-Jhompra* masjid.
12. *T.N.* p. 181.

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Obverse

المستنصر بالله
امير المومنين السلطان
الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين
ابو الفتح ايلتتمش السلطان
برهان امير المومنين

Almustansir, the Prince of the faithful by the grace of God, the Sultān the great, Shamsudduniya waddīn Abul Fath Iltutmish the Sultān who demonstrates (the suzerainty) of the Prince of the faithful.

Reverse

السلطان
العادل شهنشاه باذل
علا الدنيا والدين ابو الغازى
دولتشاه بن مودود
عضد خليفة الله
ظهير امير المومنين

Margin

شهور سنه تسع و عشرين و ستمايته

The Sultān the just, the Shahinshah the munificent, Allaudduniyawaddīn Abul Ghazi Daulat shah, bin Maudud, the arm of the *Khalīfa* of God, supporter of the Prince of the faithful.

Margin

(in) the months of the year 629 A. H.

It is to be noticed that the name of the *Khalīfa* is mentioned and he is called the Prince of the faithful ; also Iltutmish is called the Sultān-i-Āzam showing that he was superior to Daulat Shāh ; Iltutmish is also called برهان امير المومنين the proof of the Prince of the faithful. Daulat Shāh bin Maudūd is referred to as Sultān the just and Shahinshāh the munificent.

But Daulat Shāh was not granted the governorship and was punished for his rebellion against the governor appointed by the Delhi government. Iltutmish went to Bengal in 1231 A.D., defeated and captured Daulat Shāh, and appointed one of his own nobles, Alāuddīn Jānī, governor of the province. This reconquest of Bengal as well as the earlier annexation of Sind demonstrated his hold on the country.

Now that Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd was dead, Iltutmish had to choose another heir from among his remaining children. He had appointed his second son, Ruknuddīn Fīrūz, governor of Badāūn in 1227-8 A.D. and since the death of Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, he was looked upon by the nobles as a likely choice of the Sultān. But their

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expectations were not fulfilled ; for though after the capture of Gwālior in December, 1232 A.D., Fīrūz was given the important fief of Lahore, Iltutmish chose as his heir-apparent his eldest daughter, Razia.[13] This was a novel pronouncement and surprised every one including the obsequious *Mushrif-i-mumālik,* Tāj-ul-mulk, who was transcribing the order ; the Sultān justified his choice on the ability of his daughter, 'though veiled from the public gaze,' and on the worthlessness of his sons. In order to give her some administrative experience, he made her the governor of Gwālior. The absence of protest on the part of the nobles shows the hold that he had on his court. Though surprised, they murmured no words of disapproval against the audacious pronouncement. In the choice of Razia as the heir-apparent, the king might have been guided by his chief queen Turkān Khātūn, Razia's mother. Iltutmish is also credited with the establishment of the Shamsī order of the forty nobles. The nobles orginally were purchased as slaves but by degrees rose to be the most important personages in the kingdom,—so important that they superseded in time the *maliks* and others of noble birth. Ziāuddīn Baranī has described the importance of the order[14]:—

'In his reign, the chief slaves were called of the order of the forty. They gained ascendancy in the State matters and became powerful and dignified chiefs and gradually superseded those high born *Maliks* and other distinguished persons who prior to Iltutmish bore fame and distinction.' Minhāj-i-Sirāj has given the description of twenty-five of his *maliks,* most of whom he had purchased himself. These slaves were men of exceptional ability and very often men of handsome features. At the time of purchase, they were very often given minor offices, e.g., those of *Sar-jān-dār* (chief armour-bearer),[15] *Chāshnīgīr* (controller of the kitchen),[16] *Sāqī-i-khās* (personal cupbearer),[17] *Yūz-bān* (keeper of the hunting leopard),[18] *Sharāb-dār* (storekeeper of the liquors),[19] *Tasht-dār* (ewer-bearer),[20] *Jāma-dār* (keeper of the wardrobe);[21] some others were entrusted with more important works, e.g., that of *Amīr-i-majlis* (Lord of the assembly)[22] or of superintendent of rivers and vessels,[23] or granted 'an office before the throne.'[24] Later on almost every one of them was made governor of a province, e.g., of Lahore, Multān, Nagore, Baḍāūn, Oudh, etc. This creation

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13. Also called Jalāluddīn.
14. Baranī : *The Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī.* Bibliotheca Indica Series, p. 26.
15. *T.N.* Translation by Raverty, pp. 728, 729, 750.
16. *Ibid.* pp. 723, 761.
17. pp. 736, 746, 779. 18. p. 745. 19. p. 748. 20. p.752. 21. p. 754, 766. 22. p. 731. 23. p. 757. 24. p. 801.

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of a set of administrators was Iltutmish's greatest achievement. The record of their work may be read in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* where it will be seen that by their loyal services and administrative experience, they had made themselves indispensable to the king. They were the pillars of the State and after Iltutmish's death, continued to serve the kingdom till the accession of Ghiyāsuddīn Balban.

His court was also visited by many of the exiled princes who had lost their territories in the Mongol upheaval that took place under Chinghīz Khān. They lent dignity to his throne, spread his fame, and made him the most exalted monarch of his age. Ziāuddīn Baranī says[25]:—In Sultān Shamsuddīn's reign, owing to the accursed Chinghīz Khān the Mongol's fear of tyranny ,the illustrious *Maliks* and *amīrs* who for ages had acted as leaders and also many ministers and other celebrities had thronged to his court. These *Maliks* who were the most excellent of their kind and these ministers and celebrities who in dignity, frankness, integrity, virtues, skill, and wisdom, had no equal in the whole world, had made Shamsuddīn's court look like that of Mahmūd or Sanjar, nay, the most perfect example (of sovereignty)."

A word may be said about one or two other measures of the Sultān. We all know that he had reformed the currency. In fact he is supposed to be the first Muslim king of India who had issued silver coins. In Nelson Wright's words, 'Iltutmish was a great moneyer. That he established the silver *tankah* and the billion *jital* on a firm footing was in itself a remarkable achievement. The influence of this silver *tankah* may be said to have continued down to the present day. His incorporation of the indigenous 32-*rati* weight standard into his currency scheme was a skilful move which made for both popularity and permanence.'[26] But he may also be remembered for the recognition of the local coinage, only introducing his name as suzerain. For an illustration see Thomas's *the Chronicles of the Pathān kings of Delhi.*[27] While one coin shows Chāhar dēv as a paramount soverign, the other makes him a tributary to Iltutmish. The inscription of the two coins may be shown here.

No. 1

Obverse	*Reverse*
Horseman	*Bull*
श्री चाइड देव	असावरो श्री समन्त देव

25. p. 27. 26. *S.D.C.M*, p. 75. 27. p. 70 coins Nos. 39 and 40.

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No. 2

Horseman	*Bull*
श्री चाइड देव	असवरी श्री समसोरल देव

It will be noticed that Iltutmish freely used the Hindi characters and also symbols like bull or horseman. Even the name of Mustansir billah occurs in Hindi along with the symbol of a bull.[28] It is a striking example of his toleration and his efforts to conciliate his Hindu subjects. The same tendency is seen in the profuse carvings introduced in his *Arhāī-din-kā-jhompra* masjid and his extension of the *Quwwat-ul-Islām* mosque.[29] In spite of the Islāmic prohibition of symbols or figures of any animal and injunction in favour of simplicity, Iltutmish introduced symbols on coins and profuse ornamentation of the walls of his buildings, as a generous gesture towards his Hindu subjects. The two *Hauz-i-Shamsīs,* one at Badāūn and the other at Delhi must have earned gratitude for him of his Hindu subjects, who along with the Muslims had profited by them.

TO SUM UP OUR CONCLUSIONS.

(1) Iltutmish's kingship was the result of the verdict of the nobles. He was expected to stop the disintegration of the kingdom that had set in in Ārām Shāh's time. These expectations were fulfilled by the recovery of Sind and of Bengal. The principle of election as opposed to that of the Divine right was first illustrated in Muslim Indian History by Iltutmish's accession.

(2) He cemented the kingdom by disposing of his rivals, Yildiz and Qabācha, and by crushing the disobedient, whether Hindu or Muslim. Among the Muslims, he made no distinction between the Muizī or Qutbī nobles and those who possessed no such distinction.

(3) He was a generous as well as stern ruler. In Bengal at first he had allowed Ghiyāsuddīn to escape annihilation by the payment of a tribute. When he persisted in his opposition, he was destroyed and his territory was annexed. When Daulat Shāh rose again pleading only for a governorship under Iltutmish's suzerainty, the Delhi Sultān paid no heed to his pleadings and crushed him. In Sind also Iltutmish had at first overlooked Qabācha's assumption of independence, but when his own territory was attacked, he crushed him and annexed the whole of Sind.

(4) Towards the Hindus his policy was marked by a mixture of

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28. *Thomas,* p. 52 coin No. 28b. 29. *See* Cambridge History of India Vol. III, the chapter on *the monument of Muslim India,*

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firmness and conciliation. He subdued many of the Rājās in North India but allowed them a local existence on condition of his suzerainty being acknowledged. Similarly he recognized the Hindu practices by imitating their carvings in his buildings or their symbols on his coins.

(5) His greatest achievement was the establishment of the Shamsī order of the forty nobles. They formed the cream of his civil and military services and supplied him with loyal administrators and commanders.

(6) His kingship was recognized by the *Khalīfa* of Bagdād, the head of the Muslim Sunnī world. Out of deference to the *Khalīfa,* he called himself the Sultān of the East only. To the petty Persian and Turki princes of his period, he threw a challenge by assuming the title, 'Master of the kings of the Turkīs and the Persians.'

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CANDRA-GUPTA II, SĀHASĀṂKA ALIAS VIKRAMĀDITYA AND THE NINE JEWELS

By S. K. DIKSHIT

धन्वन्तरि-क्षपणकामरसिंह-शङ्कु-
वेतालभट्ट-घटखर्पर-कालिदासाः ।
ख्यातो वराहमिहिरो नृपतेः सभायां
रत्नानि वै वररुचिर्नव विक्रमस्य ॥

— JV. XXII. 10.

According to the above-quoted verse in the JV., a work claiming Kālidāsa as its author, the 'Nine Jewels' including Dhanvantari, Amarasiṁha, Vetālabhaṭṭa, Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira and Vararuci were in the court of a certain Vikrama. Another verse (JV. XXII. 9) says : "There are other astronomers (=*kālatantra-kavayaḥ*) like myself, viz. Satyācārya, Varāhamihira, Śrutasena, Bādarāyaṇa, Maṇittha or Maṇintha and Kumārasiṁha." A third one adds 'Having destroyed the Śakas, Vikramāditya built numerous temples throughout the country' (XVIII. 43).

It is well known that almost all of this is regarded as fictitious, that the work, which contains it, is relegated to the 11th or 12th cent. A.D. and that the Nine Jewels are not regarded as contemporaries. Yet there seems to be real evidence which goes to support the old tradition.

Thus I claim in this brief article :

(1) that the nine jewels were contemporary with Śakāri Vikramāditya alias Sāhasāṁka, who is no other than Candra-Gupta II ;

(2) that Vararuci was a maternal uncle of Subandhu who was at first a courtier of Vikramāditya and then of Kumāra-Gupta ;

(3) that Vetālabhaṭṭa's name alone is responsible for the constant

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Abbreviations : R.T. : Rāja-Taraṅgiṇī.
KSS. : Kathāsaritsāgara.
BKM. : Bṛhat-Kathā-Mañjarī.
JV. : Jyotirvidābharaṇam.
KK. : Kālakācārya-Kathānaka.

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association of Vikramāditya, Sāhasāṁka or Candra-Gupta II with the Vetālas or the Goblins, etc. that is observable not only in literature but also in inscriptions ;

(4) that Khādyaṭa-pākika Hariṣeṇa of the Allahabad Inscription of Samudra-Gupta is perhaps the Dhanvantari Hari of Vikrama's court mentioned in the JV. ;

(5) that there is no reason to reject the traditions about dates found in the JV. and the Kutūhala-Mañjarī ;

(6) that the JV. mentioning Satyācārya, Bādarāyaṇa, Śrutasena (=Siddasena) and Maṇintha as contemporaries of Varāha-mihira can not be relegated to the 11th of 12th cent. A.D. since all of these persons find direct references in the Bṛhat-saṁhitā of Varāha ;

(7) that the JV. betraying a very close resemblance with other works of Kālidāsa should be attributed to Kālidāsa ;

(8) and lastly, that the traditions about the munificence of Vikramāditya make it perfectly clear that he is identical with Candra-Gupta II.

Without referring to the views of a host of veteran scholars like Max Müller, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, Roy, Hoernle, Pāṭhak, Konow, Allan, Banerji-Śāstrī, Kshetreśchandra Chattopādhyāya etc. I briefly state mine about the conquest of Vikramāditya and the era started by him. Candra-Gupta II Vikramāditya commemorated his victory over the Śakas with an era in 405 A.D. ; but as this era was started in Ujjain, the capital of Mālava, it came to be confounded with the Mālava Saṁvat, now probably rightly identified with the Azes Era. Thus what was formerly known as the Azes Era came to be known some time after the 5th century A.D. as the Vikrama Saṁvat.

The traditions handed down by Brāhmanic, Jain and Muslim writers are unanimous in saying that the enemies routed by Vikrama were either Śakas or Mlecchas, but never Hūṇas or Puṣyamitras. Thus the R.T. says :

म्लेच्छोच्छेदाय वसुधां हरेरवतरिष्यतः ।
शकान्विनश्य येनादा कार्यभारो लघूकृतः ॥

(III. 128)

The KK., Alberūnī, etc. also aver that Vikrama's enemies were the Śakas, thus corroborating the statement in the JV. that he 'destroyed the Śakas,' (*vide* the first para of this article). Kṣīrasvāmī also calls him a Śakāntaka and not a Hūṇāntaka. Abhinanda in his Rāmacaritam refers to the Śakārāti as a contemporary

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and patron of Kālidāsa, while the Nālandā inscription of Devapāladeva refers to the Śaka-dviṭ as a great giver of gifts. I hope that these many traditions may suffice for the present.

Tradition is also unanimous on the point that Vikramāditya commemorated his victory with an era. Thus a famous Subhāṣita says :

'येनास्मिन्वसुधातले शकगणान्सर्वा दिशः सङ्गरे
हत्वा पञ्चनवप्रमान्कलियुरे शाकः प्रवृत्तिः कृता ।'

i.e. 'who, having destroyed in battle the Śaka confederations . .of all the quarters in the earth, started an era.'

Alberūnī also records a tradition according to which "Śaka tyrannised over the country between the river Sindh and the ocean . . . .when Vikramāditya marched against him . . . and killed him in the region of Kārur between Multan and the castle of Loni." I should only reiterate Max Müller's wise words that 'Alberuni does not invent battles.'

In fact, the greatest argument in favour of regarding Candra-Gupta II as the founder of an era which was later on identified with the Azes or Kṛta-Mālava era is to be found in the following explicit statement[1] of Alberūnī : "Those who use the era of Vikramāditya live in the southern and western parts of India. . . . . In the book Srūdhava by Mahādeva I find as his name Chandrabīja" (E.C. Sachau's Ed. part ii, pp. 5-6). Who this Mahādeva is, is not very clear ; but he is certainly an ancient author, whose book 'Srūdhava' was known to Alberūnī probably in a corrupt state. The name Candrabīja most probably represents a corrupt form of Candra-Gupta who can be Candra-Gupta II of the Gupta dynasty alone. In fact it is highly improbable that this Candrabīja alias Vikramāditya can be anybody else except that famous Sāhasāṁka ; since even if the existence of an earlier Vikramāditya of the first century B.C. be granted it is very improbable that he should also be known as Candra. Besides 'bīja' is a Prākrit equivalent of 'dvitīya,' thus Candrabīja may *perhaps* well stand for "Candra dvitīya' or 'dvitīyaḥ Candra-Guptaḥ.' Or rather as stated above, Candrabīja may simply be a corruption for Candra-gupta.

It is well known, I believe, that Sāhasāṁka is an epithet of

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1. See, however, the preface by Sachau (p. xl), where the learned Doctor completely misunderstands this statement identifying Candrabīja with the author Mahādeva ! (Dr. E. C. Sachau's ed vol. I).

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Candra-Gupta II. Thus the Cambay and Sānglī plates of Govinda IV-Rāṣṭrakūṭa refer to Candra-Gupta II as Sāhasāṁka[2] :

'सामर्थ्ये सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता नैवाग्रजे क्रूरता
बन्धुस्त्रीगमनादिभिः कुचरितैरावर्जितं नायशः ।
शौचाशौच-पराङ्मुखं कृतधिया पैशाच्यमङ्गीकृतं
त्यागेनासमसाहसैश्च भुवने यः साहसाङ्कोऽभवत् ॥'

His adventurous nature as well as his epithet Sāhasāṁka are referred to in the Khārepāṭan and other (Thana-) Śīlāhāra Inscriptions which say : "Kapardī, (the founder and) the ornament of Śīlāra family, was given to adventures like Śrī Sāhasāṁka":

'श्रीसाहसाङ्क इव साहसिकः कपर्दी शीलारवंशतिलको नृपतिर्बभूव ॥'

Now, I believe, the expressions like 'nirvyāja-vikramatiraskṛta-Sāhasāṁkaḥ' i.e. 'who has out-done Sāhasāṁka in point of undeceitful valour' occurring in a Sena Inscription[3] will be amply clear. Jaṭādhara[4] quoted in the Śabda-kalpadruma equates Sāhasāṁka with Śakāri-Vikramāditya, while Kṣīrasvāmī the famous commentator of the Amarakoṣa says :

'विक्रमादित्यः साहसाङ्कः शकान्तकः ।'

But is there any evidence to connect Sāhasāṁka with the Vikrama Era, just as we have got some evidence to show that Vikramāditya can be connected with Vikrama Era (though of course only in the manner stated above)? Is there anything to corroborate the fact mentioned by Alberūnī so that Sāhasāṁka Candra-Gupta can be connected with an era? I think, there is. Thus there are at least two inscriptions in which 'Sāhasāṁka' Era is used in lieu of 'Vikrama' Era[5]:—

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2. E. I., VII. 40 ff., I. A., XII, 251 ff. For the prowess of Vikramāditya, compare the verse :—

'सन्त्यज्य विक्रमादित्यं सत्खोद्रिक्तं च शूद्रकम् । त्वां च भूपाल पर्याप्तं धैर्यमन्यच्च दुर्लभम् ॥'—R.T. III. 343.

3. The Naihāṭī grant of Ballālasena, I. I. XIV, p. 159. Also N. G. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 72.
This expression has caused much confusion and discussion.

4. यथा "साहसाङ्कः शकारिः स्यादिक्रमादित्य इत्यपि ।" इति जटाधरः ।"
Śabda-kalpa-druma, Vol. V. p. 2 (Nāgarī ed.); Ibid. Vol. V. p. 3. (Bengali ed).

5. Cf. *E.I.*, XX, Nos. 402 and 476. Also vide IC., Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 286 ff.

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(1) Mahobā-Fort-wall fragmentary Inscription :

'व्योमार्कार्णावसङ्ख्याते साहसाङ्कस्य वत्सरे ।'

(2) Rohtāsgarh rock inscription of King Pratāpa's time :

'नवभिरथ मुनीन्द्रैर्वासराणामधीशैः
'परिकलयति सङ्ख्यां वत्सरे साहसाङ्के ।'

Kielhorn rightly identified this Sāhasāṁka Era with Vikrama Era.

Indeed, with regard to the KK., Dr. A. Banerji-Śāstrī approvingly quotes the following observation of Prof. Sten Konow : "I can not see slightest reason for discarding this account (of the Kathānaka regarding Vikramāditya of Mālava uprooting the Śaka dynasty), as is usually done, because most scholars are *a priori* disinclined to believe in Indian tradition and some times prefer the most marvellous accounts of foreign authors to Indian lore." The learned Śāstrī adds : "The Kathāsaritsāgara and the Rajput Chronicles bear witness to the heroic legends of Mahendrāditya's son, king Vikramāditya of Mālava of the Paramāra dynasty, ruling at Ujjain in the first century B.C."[6]

I regret to say that the historical significance of that semi-historical tradition in the KK. has been missed by scholars like Prof. Sten Konow and Dr. A. Banerji-Śāstrī. They have taken the Kathānaka at its face value and have overlooked the evidence of the Purāṇas, whose authenticity is borne out in many striking cases. Thus the authenticity of the Purāṇas, very often unnecessarily called in question by savants like Dr. Ray Chaudhari, is borne out in the cases of Śaiśunāgakula or Haryaṇkakula (Hari=Nāga ; cf. Nāga. Dāsaka),[7] of Darśaka (who may not be the author of Ti-lo-tse-kia which is probably Tilāḍhaka and not Darśaka as Dr. Ray Chaudhuri, follow-

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6. *I.H.Q.*, XIII. ii. 211. He cannot belong to the Paramāra dynasty; for in the Navasāhasāṁka-Caritam written in praise of a Paramāra king Sindhurāja, there is no such claim. On the other hand, while Vikramāditya is there said to belong to Ujjain, Dhārā is definitely represented as the family-seat (*Kularāja dhānī*) of the Paramāras. Vide Navasāhasāṁka-Caritam I. 17 :

'अस्ति क्षितावुज्जयिनीति नाम्ना पुरी विहायस्यममवतीव ।
ववन्ध यस्यां पदमिन्द्रकल्पः श्रीविक्रमादित्य इति क्षितीशः ॥ १७ ॥'

Also I. 90 : 'विजित्य लङ्कामपि वर्तते या यस्याश्च नायात्यलकापि साम्यम् ।
जेतुः पुरी साप्यपरास्ति यस्य धारेति नाम्ना कुलराजधानी ॥९० ॥'

7. *Vide*, however, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th Ed., p. 98.

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ing Beal, opines),[8] of Kākavarṇa (who can be identical either with Kālāśoka who had ten sons including Nandivardhana that ruled after him or with the 'reigning monarch' that was killed by the father of Xandrames, but not with both as Dr. Ray Chaudhuri thinks),[9] of Daśaratha and Śāliśūka, of Puṣyamitra (who retained his title of 'Senānī' even when he had obtained imperial power and who certainly did not belong to the Maurya dynasty as the Divyāvadāna would have it) etc. In the present case, too, the Purāṇas rightly and unanimously say that the dynasty of the Śaka that ruled for more than 300 years was immediately preceded by the dynasty of Gardhabhilas, and not by a king named Gardabhilla, as the KK. represents. The Purāṇas leave us to infer that it was this dynasty of the Śakas that was uprooted by the famous Śakāri Vikramāditya and not a 'Sāhāṇusāhi' king who had ousted Vikrama's father. Vide (1) the Matsya-Purāṇa :-

'सप्त गर्धभिणश्चापि शकाश्चाष्टादशैव तु ।'

i.e. 'Seven Gardhabhins (will reign) too, (followed by) only eighteen Śakas ;

(2) the Vāyu-Purāṇa :

'सप्त गर्धभिला भूयो भोक्ष्यन्तीमां वसुन्धराम् ।
शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिं च शका ह्यष्टादशैव तु ॥' ;

(3) the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa :

'सप्त गर्धभिणश्चैव भोक्ष्यन्तीमां द्विसप्ततिः ।
शतानि त्रीण्यशीतिं च भोक्ष्यान्ति ससुधां शकाः ।"

Thus it is impossible to connect these successors of the Gardhabhilas,—I mean the dynasty of the eighteen Śakas, rightly identified with the dynasty of Caṣṭana,—with a Vikramāditya of the first century B.C. for whose existence we have to depend solely on our own imagination. Dr. Charpentier has, on the other hand, rightly concluded in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, page 168, that 'the legend (recorded in the KK.) is to some extent historical in character.' It records how the Jain saint Kālaka having been insulted by king Gardhabhilla of Ujjain, who according to various traditions, was the father of the famous Vikramāditya, went in his desire for revenge to the

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8. *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed. p. 175. Cunningham's *'Ancient Geography of India'* (ed. by S. N. Majumdar-Śāstrī), pp. 521-23, p. 720. Watters. II, 105 ff. Beal. Buddhist Records of the Western World, ii, 102. Also JASB. 1933-34.

9. *Ibid*, p. 187.

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land of the Śakas' whose king was styled 'Sāhāṇusāhi.' Strictly speaking, the title 'Sāhāṇusāhi' does not appear on any of the Śaka coins. Yet there is no doubt that Candra-Gupta II's father had come into contact with certain chiefs holding the title Ṣāhānuṣāhi.[10] The same cannot be averred with regard to the Vikramāditya of 58 B.C. with any amount of certainty. Further, it is highly improbable that Vikramāditya obtained such a fame only because he had 'repelled the invaders and re-established the throne of ancestors'; for, if we are to believe in the Kathānaka, the Sāhāṇusāhi had reigned at Ujjain only for four years, and as such, this was nothing more than an incursion by a foreign power and a matter of merely local importance. There is little in the KK. to show that Vikrama was an all-India power, while both the BKM. and KSS. represent Vikramasiṁha or Vikramāditya ruling at one time at Ujjain, at other time at Pāṭaliputra, thus connecting him with Candra-Gupta II rather than an earlier Vikramāditya of Mālava.

Further, that there were Gardhabhilla kings rather than a king named Gardabhilla is possibly borne out by Jinasena, who, misunderstanding a corrupt form of the name, says that the Rāsabha kings reigned for a hundred years. The JV. also refers to the annihilation of the Śakas and the establishment of an era by the famous Vikrama,—a fact partly corroborated by the KK. But it is to be noted that in spite of the fact that Vikrama is represented there (*i.e.*, in the JV.) as ruling over Mālava, he is still an all-India power, and not merely a 'Mālavendra' — an epithet which he must however appropriate in view of its recent conquest. Thus I see no reason to connect a presumed Vikrama of 58 B.C. with the Saṁvat current under his name, while the evidence of the inscriptions, especially the Takht-ī-bāhī, Kalāvan and Taxilā silver scroll inscriptions definitely seem to connect the era of 58 B.C. with Azes I. This is also endorsed by the numismatic evidence. Here it may be seen that I am unable to agree with Dr. Sten Konow, who, like Hoffmann, identifies Azes I, Azilises, and Azes II, and who regards Azes as only symbolically connected with the era. I have, in fact, seen nothing that goes against Sir John Marshall's brilliant conjecture that Azes I is the author of the Saṁvat, while I have already given, I believe, some reasons why Sāhasāṁka should be connected with an era (the era of 405 A.D.) that was founded by him after the annihilation of the Śakas of Ujjain. As this era was established in that city which was the capital of Mālava, it naturally came to be confounded with the Mālava Saṁvat, an era which was formerly known as the Azes era, but which came to be so termed on

10. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions (*C.I.I.*, III), No. 1.

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account of its being used by the Mālavagaṇa. The era thus seems to have passed through different stages, being first known as the Azes era, then as the Kṛta era, then as the Kṛta-Mālava era, then as the Mālava-gaṇa era, and lastly as the era of the Mālavas or the kings of the Mālavas. The JV. calls the Śakāri Mālavendra, while according to Harṣa-Carita, the Guptas, even before the time of Harṣa, had assumed the title Mālava-rāja. There is little proof that the later Guptas had conquered the Mālavas or Avanti.

The initial date of an era started with the completion of the defeat of the Śakas of Ujjain must, therefore, lie sometime after the year 388 A.D. ; since we know that Svāmī Rudrasiṁha was ruling at least up to 31x of the Śaka era, beginning from 78 A.D. It must also lie before A.D. 409 since the silver coins of Candra-Gupta that are found in the region round about Ujjain date from 9y of the Gupta era. But it may well be questioned how I was able to arrive at the definite date, viz., 405 A.D. I may, therefore, point out that a verse in the JV. says in a prophetic tone that an astronomical phenomenon called 'Kṣayamāsa' (the lapse of a month) will occur in the 103rd year of the Vikrama Saṁvat, which the Mālavendra started :

'त्रिखेन्दु १०३ भिर्विक्रमभूपतेर्मिते
शाकेन्वितीह क्षयमासको भवेत् ।
अन्यः स्वकालाब्दगणेन हायने
त्रिमासयुग्मं क्षयमासवत्यतः ॥'[11]

Now, according to the Indian Chronology of D.B. Svāmī Kannu Pillai, a Kṣayamāsa did occur in the year 507 A.D.. Thus if the year 507 corresponds to the 103rd year of the Vikrama Saṁvat, the latter must begin in 405 A.D.

But is there any literary work, etc., that is dated in an era beginning in 405 A.D. For otherwise, it would be difficult to accept such a revolting conclusion, even in the face of the connection of Śāhasāṁka with the Vikrama era and of Candra-Gupta with the Śakas. I may, therefore, point out the traditions found in the JV. and Kutūhala-mañjarī that were rejected probably for the sole reason that while the former work claims to be dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat 24, the latter says that Varāhamihira was born 13 years before the beginning of the Vikrama Saṁvat. I do not see any reason to set aside the evidence of the written records, as there are perhaps some positive grounds to accept them.

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11. JV. iv, 53.

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The JV. thus says :

"वर्षैः सिन्धुरदर्शनाम्बरगुणै ३०६८र्याते कलौ संमिते
मासे माधवसंज्ञिते च विहितो ग्रन्थक्रियोपक्रमः ।" (JV. XXII. 21)

i.e., 'the work was begun in the month called Mādhava, in the Kali year 3068.' Mr. S. B. Dikshit, the astronomer of Mahārāṣṭra, says that the Kali age 3068 corresponds to the year 24 of the Vikrama Saṁvat, since Vikrama Saṁvat is unanimously said to begin in 3045 year of the Kali age, or after 3044 years of that era had elapsed. He, followed by Dr. Fleet and others, therefore, rejects this tradition, since it is highly improbable in his opinion that the work JV. was composed in the 24th year of the Vikrama era. But I have shown above that the work was probably written in the 24th year of the Vikrama era *that began in* 405, i.e., in 428-29 A.D. This is not improbable.

There is another tradition, *viz.*, the one found in the Kutūhala-Mañjarī, which seems to put Mr. S. B. Dikshit into much difficulty and which would now be easily sloved by the readers themselves. Varāha himself says in the Bṛhaj-jātaka :

"आदित्यदासतनयस्तदवाप्तबोधः
कापित्थिके सवितृलब्धवरप्रसादः ।
आवन्तिको मुनिमतान्यवलोक्य सम्यग्-
घोरां वराहमिहिरो रूचिरां चकार ॥"

In this verse, he informs us that he was a son of Ādityadāsa and that he was favoured by the sun. This is exactly what he told in a verse in the Kutūhala-Mañjarī, which gives Varāha's date, and which was therefore rather reluctantly rejected by Mr. S. B. Dikshit.[12] He

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12. The strange interpretation about the Rāśis (=number) of Ravi (=Sun) suggested by another astronomer, Mr. Daptari of Nagpur, may best be forbidden by so splitting the *sandhi*. Mr. Daptari would dissolve the sandhi as 'Raveḥ Rāśibhiḥ' instead of *'Raveḥ āśibhiḥ.'* Note that the Bhadrabāhu-Varāha-prabandha in a Jain work named Prabandha-kośa of Śrī-Rājaśekhara Sūri (ed. by Jina-vijaya, Viśvabhāratī, Śāntiniketana) pp. 2 ff. refers to the blessings that Varāhamihira obtained from the Sun-god : "व्रतावस्थाऽधीतशास्त्रार्थतय वाराहसंहितादिनवीनशास्त्ररचनायां प्रजगल्भे, लोकेषु च जगाम(द)···'साक्षाद्भास्कर एवाभूत् । तेनाहं भाषितः—'वत्स ।···वरं वृणीष्व' " Note that Bhaṭṭotpala also refers to him as having obtained the blessings of the Sun-god, as an Āvantika and as a Magadha-dvija : वत्साजशङ्कररवीन्दुकुजज्ञजीवशुक्रार्कपुत्र-

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notes this striking corroboration, but adds: "The tradition incorporated in the verse cannot be an authentic one, since the year mentioned in it cannot be brought into conformity with any system of Mathematics." Is this not perhaps a candid confession on the part of that learned mathematician and astronomer, that he did not fully understand the significance of that verse in the Kutūhala-Mañjarī? That verse runs as follows :—

स्वस्तिश्रीनृपसूर्यसूनुजशके शाके द्विवेदाम्बर-
त्रै ३०३२मानाब्दमिते त्वनेहसि जये वर्षे वसन्तादिके।
चैत्रे श्वेतदले शुभे वसुतिथावादित्यदासादभू-
द्वेदाङ्गे निपुणो वराहमिहिरो विप्रो रवेः आशीर्भिः ॥[12]

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The expression *dvi-ved-āmbara-trai* is interpreted by Mr. S. B. Dikshit to mean 3042, but it should rather mean 3032, since the Vedas are collectively known as a 'Triad' or 'Trayī,' while verses like

"त्रयोऽग्नयस्त्रयो वेदास्त्रयो देवास्त्रयो गुणाः।
त्रयो दण्डिप्रबन्धाश्च त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुताः ॥"

—Rājaśekharakaviḥ [13]

show that in ancient times the Vedas were generally known as three in number. Thus according to the verse in the Kutūhala-Mañjarī, Varāha-Mihira, a Brāhmaṇa versed in the Vedas, was born in the Yudhiṣṭhira-Saṁvat (*i.e.*, Kali Age) 3032, ... of Ādityadāsa through the blessing of the sun.' But we know, Yudhiṣṭhira-Saṁvat corresponds to the beginning of the Vikrama Saṁvat, according to the unanimous testimony of Utpala and other astronomers. Thus Varāhamihira was born thirteen years before the beginning of the Vikrama-Saṁvat, *i.e.*, 405—13=392 A.D. according to my calculation, and 57 B.C.—13=70 (or 60) B.C. according to the calculations of Mr. S. B. Dikshit and others. I may point out that my calculation rather than the other one is more in conformity with the statement made by Alberūnī that

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गणनाथगुहन्प्रणम्य। यः सङ्ग्रहोऽर्कवरलाभाभिधब्रह्मबुद्धेरावन्तिकस्यतमइं विवृणोमि कृत्स्नम् ॥' Bhaṭṭotpala-vivṛtti (commencing stanza), Dvivedi's edition, p. 1. Also vide ibid. p. 2: 'आवन्तिकाचार्यमगधद्विजवराहमिहिरोऽर्कलब्धवरप्रसादो etc.

13. Śārṅgadhara-paddhati and subhāṣitahārāvali.

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Varāha's Pañca-Siddhāntikā era begins from 484 A.D. Mr. S. B. Dikshit has given very good reasons to doubt the tradition that Varāha was alive in 587 A.D.[14] But while his arguments as to the impossibility of Varāha living up to 587 A.D. are acceptable, there is perhaps really little reason to doubt the validity of the original statement, which is probably only misinterpreted by all the writers on it :—

'नवाधिकपञ्चशतसङ्ख्यशाके वराहमिहिराचार्यो दिवं गतः ।'

i.e.,. 'In the year 509 Varāha-Mihirācārya went to the heaven' (Pṛthusvāmī, a commentator on Brhama-Gupta). The word "Śāka" at times stands merely for 'a year' or Saṁvat and does not *always* mean Śaka year. Thus in the two verses (already quoted) that begin with 'त्रिखेन्दुभिर्विक्रमभूपतेर्मिते शाकेन्वितीह etc.', and 'येनास्मिन्वसुधातले etc., the word 'Śāka' is used in connection with the Vikrama-Saṁvat.[15] Thus, if the statement of Pṛthusvāmī that Varāha died in the year 509 refers to the Mālava-Vikrama-Saṁvat, it means that he died in 451 A.D. (509-58=451). Thus Varāha lived from 392 A.D. to 451 A.D.

Last of all, and this is one of the most important arguments, which I believe cannot profitably be ignored by anybody who writes on the date of Varāhamihira, the very words which according to Mr. S. B. Dikshit assign conclusive date to Varāha can more probably be interpreted in favour of my arguments. This is important, for according to this interpretation Varāhamihira was alive not in 505 A.D. as is supposed by Mr. S. B. Dikshit, but in 405 A.D., *i.e.*, the year in which Candra-Gupta II started his era. According to Mr. S. B. Dikshit and Pandit Durga Prasad Dvivedi of Jaipur, "Varāha" gives his date in the following words : "saptāśvi-veda-saṁkhyaṁ Śaka-kāla etc."[16] Here, both these scholars take 'Veda' as equivalent to "four", thus making

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14. 'A peep into the Early History of India', Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 60. (Rawlinson's ed.).

15. Compare the use of the word 'Śāka' in the verse '*svasti-nṛpa-sūrya-sūnuja-śake śāke* etc.', quoted above. Also vide saint Ekanātha's verses in the Marāthi Bhāgavat (Nirṇaya Sāgara ed.) vv. 552 and 555 :

वाराणसी महामुक्तिक्षेत्र । विक्रमशक वृष संवत्सर । शके सोलाशे तिसोत्तर । टीका एकाकार जनार्दन कृपा ॥···शालिवाहनशक व भव । संख्या चौदाशें पंचाणव । श्रीमुख संवत्सराचे नांव । टीका अपूर्व ते जाहली ॥'

16. 'सप्ताश्विवेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्य चैत्रशुक्लादौ ।
अर्धास्तमिते भानौ यवनपुरे सौम्यदिवसाद्ये ॥'

—Pañca-siddhāntikā

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the whole sum equal to 427. But, as shown above, Veda can very easily and appropriately mean "three",—which would make the sum equal to 327. The equivalent of 327 Śaka era is 405 A.D., which thus makes Varāha, a contemporary of Candra-Gupta II.[17]

But Varāha's date, it may be objected, depends upon the date of Ārya-bhaṭa I, that is given by the latter in the Kālakriyāpāda as circa 3600 years after the end of the third Yugapāda. For does not Ārya-bhaṭa say that he was 23 years old when 3600 years together with the first three Yugapādas had already elapsed?

षष्ट्यब्दानां षष्टिर्यदा व्यतीतास्त्रयश्च युगपादाः ।

त्र्यधिका विंशतिरब्दास्तदेह मम जन्मनो नीताः ॥

The date of Āryabhaṭa, according to the interpretation of this verse given by Dr. Fleet,[18] Mr. S. B. Dikshit, etc., is 3600-3044=556 Vikrama Saṁvat, *i.e.*, A.D. 499. I regret to say that I am unable to follow them in view of the definite statement of Varāha etc., that there was a long period of transition that intervened between the third and fourth Yuga-pādas, *viz.* Dvāpara and Kali, during which took place the famous Mahābhārata war, vide the Mahābhārata Ādiparva, ch. 2 :

'अन्तरे चैव सम्प्राप्ते कलिद्वापरयोरभूत् ।

स्यमन्तपञ्चके युद्धं कुरुपाण्डवसेनयोः ॥ १३ ॥'

This means that the Yudhiṣṭhira Saṁvat or Kali Era was not started immediately after the Dvāpara yuga was finished, but at the end of the interval, (which is reckoned to be not less than 653 years), that passed between the two Yugas. Thus 3600-653=2947 years of the Kali Age or Yudhiṣṭhira Saṁvat had passed when Āryabhaṭa I was 23 years of age ; *i.e.*, he was born in the 2925th year of the Kali age. But the Vikrama Saṁvat began when 3044 years of that era had passed, *i.e.*, about 120 years after the birth of Āryabhaṭa I. It is impossible to place Āryabhata 120 years before 58 B.C. Hence the Vikrama Saṁvat here must be taken to refer to an era that Candra-Gupta II Vikramāditya started in 405, as stated above. Thus Āryabhaṭa was born in circa 285 A.D.

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17. May I add that the famous astronomer of Ujjain, Mr. Sūryanārāyaṇa Vyāsa agrees with me with regard to the date I assign to Varāhamihira, though he is extremely reluctant to put the famous Vikramāditya anywhere except in 58 B.C.?

18. J.R.A.S. 1911, pp. 111-12.

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It is impossible for me to endorse the view of those scholars, who put Āryabhaṭa in 499 A.D., for other reasons as well. These scholars have to discard no less than two or three traditions about the date of an astronomer called Lalla in order to stabilize their view. Lalla definitely tells us that he consulted the works not only of Āryabhaṭa I himself but also of his pupils, and that he found the works of those pupils of Āryabhaṭa I not very satisfactory.[19] This clear statement justifies Mr. Ś. B. Dikshit's remark that "Lalla was preceded by Āryabhaṭa by a great length of time." But it does not in my opinion justify the rejection of the three traditions about his date, that Mr. Ś. B. Dikshit has himself given. The author of the Gaṇaka-Taraṅgiṇī assigns Lalla to Śaka year 421, *i.e.*, 499 A.D., while Dr. Kern on the authority of the internal evidence afforded by two statements in Lalla's work has sought to prove that Lalla's date is circa 420 Śaka era, *i.e.*, 498 A.D. Mr. Ś. B. Dikshit, has rightly shown that it is impossible to reconcile these traditions with the tradition that Āryabhaṭa was 23 years old in the year 499 A.D. But I have ventured to show that the latter tradition is misinterpreted ; hence, I am unable to accept the admittedly conjectural date, *viz.*, circa 640 A.D. which Mr. S. B. Dikshit, has tentatively assigned to Lalla, in view of his view about that date of Āryabhaṭa. He does not give any reasons why he selected that particular year and not any other, say 600 A.D., or 550 A.D. It is, however, certain that he was under the impression that Lalla lived a long time after Āryabhaṭa I. The statements, that Dr. Kern used in order to prove his thesis about the date of Lalla, run as follows :—

(1) 'शाके नखाब्धि ४२० रहिते शशिनोक्षदस्रैः ।
तत्तुङ्गतः कृतशिवैस्तमसः षडङ्कैः ॥ १६ ॥ etc.

(2) 'व्योमाक्षिवेद ४२० निहिते विदधीत लब्धं ।
शीतांशुसूनुचलतुङ्गकलासु वृद्धिम् ॥ १६ ॥

....लल्लेन तस्य तनयेन शशाङ्कमौलेः
शैलाधिराजतनयादयितस्य शम्भोः ।[20]

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19. 'विज्ञाय शास्त्रममलमार्यभटप्रणीतं
तन्त्राणि यद्यपि कृतानि तदीयशिष्यैः ।
कर्मक्रमो न खलु सम्यगुदीरितस्तैः
कर्म ब्रवीम्यहमतः क्रमशस्तु सूक्तम् ॥'
—Dhī-vṛddhi-tantra, Madhyamādhikāra.

20. Compare 'तं वीक्ष्य वेपथुमती सरसाङ्गयष्टिः···शैलाधिराजतनया न ययौ न तस्थौ ॥'
—Kumāra-Saṁbhava V. 85.

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सम्पूज्य पादयुगमार्यभटाभिधान-
सिद्धान्ततुल्यफलमेतदकारि तन्त्रम् ॥ २२ ॥'

While these traditions may outweigh all doubts regarding the assignment of an earlier date to Āryabhaṭa I, the evidence afforded by the words like 'Jāmitra' corroborates my conclusion. This word is used in the Kumārasaṁbhava[21], in the JV., as also in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā; but it is not found in Āryabhaṭa's work. Thus it would be hazardous to believe that the composer of the Kumārasaṁbhava knew this word in the days of Candra-Gupta and Kumāra-Gupta, but that it was unknown to an astronomer like Āryabhaṭa in circa 499 A.D. We find it freely used in the so-called later works like the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and the JV.

I now proceed to give a short account of the poets at the court of Candra-Gupta II, and the nine jewels. But before that, I may draw attention to an important tradition that is found in a verse which is attributed to Rājaśekhara in the Sūktimuktāvali of Jalhana and the Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara. This verse seems to mention certain classical poets in a quasi-chronological order :

'भासो रामिलसोमिलौ वररुचिः श्रीसाहसाङ्कः कविः
मेण्ठो भारविकालिदासतरलाः स्कन्दः सुबन्धुश्च यः ।
दण्डी वाणदिवाकरौ गणपतिः कान्तश्च रत्नाकरः
सिद्धा यस्य सरस्वती भगवती के तस्य सर्वेऽपि ते ॥'

Kālidāsa refers in his Mālavikāgnimitra to "Bhāsakavi-Saumilla-Kaviputrādīnāṁ prabandhān", while another tradition regards "Rāmila-Somilau" as "Śūdraka-kathākārau"[22]. Daṇḍin refers to the Setubandha of Pravarasena, to Vāsvadattā, and to Valabhī[23] which would probably place him after circa 450 A.D. (the probable date of Bhaṭṭāraka), while his reference to Vidarbha as being governed by Bhojavaṁśa or the

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21. Vide Kumāra-saṁbhava, VII, 1.

22. Vide तौ शूद्रककथाकारौ रम्यौ रामिलसोमिलौ ।
काव्यं ययोर्ध्वयोरासीदर्धनारीश्वरोपमम् ॥
—Sūkti-muktāvali and Subhāṣita-hārāvali.

23. 'अस्ति सौराष्ट्रेषु वलभी नाम नगरी ।—Daśakumāra-Caritam VI, (Kulkarni's ed. p. 99). Ib. III, p. 64 : 'अनुरूपभर्तृगामिनीनां च वासवदत्तादीनां वर्णनेन ग्राह्यानुशयम् ।

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Vākāṭaka family[24] puts his date perhaps in or before the middle of the 6th century A.D. where he is placed by Professor A. B. Keith too, though on independent grounds. Bāṇa and Mātaṅga Divākara were the courtiers of Śrī-Harṣa[25] while Rājānaka Ratnākara (circa 850 A.D.) wrote his Hara-vijaya in the reign of Cippaṭa Jayāpīḍa and flourished in the days of Avantivarman.[26] I admit, however, that the verse is not strictly chronological ; but here Śrī-Sāhasāṁka appears as a poet.

Whatever be the worth of the above given tradition, it is certain that we cannot altogether set aside the following tradition given in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā :—

'श्रूयते चोज्जयिन्यां काव्यकारपरीक्षा ।

इह कालिदासमेण्ठावत्रामररूपसूरभारवयः ।

हरिचन्द्र-चन्द्रगुप्तौ प्रकाशिताविह विशालायाम् ॥'

According to this ancient tradition handed down by Rāja-śekhara, Candra-Gupta, if not a contemporary of Kālidāsa, Meṇ-ṭha, Amara, Sūra (alias Āryaśūra) and Haricandra, had like them appeared for the "poets' examination" that was held before a learned assembly in Ujjain. Reference to such a Pariṣad is found in the Bilsad inscription of 96 G. E., wherein Dhruvaśarmā [27] is said to have been

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24. Kālidāsa, who, as shown below, constantly refers to contemporary events calls the king of Vidarbha Bhoja and his sisters as Bhojyā. The colophon of Setubandha reads : "Iä siri-Pravarasena-viraiē Kālidāsakaē Dhahamuhavahe mahākavve...." Rāmadāsa in his Rāmasetuprabandha says "Pravaraseno Bhojadeva iti kaścit." Matsya-Purāṇa (Ānandāśrama ed.) refers to the Prativindhya family of the Bhojas" (=Vindhyakānāṁ kula) as having increased four-fold.

'विदर्भो नाम जनपदः । तस्मिन् भोजवंशभूषणं Daś. Car. VIII. p. 114. (Kulakarni's ed.)

25. अहो प्रभावो वाग्देव्या यन्मातङ्गदिवाकरः ।

श्रीहर्षस्याभवत्सभ्यः समं बाणमयूरयोः ॥—Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, st. 189.

26. मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः ।

प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात्साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः । —R. T. V. 34.

27. Fleet, G.I., No. 10, p. 44 : पर्षदा मानितेन ध्रुवशर्मणा कर्म महत्कृतेदम् (त्कृतमिदम्)। For a literary assembly associated with Vikramāditya or Sāhasāṁka, cf. Kāvya-mīmāṁsā, pp. 54–55; R.T. III, 129 ff. etc. Compare also Mālavikāgnimitram I, Prastāvanā.

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honoured by the assembly (*parṣadā mānita*). I confess, I see little reason not to believe in the author of Kāvyamīmāṁsā when he says 'śrūyate etc.,' and I think he is probably truthful to himself and to the tradition handed down to him by his predecessors, and is not himself inventing a new tradition. Thus, that Sāhasāṁka was a good poet known not only from the various quotations that are found under his name in the anthologies, but also from the following verse found in the Avantisundarīkathā and Jalhaṇa's Sūktimuktāvali[28] :—

"शूरः शास्त्रविधेर्ज्ञाता साहसाङ्कः स भूपतिः ।
सेव्यं सकललोकस्य विदधे गन्धमादनम् ॥"

i.e., "That famous king Sāhasāṁka composed the Gandhamādana poem, which is worth being enjoyed by the whole world."

Out of the above-mentioned poets, who appeared for the Kāvyakāra-parīkṣā, Meṇṭha alias Bhartṛmeṇṭha appears in the R.T. as a contemporary of the Śakāri Vikramāditya who is there represented as and elder contemporary of a certain Pravarasena.[29] Soḍḍhala, the author of a Campūkathā called Udayasundarī[30], also seems to mention Meṇṭha as a contemporary of Kālidāsa, while according to Maṅkha's Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam,[31] Meṇṭha[32] seems to have predeceased Subandhu, Bhāravi as

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28. I owe the reference in the Avantisundarīkathā to Mr. T. N. Rāmachandran of the Archæological Department (Dakshiṇā Bhārati Series, No. 3. Intro. p. 8). The Sūktimuktāvali is quoted M. Krishṇamāchāriar's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 148, (Latest edition).

29. R. T. III. 125 ff.

30. G. O. S. No. XI.

31. Śrīkaṇṭha-Caritam, II. 53 :—

मेण्ठे खदिरदावरोहिणि, वशं याते सुबन्धौ विधेः
शान्ते हन्त च भारवौ, विघटिते वाणे, विषादस्पृशः ।
वाग्देव्या विरमन्तु मन्तुविधुरा द्वाग्दृष्टयश्चेष्टते
श्लिष्टः कञ्चन स प्रसादयति तां यद्वाग्विसद्वाग्विनी ॥

32. "Meṇṭha has been associated with Vikramāditya by certain compilers of anthologies, who ascribe a certain verse to their joint authorship"—Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, 'A Peep into Early History of India', p. 61. The verse is: 'जिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जनं नभः ।' This occurs also in Śūdraka's Mṛcchakaṭikam I. 34.

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well as Bāṇa.[33] According to Rājaśekhara (Bālabhārata I. 12) Meṇṭha lived much earlier than Bhavabhūti :—

"तत्रैवंविधो दैवज्ञानां प्रवादः। बभूव वल्मीकभवः पुरा कविस्ततः प्रपेदे भुवि भर्तृमेण्ठताम्। स्थितः पुनर्यो भवभूतिरेखया स वर्तते सम्प्रति राजशेखरः॥"

Sūra, Śūra alias Ārya-Śūra, a Buddhist writer assigned by some scholars to the 3rd century A.D., wrote like all other contemporaries of Sāhasāṁka in Sanskrit[34]. Āryaśūra's works were translated according to Dr. Keith[35] and Winternitz before 434 A.D. It is to be noted that like Kālidāsa he uses the word "*āsa*" in the sense of *babhūva* independently[36]; such a use is not found in either earlier or much later writers. Language however can offer no sure proof ; still there is no definite ground for assigning him to a date earlier than 360 A.D. According to Dr. Winternitz,[37] he probably belongs to the 4th century A.D. Both he and Kālidāsa imitate Aśvaghoṣa.

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33. In a late and extremely unhistorical work of Sadāśiva-brahmendra called Jagadgururatnamālā (verses 49-50), Meṇṭha is regarded as a contemporary of Mātṛgupta, Setu-pravara (=Pravarasena, the author of Setu-kāvya, according to the commentator) and Viṣamāditya. A commentator on the same work quotes the following stanza from 'Hayagrīva-vadha' (a work ascribed to Meṇṭha by the R.T.):—

"ख्यातः श्रीशङ्करेन्द्रप्रचुरतरकृपालब्धसाहित्यविधः
सद्यः साधूक्तिसंमोद्यपि परकविताऽमर्षिणो मातृगुप्तात्।
प्रौढाः प्रौढोक्तिरूढैर्निविडरसभरैर्गुम्भिर्नेर्यत्र मेदु-
र्मेदुर्मोदादनार्दाद्धयवदनवधं वाग्म्यकुण्ठः स मेण्टः॥"

Compare R. T. III. 260. हयग्रीववधं मेण्ठस्तदग्रे दर्शयन्तवम्।
असमाप्तिस्ततो नापत्साधु साध्विति वा वचः॥

34. Vide contemporary inscriptions. Also Kāvya-mīmāṁsā (G. O. S. I. p. 50) "श्रूयते चोज्जयिन्यां साहसाङ्को नाम राजा, तेन च संस्कृतभाषात्मक अन्तःपुर एव इति समान पूर्वेण।
Compare the Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa, II. 15 :—

'काले श्रीसाहसाङ्कस्य के न संस्कृतवादिनः।'

35. Vide : History of Sanskrit Literature (1935), p. 67 ff.

36. For an interesting discussion on the word 'āsa,' vide Prof. K. B. Pathak's introduction to his edition of Meghadūta, p. xiv.

37. Vide : History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. II, p. 276.

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But who is the poet Haricandra who according to the Kāvyamīmāṁsā passed the poets' examination like Candra-Gupta, Kālidāsa, Meṇṭha, Amara, Śūra, etc.? That he was a great poet is certain from Bāṇa's Harṣacaritam :[38] **'पदवन्धोज्वलो हारी कृतवर्णक्रमस्थितिः । भट्टारहरिचन्द्रस्य गद्यबन्धो नृपायते ॥ १२ ॥'** i.e. "Glowing on account of the construction of words, attractive to the mind and with the arrangement of well chosen sounds, the prose composition of Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra is the king of its sort." This reference proves that he had become famous by the time of Bāṇa and that he was chiefly known as a prose writer. The JV. also refers to a poet named Hari as adorning the court of Vikrama, while the Gaüḍa-vaho refers to him along with Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Subandhu in the following words :

'भासम्मि जलणमित्ते कन्तीदेवे अ जस्स रहुआरे ।
सोवन्धवे अ बन्धम्मि हरियन्दे अ आणन्दो ॥'

Anther Subhāṣita[39] associates him with Subhandhu, Raghukāra Dākṣīputra (=Pāṇini ?), Śūra, and Bhāravi : **"सुवन्धौ भक्तिर्नः, क इह रघुकारे न रमते,**

धृतिर्दाक्षीर्णपुत्रे हरति हरिचन्द्रोऽपि हृदयम् ॥
विशुद्धोक्तिः शूरः प्रकृतिमधुरा भारविगिरः

etc." I venture to suggest that Haricandra is possibly identical with Hariṣeṇa, the author of the Allahabad pillar inscription whose composition is also 'the king of its sort' (*gadyabandho nṛpāyate*).

If he was really such a great poet as Bāṇa, Vākpatirāja and other writers ask us to believe, and if he was really identical with Hariṣeṇa, he ought to have been mentioned in the list of the nine jewels by the author of the JV. It is improbable that such a great personage as Haricandra or Hariṣeṇa should not find any mention in a verse which refers to the lesser stars like Śaṅku, Ghaṭakharpara, etc.

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38. Parab's edition, p. 4. The double entendre used throughout this verse can easily be construed also with reference to the king.

39. Sadhuktikarṇāmṛta (Aufrecht, ZDMG. xxxvi. 366).

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The following verse reveals that Haricandra was a Vaidyatilaka, which is but a paraphrase of the designation Dhanvantari :—

'ब्राह्मण्यामभवद्वराहमिहिरो ज्योतिर्विदामग्रणी
राजा भर्तृहरिश्च यिक्रमनृपः क्षत्रात्मजायामभूत् ।
वैश्यायां हरिचन्द्रवैद्यतिलको जातश्च शङ्कुः कृती
शूद्रायां अमरः षडेव शवरस्वामिद्विजस्यात्मजाः ॥'

i.e. "Six only are the sons of the twice-born Śabarasvāmī, viz., Varāhamihira the chief among the astronomers who was born of a Brāhmaṇa lady ; king Bhartṛhari as well as king Vikrama, born of a Kṣatriya lady; Haricandra the foremost of (all) Doctors as well as (that) blessed Śaṅku, born of a lady of the Vaiśya caste ; Amara born of a Śūdra woman.[40]

None can entertain any doubt as to the unhistorical nature of this stanza; nonetheless it contains some important historical details : (1) Thus Haricandra, a contemporary of Śaṅku, Amara, Vikrama, Varāha etc. was a Vaidyatilaka. I should here ask the reader to remember that Hariṣeṇa of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription is called a Khādyaṭa-pākika. That this is a special designation of Hariṣeṇa is apparent from the facts that it is not found in connection with anybody else, and that even in connection with Hariṣeṇa it does not seem to be an ordinary official designation like "Mahādaṇḍanāyaka" or "Kumārāmātya," since unlike those designations it is unconnected and finds a separate mention from his name. The inscription runs : "Khādyaṭa-pākikasya Mahādaṇḍanāyaka—Dhruvabhūtiputrasya Mahādaṇḍanāyaka—Kumārāmātya —Hariṣeṇasya etc." The word 'Khādyaṭa-pākikasya' is as yet unexplained. I take it to be a synonym of Dhanvantari or Vaidyatilaka as the word *pāka* seems to connect it with the science of medicine or the Rasāyana Śāstra.

In his 'Report on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts 1883-84,' Sir Bhāṇḍārkar says : "No. 218 is fragmentary of a commentary entitled Āyurveda Rasāyana by Hemādri, the minister of Rāma of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri, on Vāgbhaṭa's ashṭāṅgahṛdaya." In the introduction it is said that "Hemādri the author of Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi composed this lucid commentary on the Āyurveda called Ashṭāṅgahṛdaya in conformity with the views of Charaka, Hārīta and Suśruta....In his commentary he has incorporated the conclusions arrived at by Hari-

40. Pāṇini VI. 1. 155 : 'Praskaṇva-Hariścandrāvṛṣī' allows the form Haricandra as well as Hariścandra. Note that there is a famous site still attributed to Haricandra in Ujjain, just as there are others assigned to Vikrama, Bhartṛhari and others.

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chandra and others in their commentaries on the Charaka and by Jaiyaṭa and others in their commentaries on the Suśruta."[41] From these words I should deduce that Haricandra was one of the earliest and the best known commentators on Caraka. To Dhanvantari is attributed the authorship of the Dhanvantarīya-nighaṇṭu, which is however wrongly placed in the 1st century B.C. by certain scholars. There is no definite proof for such a supposition.

(2) The above-given poem also reveals that Haricandra possibly belonged to the Vaiśya caste. The profession of a Doctor (or Vaidya) was usually taken up by a Vaiśya. Hariṣeṇa, son of Dhruvabhūti, was also possibly of the Vaiśya caste, since the names ending in-bhūti-vardhana etc. belonged to the people of the Vaiśya caste, according to the rules like भूतिर्दत्तश्चवैश्यस्य etc.

(3) Professor P. V. Kāṇe informs us that the real name of Śabarasvāmī is Ādityadeva[42] and that he was given this title as he mixed with Śabaras freely in the garb of a mendicant. I have already given two traditions according to which Varāha's father was a certain Ādityadāsa, while the verse under discussion says that Śabarasvāmī was the name of Varāha's father. According to Prof. P. V. Kāṇe[43] Śabarasvāmī lived between 100 and 500 A.D.; thus there is nothing improbable in the guess that Śabarasvāmī or Ādityadāsa was Varāhamihira's father, who may thus be assigned to circa 350 A.D.

(to be continued)

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41. Quoted in the 'Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar' (Utagikar), Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

42. Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. VI, pt. i, p. 14. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's 'A peep into the Early History of India' (1920), p. 70: "Subandhu in his Vāsavadattā tells us that the doctrine of Tathāgata or Buddha was destroyed or attacked by those who followed the system of Jaimini:

केचिज्जैमिनिमतानुसारिण इव तथागतमतध्वंसिनः।

The earliest of these followers whose works are extant is Śabarasvāmin, the author of the Mīmāṁsā-bhāshya. Śabarasvāmin established....the reality of the external world against the followers of the Yogāchāra school..The Yogāchāra school was founded by Āryāsaṇga or Asaṅga who was the elder brother of Vasubandhu." This means that Śabarasvāmin can be easily assigned to circa 375 A.D. or is at any rate later than circa 340 A.D.

43. ABI. VI, p. 14.

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THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF INDIA

An Apology

SUBODH CHANDRA MUKERJEE

STUDY OF HISTORY IN INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

No subject is perhaps studied in Indian Universities of the present day with the same assiduity as the history of India. All the universities have chairs of Indian History, some of them more than one chair. The eminent professors who hold these chairs and their pupils have been giving the results of their researches in a series of valuable publications the number of which is already considerable. The help of a number of accessory sciences has been invoked in this research work,—archæology, epigraphy, numismatics, iconography, anthropology etc. The ancient literature of India in all languages as well as the literature of countries which have come into contact with India has been explored with painstaking care and made to yield the smallest grain of historical evidence they may contain. Traveller's tales, folk tales and folk songs have not escaped the yoke. The result has been no less bewildering than the abundance and variety of materials collected. We have diverse aspects of history written with erudition and accuracy,—constitutional histories, diplomatic histories, economic histories, histories of religion, histories of literature, histories of arts and crafts, histories of town planning etc. and etc. and etc. The species of history however which has attracted the greatest attention and commands the largest number of publications is the political history of the country. The history of the ruling dynasties in the remotest and smallest corners of the country is being reconstructed bit by bit, fragment by fragment, grain by grain, and it may be expected that in course of time there will be no part of the country and no period of time the authentic political history of which will not be available.

THE DIFFERENT STANDPOINTS OF HISTORICAL STUDY—POLITICAL

The vision of the historian has extended beyond the geographical limits of the country and we are having histories of the colonial expansion of India and of the spread of Indian civilisation to other countries. This expansion of India was a peaceful process principally carried on by religious teachers, scholars, merchants and by the migration of that most precious possession of ancient

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India, her literature, the store-house of ancient wisdom. This expansion of the horizon of history is one of the most welcome signs of historical research in modern times. It is primarily an expansion of culture.

We may here pause and consider from what different standpoints the history of our country can be studied. First, there is the standpoint of the orthodox political historian who is concerned with the story of the rulers of the country, their governments and fortunes, foreign invasions and conquests. The story is fascinating and picturesque, and as it is only a narration of facts and events, requires nothing but the piecing together of evidence and powers of narration. Since however our country has seldom, if ever, been unified under a strong central government and there were at various times various dynasties and rulers in different parts of the country, the story is disjointed and lacks that continuity of interest that the history of countries like England and France possesses.

Constitutional

Second, there is the standpont of the historian of peoples, as Green has related the history of the English people. He has narrated how the English people in their continental home before they came to England formed certain political institutions which they brought to England and how these institutions were changed, adapted and developed into the political institutions of modern England. The political events and the personages who took part in these events appear only as instruments who aided in shaping those institutions under the stress of various circumstances. The application of this method in the treatment of the history of India is however very difficult, one might say, almost impossible. The number of different peoples who have come to India and even at the present moment inhabit the country is very large. Many of them have preserved no record of their life or movements and have no literature or even written language. Even in the case of those who have written languages and literatures of their own, such records begin only after they have already absorbed the civilisation of the Aryans and become an integral part of Aryan society. Thus it is well nigh impossible to make out what their original religion or society was and what kind of political machinery they had set up for the preservation of that society. Neither have we got any record of their kings (if kingship they had) or their achievements in the olden days before they received the influence of the Aryans. The only people in whose case such a study is possible is the Indo-Aryan people.

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Cultural

This brings us to the third standpoint from which it is possible to study the history of India. The Indo-Aryan people when they settled in India and made this country their home, had brought with them and developed in this country such a high degree of civilisation and such a fine culture that the Pre-Aryan civilisations and cultures all succumbed to it. This process was accelerated by the wonderful power of absorption and assimilation which the Aryan culture in India displayed. It is a sign of growing life and vitality that it gathers nourishment from whatever it takes, builds up into its living substance whatever it can assimilate and rejects whatever it cannot. The Indo-Aryan culture in India has displayed this characteristic in a remarkable degree as no other culture has done. It made room for the ancient inhabitants of India in its social structure and assimilated them into an integral part of Aryan society. We shall realise how wonderful this power was when we contrast it with the utter inability displayed by the Christian civilisation of Europe when it met with the primitive though remarkable civilisation of America, New Zealand and Australia. This assimilation and absorption has given a cultural unity to the whole of this subcontinent which is astonishing when we remember what a large number of different peoples of different origin and different intellectual and spiritual equipment inhabit the country and in what different economic and political environments they have grown up. None of these groups of people have regretted their merging into Aryan society because instead of their losing anything they felt themselves highly enriched by the absorption. By admission to the cultural heritage of the Indo-Aryans their life became more refined, their mental horizon was widened and as their admission did not involve any fetter or compulsion on their modes of living, they continued to enjoy all the liberty they had before.

The only intelligible and rational history of our country that can be really studied is the history of the beginning, development, expansion and evolution of Indo-Aryan culture, and it is a story as full of interest and fascination as the story of the glittering courts and gorgeous military pageants of conquerors.

The importance of a study of cultural history has been dimly felt by historians of all times. Formerly historians who devoted all their energies to the narration of political events satisfied themselves by devoting a chapter at the end of their books to what they called "the state of the country." Hallam has appended such a chapter to his history of Europe during the Middle Ages and Macaulay began his famous history of England with a chapter on the state of England,

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Some modern historians vary the method a little and devote a few paragraphs to the literature and learning, religious movements and inventions taking place in the reign of a monarch whose achievements they describe. This left-handed homage paid to what they vaguely consider to be cultural history reveals a want of clear conception of what the history of culture really is. Political historians are naturally baffled by what appears to them as something abstract and intangible, not susceptible of solid treatment which the positive facts of political life lend themselves to.

What is Cultural History

It will perhaps help us to understand what the history of culture is, if we try to settle first what it is not and distinguish it from other aspects of history with which it is often confounded. The history of culture is not the history of arts and crafts, or of science and literature, or of trade and commerce, or of religion and philosophy. The study of all these aspects of history gains considerably in clearness and illumination by the study of the history of culture, but they are all distinct from it. Cultural history is like the glorious sun-light and circumambient air which infuse life and colour and beauty to the whole creation. This is perhaps as difficult of a precise definition as it is difficult to state in what the influence of light and air consists. Generally speaking cultural history is the story of the unfolding of the life of the people, of the expression of its personality and of its evolution in space and time. There are obscure forces, hidden and unknown elements in the subconscious depths of a people's mind which direct the genius of a people and which manifest themselves as potent and powerful in crises of its life. Cultural history seeks to trace these elements in the depths of the cultural consciousness of a people, these forces and their manifestation in different walks of a people's life,—in politics, literature, art and the manifold and varied activities of life. Cultural history treats the story of the life of a people as an organic whole and not as different and mutually exclusive facets of life like the composite eye of a butterfly. It seeks to tell us what the contents of the mind of a people were in the beginning, what accretions it has received in course of time and how it has reacted to the stimulus of contact with different cultures and different environments and adapted itself to them. In the ultimate analysis a cultural history is the history of thought and ideas clothed in positive achievenments and perhaps also in failures. It tells us what ideas filled the minds of a people, into what ideals these were built up and how the people realised these ideals in practical life,

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Evolution of Ideas

It will help us to understand this if we try to trace the course followed by ideas in their evolution in the life of a people. The germ of ideas can perhaps be traced to what is called the genius of a people, the sum total of inherent tendencies which distinguishes one people from another. When a group of men of the same blood and speaking the same tongue or tongues of the same stock easily understood by one another, lives amidst the same physical surroundings, leads the same economic life under the same political and social organisation, certain ideas come to be formed in their minds. At first they float vaguely in the minds of the people, but they gather coherence and shape in course of time, as the common life develops. They assume coherence and shape in the minds of the thinkers and philosophers of the race as abstract conceptions. When refined and arranged methodically we meet with them as systems of philosophy, as political theories or as theories of law. The ideas which constitute the mental equipment of a people, while they move upward into subtler regions as philosophy, have also a life downward into a grosser existence. The ideas are caught up by artists, poets and imaginative authors who impart to them life and colour and form, bring them down from the cloud-land of theory to the solid earth of practical reality. They then travel to the common people who weave them into songs and sagas and mythologies and all sorts of folk literature. If these ideas have the divine spark of truth and beauty in them they grip the popular mind and they saturate the popular mind. They come to possess the mind of the people so entirely that the people build these up into ideals which they want to realise in life. The people begin to dream of a better earth and a brighter life if these ideals can be realised in life ; they begin to lose the taste and savour of the old order in which they have grown up, the older institutions under which they lived ; an unpleasant sense of futility distresses them, while their imagination fires up with the glories of a new order of things. Ultimately life appears to them unbearable till they can embody into physical life these ideals and live in a better earth and under a brighter heaven.

Importance of the Study of Ideas Illustrated—French Revolution

France of the eighteenth century furnishes a ready illustration to the point. Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu and the encyclopædists were examining the foundations of religion, society, laws and political institutions in the light of pure reason and preaching maxims of equa-

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lity and liberty which came to form part of the intellectual stock of the French people. These ideas floated as it were in the intellectual atmosphere of the country and were absorbed by different ranks of society,—according to their capacity. The worse the economic condition of the people grew, the greater grew the fascination for the new ideas. The people dreamt of a world of plenty and freedom and ease, while their very bread was being taken away from their mouths by taxation, and they were being silently conveyed to the royal prisons by royal *lettres-de-cachet* without even the formality of justice or to the battle-fields in far off lands to be fodder for cannon. The storm that was brewing in the horizon burst with the French Revolution. The first task that the representatives of the people set themselves to perform was the drawing up of a Declaration of the Rights of Man. Every single article of the Declaration was inspired by and can be traced to the teachings of the French thinkers and philosophers and was a challenge to the old order of things. The flood carried away everything in its onward rush,—the monarchy, the nobility, the clergy, the old privileges of towns and provinces ; it burst the geographical bounds of France and shattered the combined opposition of the crowned monarchs of Europe. A historian who is not familiar with the writings of the French thinkers of the eighteenth century, who does not understand the working of the French mind of the period and is not conversant with the ideas which saturated that mind, will get no insight into the principles which animated the Revolution or the trend of the political events of the period. A political history of the revolution, a mere narrative of the events, however minute and picturesque, will give little insight indeed.

The Great War of 1914 and 1939

The matter will be further elucidated by an examination of the Great War of 1914 and of its revival in 1939. Only a part of the diplomatic correspondence which passed before the out-break of the war or of the secret treaties and pacts and understandings, has seen the light of day, but the memoirs published by some of the principal actors in the Drama of 1914 and Hitler's confessions in Mein Kampf leave no doubt about the ideas which animate them. These ideas can be traced to the German thinkers and political philosophers of the later nineteenth century, to Nietzsche (1844-1900) and his followers, to their cult of strength, of the superman, the heaven-appointed blonde Nordic brute. This curious Nordic philosophy, which has been taken up by the ruling classes of Germany is in striking contrast with the Latin philosophy of the French Revolution and much of the mendacity,

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atrocity and barbarity that is characteristic of these wars can be accounted for by the clash of these two systems of thought. These wars thus appear as the concrete realisation of the ideas preached by the German thinkers and adopted by the German politicians and leaders, echoed by the literary men and artists and fostered by the men of science. These ideas saturate the German mind to such a point that the whole nation is possessed by them and intensely long to realise them in life.

The Russian Revolution

A drama on as large a scale was being played in Russia and it had the novelty of an attempt to actualise an ideal state of society. The whole of the Russian Revolution of 1917-19 with its strange mixture of callousness and tenderness, harshness and generosity will remain inexplicable unless the key to it is furnished by the ideas preached by the socialistic and communistic writers of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century,—Owen, Fourrier, Karl Marx, Engels and others. The hatred of the old order of things generated by generations brought up in extreme misery and suffering added the drop of venom to the intellectual dish served up by the political thinkers and the absolute lack of experience of the Russian people in the art of government accounts for much of its agony. The theories of the communists is undergoing modification in the fiery furnace of practical life and we have yet to wait to see the final shape they will assume. In Russia the political history of the last quarter of a century is but the concrete form in which the Russian mind sought to incarnate its ideas of life and society and government.

It will thus be evident that the study of the evolution of ideas of the gradual unfolding of the mind of a people is absolutely necessary for the proper understanding even of that limited aspect of history called political history. How much more important is it for the proper study of the life of the people in all its aspects in all the activities in which it seeks to realise itself!

The Historian of Culture

The historian of culture has thus got to possess a deep and sympathetic understanding of all the expressions of the mind of a people from speculative philosophy, religion and literature to the humble folk-songs and folk-lore. He has got to bring to his task a deep and extensive knowledge, a liberal and broad sympathy, a penetrating insight and sensative appreciation. The wealth of material through which a historian of culture has to look for the leading thoughts and

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guiding ideas is immense and there is always the danger of going on a false track. His rewards in this arduous task are also great. While he feels invigorated by breathing the rarefied atmosphere of pure reason in dizzy heights of speculative thought and listens to the thunders of clashing opinions, he is beguiled by the iridescent beauty of literary creations and cheered by the manly vigour of popular and folk literature.

Cultural History of India

The study of cultural history is a particularly fascinating study in the case of India. Nowhere perhaps in the world have the people left such varied and abundant materials as the ancient Indo-Aryans have done. We know what their lives were more intimately than perhaps we know the lives of our contemporaries. We know what stuffs they wore, what food they ate, what occupations they followed, what sort of society they lived in, what religious ceremonies they observed, what was their ambition in this life and their aspiration in the next. All these we find not as the mere shells of a dead culture as in Egypt and Babylon, but palpitating with life as expressions of the vitality of a highly cultivated and self-reliant people. We touch the very ideas round which the entire life of the people gathered and flourished, from which they drew inspiration and which they sought to realise in life.

Cycles in the Evolution of Ideas

It will be evident to a historian of Aryan culture in India that there are distinct cycles in the evolution of ideas. For a certain period certain ideas on religion and society, morality and justice, peace and purity saturate the mind of a people, are cherished by them, and the people embody these ideas in the machinery of government, in the structure of society, in their social and religious ceremonies, in their arts and crafts, in their literature and poetry and music and painting, in their aspirations in this life and in the life beyond. These ideas form as it were a nucleus round which the life of the people develops and flourishes, a sort of centre round which the life-stream of the people forms an eddy and revolves for a certain period; they animate all the political and social institutions of the people, direct all their activities and give the tone and colour to their artistic and spiritual life.

Periods of Transition Between Cycles

Ideas like all other human things have got a limited life. In course of time these ideas lose their hold upon the mind of the people,

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their elan vital is spent out,—and the institutions and laws and art and poetry and music which embodied these ideas lose their vitality, sicken and die, decay sets in and the life of the people seems to disintegrate. At such periods the slightest jar,—a foreign invasion or the rise of a heretical preacher,—suffices to bring down the whole order in a mass of ruin. For some years the life-stream of the people flows on sluggish, in dull, uneventful, monotonous placidity,—till we find again certain new ideas of society and religion and duty and morality germinate, take shape, gather force and captivate the mind of the people, who set about forming a new system of government, a new structure of society, a new system of laws, a new code of ethics and religion; a new art and new poetry and new philosophy spring up and we call this a Renaissance.

The people have remained the same or nearly the same but their mind has undergone a stage of evolution. This is why the evolution of culture is said to proceed in spirals, progressing and seeming to recede, but always mounting up higher and higher. In the history of Indo-Aryan culture in India these periods of stagnation and decay followed by renaissance are very clearly visible.

Vedic Cycle

In the cultural history of India the mighty Vedic Age forms a distinct cycle. The reproach is levelled at India that she lacks the historical sense, she has neglected authentic history. The reproach, we much admit, is well merited, if history is taken in the narrow sense of the political history of the country, the lists of dynasties and kings and the narration of wars and conquests and invasions. But India has always regarded political history as the mere frame in which the picture of the life of the people is set. For the Vedic period this framework is almost wanting. The names of a few kings, the mention of a few events have been preserved, but we do not know exactly which part of the picture they enclosed, we do not know their chronological setting. But if we take history in the true sense of the story of the evolution of the mind of the people cast in the mould of positive achievements, a picture of the life of the people, what they thought and what they dreamt, what they achieved and where they failed, no country can furnish such rich, varied and abundant materials as the literature of the Vedic Age. As we pursue this literature which was not written for the gain of money or cheap fame, we seem to live with them and share their joys and sorrows. We may thus say that ancient India did not lack the historical sense, but possessed historical sense of a higher order than modern historians.

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Buddhist Cycle

After the Vedic Age a period of decadence begins and the old order crumbles and disintegrates. The Vedic sacrifices are neglected, the social order is broken and thoughts on the purpose of life and the mystery of the universe no longer attract people. But behind the ruins of the life of the Vedic Age new ideas gather, coalesce, take shape and loom into life at the touch of an inspired personality and we have the Buddhist Age. A new eddy is formed round which the life-stream of the people revolves for another period, new arts grow, new customs are formed, new institutions arise and a new conception of life begins. Indo-Aryan culture of the Buddhist Age overflows the geographical bounds of India, spreads over Central and Western Asia to the borders of the Greek and Egyptian world and inundates Insul-India and even the distant shores of Japan. It assimilated and incorporated what was best in the pre-Aryan native cultures in the different regions and swept away the lumber.

Pauranic Cycle—hindu renaissance

Time follows on, the wave recedes, leaving stagnant pools outside India, some of which are being explored now-a-days in the Central Asian and colonial researches. In India the Buddhist ideas lose their grip, the ideals lose their lustre, the society disintegrates till from the ashes of the old order Phœnix-like a new Hindu culture a renaissance, —gorgeous, many-headed, poetic, luxuriant, springs up which is called the Pauranic culture. Sanskrit poetry flourishes as it never did before; even emperors record their achievements in high-flown poems. Beautiful temples, long and gorgeous pilgrimages, images of gods and goddesses bedecked with costly jewels, an elaborate mythology—all these distinguish this culture. Much that is strange and bewildering in this culture still awaits explanation. We vaguely feel that foreign blood had mixed with the blue blood of the Aryan, foreign cultures had mingled their narrow streams in the broad current of Indo-Aryan culture ; in the darkness which enshrouds this period we can dimly descry strange forms of non-Aryan deities slowly creeping into the Hindu pantheon, enriching and corrupting it at the same time. The soil over which the life-stream of the Aryan people in India has flowed has varied,—the banks have sometimes receded and the stream has spread out slow-moving over ripening fields of corn and green bamboo groves, sometimes the stream has narrowed into deep ravines with beetling crags frowning on both sides, but it has always flowed on strong, continuous, fertilising and abundant. The Age of the Hindu

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Renaissance closes about the eleventh century, a little before the Mahamadan invasion of India. The Hindu ideas and ideals had gradually lost their grip on the people, their institutions were decaying, mutual jealousies and quarrels and treacheries had corrupted the minds of the people and vitiated their lives, and the pulse of the nation was throbbing slow and intermittent. At this moment of weakness the Mahamadan invasion gave the shock which crumbled the fabric.

Long Interregnum—12th century to 19th century

For seven long centuries from the 12th to the 19th there is a period of decay and disaster. The Aryan mind achieved almost nothing new, if we except the *Navya Nyaya* of Bengal. All its efforts were directed to the preservation of its integrity and individuality.

Contemporary Cycle

The Aryan genius was however not dead, as one might suspect. The gaint was only asleep. At the magic touch of the virile culture of Europe, the seals of the opiate slumber of ages are breaking and early in the 20th century we find her again shaking her mighty locks and filling the world with her deep sonorous voice. The voice of India's mighty seers speaking through Vivekananda, in the message of Ramkrishna is echoing from the farthest corners of the world. The appeal of earnest Europe has penetrated the soul of India, she is peeling off the tinsel materialistic culture of Europe, faster than we imagine and ere long the Aryan mind will resume its accustomed march in the stern quest of the pure, the true and the absolute.

We are assisting at the dawn a New Age in the history of Aryan culture in India ; as yet we can hardly fully realise the forms and shapes of the ideas which dominate the Indian mind, but every attentive student of contemporary history who has watched the birth of modern literature, painting, education, political aspiration etc. must realise that these ideas are fast emerging strong and radiant, with the Promethean spark of life in them and that the Aryan culture in India is still living with intense vitality.

Features of Contemporary Renaissance

There is one distinct feature of the present renaissance of the Aryan culture in India which cannot escape attention. At the first contact with the West there was a little temporary intoxication and

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imitation of things European with heedless rejection of everything Indian. But the Aryan mind in India was not long in getting back its equilibrium and has steadily pursued its age-long path. Even Michael Madhusudan Dutt who was the European of Europeans in his life and whose mind was steeped in European learning drew the subjects of his immortal poems from the Sanskrit epics and *Puranas*. Almost all the leaders of the Modern Renaissance are deeply versed in European culture and have direct acquaintance with European life and thought. But they have invariably gone to the ancient literature and art of India for their inspiration. Ram Mohan Roy hailed us back to *Upanishads* for philosophy, Dayananda's mission in life was to lead us back to the *Vedas,* Lala Munshiram in the *Gurukula* and Rabindranath in the *Viswabharati* have sought to take us back to the erudite and peaceful *asramas* of the ancient *rishis*.. Tilak and Arabinda and Gandhiji have gone to the *Bhagavadgita* as the gospel of their political activities, Vivekananda has drawn the mind of India irrespective of caste or creed to the eternal verities of the Vedanta and the voice of Ramkrishna, the apostle of modern India, is preaching the synthesis of religion and culture, the eternal truth *ekah sad vipra bahudha vadanti*. Even the Indian National Congress which was ushered into existence as the focus of the political life of India in imitation of the West has changed its ideology and complexion into a surging of the mass-mind of India for a free expression of Indian life.

We are perhaps living too near this Renaissance, too much in its turmoil and bustle to judge it in its proper perspective with the dispassionate detachment that is necessary for a historian. But if we sit collected we shall feel the strong currents of contemporary thought and ideals and we shall feel how our positive achievements in all spheres are but the concrete realisation of our inner mental life or rather of that sum total of our inner being which is called personality.

Before I conclude, I should like to guard against one misconception. I by no means minimise the value of the work done in resuscitating the political history of India. Political history and chronology are the skeletons, as it were, of the entire organism of the history of a people or of a distinct culture; they serve as the essential frame-work which holds together the picture of the life of the people. But let us at the same time guard against attaching any undue or extravagant value to it. The skeleton is not the man, nor is the frame the picture. What would one think of a Homer who only gave us the measurements of Helen's skeleton or of the sculptor of Venus de Milo if he left us only the skeleton of Venus ?

It is only a proper study of the history of culture that can supply the spark of life, that undefinable vitality which animates all the

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different aspects of history, gives them unity and purpose and indicates the innate tendencies which guide and govern the activities of a people. It is cultural history that can tell the story of the unfolding of the mind of a people in external life, the story of the realisation of its cherished ideals in all its manifestations, in political life, in social laws and customs, in all forms of music and beauty and harmony. The history of our country studied as the history of Aryan culture in India is a most fascinating study, for the Indo-Aryan mind has always thought nobly and courageously and has expressed itself beautifully in word and music and form. The history of Aryan culture in India has been a glorious one and we can confidently say that it has an even more glorious future before it.

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VEṄKAṬĀDHVARIN—HIS DATE AND WORKS

E. V. VIRA RAGHAVACHARIA

The *Kūṭastha* or founder of the *Kiḍāmbi* family to which our poet belonged was Kiḍāmbari Āccān (*alias* Praṇatārtī-harācārya) of the Ātreya-gotra, a favourite disciple of the famous Rāmānuja [1017—1137 A.D.]. The next famous scholar in the line was Kiḍāmbi Appillār (=Ātreya Rāmānuja or Vādi-haṁsajaladācārya), the uncle and *guru* of Śrī *Vedānta-deśika* [1268—1369 A.D.], the famous South Indian Sanskritist. Appayādhvarin (*alias* Śrīnivāsādhvarin), a scholar of repute, was the poet's grand-father (**पितामह**). This Appayādhvarin was the sister's son of Tirumala Tātācārya [1509-91 A.D.], the author of *Pañca-mata-bhañjana,* who was the *guru* of the king of the Karṇāṭa (**कर्णाटभूभृद्गुरुः**), i.e. Rāmarāya [1541-65 A.D.]. Appayādhvarin's son, Raghunāthādhvarin, married Sītāmbā to whom our poet was born.

Born at Araśāṇipalem, eight miles off from Kāñcī on the banks of the river Bāhā, the poet spent his life at Kāñcī or Conjeevaram.

The poet says in his *Viśva-guṇādarśa* that his grandfather was the nephew of Tātārya (=Tātācārya, author of *Pañcamatabhañjana*) and the *guru* of the king of the Karṇāṭa, who is wrongly identified by the commentator and after him by some scholars with the famous Kṛṣṇa-devarāya [1509-30]. In the *Prapannāmṛta,*[1] it is clearly stated that Tātācārya [1509-91 A.D.] was the *guru* of Rāmarāya (the son-in-law of Kṛṣṇadevarāya). Tātācārya was just born (in 1509 A.D.) when Kṛṣṇadevarāya ascended the throne, and hence the view that Tātācārya was Kṛṣṇdevarāya's *guru* is quite untenable.

Our poet was the *Chief Paṇḍit* at the court of the king of *Pralaya-Kāverī* (the modern Pulicat near Sūlūrpet—M. & S.M. Ry.) and a contemporary and school-mate of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, author of the *Nīlakaṇṭha-Vijaya* which was composed between 1637-38.

In his *Viśvaguṇādarśa,* the poet describes the Hūṇas ('white men of the British settlement in Madras'). Since the English got Madras in 1639 A.D., the poet must have written that work some time after that date.

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1. Vide Appendix.

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Now let us bring to the notice of scholars a quotation which has been overlooked by almost all the researchers till now. *Pradyumnānanda,* a drama by our poet, contains the date when it was completed :

'नवसन्दर्भं मात्रेयो नाटकं वेङ्कटाध्वरी
प्रजोत्पत्तौ प्रौष्ठपद्यां पूर्णिमायामपूरयत्'—p. 130.

Dr. M. Krishnamachariar writes :
'*Pradyumnānanda* was composed in the year *Prajotpatti* which is likely equal to 1571 A.D. [his *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 515.]
But from what has been shown already I am inclined to equate the year *Prajotpatti* with 1631 A.D. It has been shown elsewhere[2] by the present writer that *Pradyumnānanda* was the earliest work of our poet and the *Viśvaguṇādarśa,* the next.

Veṅkaṭādhvarin's Works

A. *Stotras and Kāvyas* —

1. *Ācārya-pañcāśat* :— A Stotra in 54 ślokas in praise of Śrī Vedānta-deśika, one of the last works of the poet. [Edited by the present writer and published in the *Sanskrit-Sāhitya-Pariṣat Patrikā,* Vol. XIV, No. 3, July, 1931, Calcutta.]

2. *Yādava-Rāghavīya* :—A *viloma* or *gata-pratyāgata Kāvya* in 30 ślokas treating, in outline, the stories of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma. The verses read in the usual order give the story of Rāma, and read in the reverse order give the story of Kṛṣṇa. [Printed in Telugu characters—Vidyātaraṅgiṇī Press, 1890, with the author's own commentary.]

3. *Lakṣmī-sahasra* :— A stotra in the form of a Kāvya, in 25 'stabakas,' containing 1022 ślokas. One of the last works of the poet, the model being Vedāntadeśika's *Pādukā-sahasra.* [Printed in Nāgarī at Benares, *Chowkhāmbā Sanskrit Series* with 2 commentaries—*Bālabodhinī* of Śrīnivāsa-Paṇḍita, and *Avataraṇa-Niśśreṇikā* of Mānavalli Trailiṅga Rāmaśāstrin. 1904-06]. In Telugu characters, with the Com. *Budhāmodinī* of K. Gopālācārya [Kārneṭinagara, 1890.] In Telugu, with the com. *Sakala-vidvajjana-*

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2. Our paper (in Telugu) on Veṅkaṭādhvarin in *The Vizanagaram Maharajah's College Magazine,* Vol. VII, Nos. 1 and 2 for Oct. 1927 and Jan. 1928 (pp. 1-15).

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kaṭākṣa of Dvivedi Rāmacandra-śāstrin of Kākaraparru, in 2 vols. 1907 & 1909.

4. *Subhāṣita-kaustubha* :—A short Subhāṣita-kāvya in 5 'Paddhatis' and 97 stanzas, after Vedāntadeśika's *Subhāṣita-Nīvī*. [Printed in Nāgarī, Sudarśana Press, Conjeevaram, 1909]

5. *Śravaṇānanda* :—A 'stotra' in the form of a Kāvya in praise of the god Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara. [Printed partly in the *Maharajah's Sanskrit College Magazine*—Mysore, vols. VII & VIII—1931-'32.].

6. *Śrīnivāsa-sahasra* :—A 'stotra' in praise of Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara, attributed to our poet but now not traceable.

B. Campūs :

7. *Uttara (Rāmacaritra) campū* :—A sequel to the famous *Rāmāyaṇacampū* of Bhoja. [Printed in Nāgarī (incomplete)—Gopāl Nārāyaṇ & Co., Bombay. No date. Printed completely in Telugu, with the Com. *Bhāvabodhinī* of M.C.P. Tirumalācārya, Banglore, 1888.]

8. *Varadābhyudaya* (or *Kari-giri-campū* or *Hasti-giri-campū*):—Somewhat like a 'sthala-purāṇa.' In 5 'vilāsas' it sings of the glory of God Varadarājasvāmin of Kāñcī. [Printed only in Telugu, with the Com. *Gūḍhārtha-dīpikā* of D. Chakravarti Ayyaṅgar. Mysore, 1908, 2nd edition.]

9. *Viśva-guṇādarśa* :—One of the famous works of the poet. It contains an aeroplane-view of India, its cities, shrines and peoples with their customs and manners. Two Gandharvas, Kṛśānu and Viśvāvasu, set out on an aerial car and take a bird's eye view of India. The former always speaks of the bright side of things, while the latter being cynical and ever censorious, exposes the dark side. The poet wrote it in order to applaud the merits and expose the blemishes of the lands and peoples of India. [Printed in Nāgarī with the Com. of Madhura Subbāśāstrin, Karṇāṭak Press, Bombay, 1889. Printed in Nāgarī with the same Com. by the Nirṇayasāgara Press, Bombay. In Telugu, with Telugu notes and translation, printed at the Ānanda Press, Madras, 1914.]

10. *Śrīnivāsa-vilasa-campū*:—In 2 parts with 5 'Ucchvāsas' in each, it describes the glory of God Śrī-Veṅkaṭeśvara of Tirupati. [Printed, in Nāgarī, with the Com. (later than 1650 A.D.) of King Dharaṇīdhara, *Kāvya-Mālā*, 33, 1933 ; 3rd ed., Bombay. Printed, in Nāgarī, with short notes in Sanskrit, Gopāl Nārāyaṇ & Co., Bombay, 1891.]

C. Dramas :

11. *Pradyumnānanda* :—A play in 6 Acts treating of the marriage of Kṛṣṇa's son Pradyumna with Rati born as the daughter of Śam-

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bara. [Printed in Telugu alone, Vidyātaraṅgiṇī Press, Mysore, 1887.]

12. *Kāñcī-bhāṇa* :—Theme not known. Not yet printed. [Vide Introduction to *Subhāṣitakaustubha.*]

13. *Subhadrā-pariṇaya* :—A play of which only two acts are said to have been recovered at Araśāṇapalem.

14. *Śṛṅgāra-dīpaka-bhāṇa* :—Theme not known. Not yet printed. Vide, however, *Catalogus Catalogorum* which says that it was printed in the *Kāvya-Mālā.* I could not trace it till now.

D. Mīmāṁsā :

15. *Mīmāṁsā-makaranda* : "Discusses the authoritative character of Artha-vādas." Not yet printed. [Vide Prof. A. B. Keith : *Karma-Mīmāṁsā,* p. 14, *Heritage of India Series ;* Introduction to *Subhāṣita-Kaustubha.*]

16. *Vidhi-traya-paritrāṇa* : 'Deals with the threefold classification of injunctions.' It is a criticism on Appaya-dīkṣita's *Vidhi-rasāyana.* [Vide Keith : *Karma-mīmāṁsā,* p. 14, and Introduction to *Subhāṣita-kaustubha.*]

VEṄKAṬĀDHVARIN—HIS DATE & WORKS

APPENDIX

I. *Prapannāmṛta* (ch. 126; p. 429, Telugu ed.)—regarding Tātācārya, author of *Pañcamata-bhañjana* :—

1. पुत्त्रः श्रीसुन्दरार्यस्य श्रीनिवासाभिधो गुरुः
   श्रीनिवासगुरोः पुत्त्रस्तातार्यो लोकविश्रुतः ।
2. स तातदेशिकः श्रीमान् महात्मा शास्त्रवित्तमः
   ग्रन्थं विधाय विख्यातं यः पञ्चमतभञ्जनम् ।
3. विख्यातः सर्वलोकेषु महात्मा विबुधाग्रणीः
   महांस्तद्विषयः श्लोको गीयते लोकविश्रुतः ।
4. शुकतातं त्रयीमार्गे तत्तातं तत्त्वनिर्णये

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तत्तातताताचारे ताताचार्यमहं भजे।

5. श्रीरामदेवरायाख्यः कृष्णरायादनन्तरम्
शशास राज्यं धर्मेण गुरुभक्तिपरायणः।

6. स भूपतिर्महातेजा ययौ चन्द्रगिरिं प्रति
गुरुं तातार्यमादाय रामरायाभिधस्तदा।

—Select ciations from the works of Veṇkaṭādhvarin.

II. References to the Hūṇas (Englishmen) in the *Viśvaguṇādarśa.*

1. अस्तु, तथापि परिकलितगुणप्रहाण-हूणप्रायहेयजननिविडनगरविशेषसन्निकर्ष एवात्र महान् दोषः। दुर्लभाः खलु हूणेभ्यः कुत्सिततमा लोके (p. 150).

2. हूणाः करुणाहीनाः etc.(Śloka 262, p. 150. N.S.P. ed. 1923, Bombay, with the Com. *Padārtha-candrikā* of Bāla-kṛṣṇa Yogī.)

The Hūṇas are alluded to in the next two stanzas (śl. 263 & 264.) also.

III. *Ācārya-pañcāśat*—

3. That the poet was patronised by some king :

'रसनां दुर्नरेशानवर्णनापङ्कदूषिताम्
श्रुत्यन्तदेशिको दन्तसुधाभिः शोधयाम्यहम्'।—śl. 4.

4. Regarding the poet's ancestry, etc. :

श्रीतातार्यवरिसोदरीतनुभुवः श्रीश्रीनिवासेष्टिनो
जातः श्रीरघुनाथदीक्षितकविर्जागर्ति यः कीर्तिमान्
आत्रेयस्य सुतः स तस्य सुमतेराम्नायचूडागुरुम्
पद्यैरस्तुत वेङ्कटार्यवरिकविः पञ्चाशता मञ्जुभिः।—śl. 53.

5. Colophon :

इति श्रीरघुनाथार्यदीक्षिततनयस्य श्रीवेङ्कटार्ययज्वनः कृतिषु आचार्यपञ्चाशत् संपूर्णा।

IV. *Viśvaguṇādarśa* [śl. 2-3] :

6. काञ्चीमण्डलमण्डनस्य मखिनः कर्णाटभूभृद्गुरो
स्तातार्यस्य दिगन्तकान्तयशसो यं भागिनेयं विदुः

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अस्तोकाध्वरकर्तुरप्पयगुरोरस्यैष विद्वन्मणेः
पुत्रः श्रीरघुनाथदीक्षितकविः पूर्णो गुणैरेधते ।

7. तत्सुतस्तर्क-वेदान्त-तन्त्र-व्याकृतिचिन्तकः
व्यक्तं विश्वगुणादर्शं विधत्ते वेङ्कटाध्वरी ।

8. Description of Araśāṇipalem, the poet's native place :

कर्णानन्दकरस्फुरन्मधुकरव्याहारवाहापगा-
रोधः शाखिमरन्दतुन्दिलपयः कल्याणकुल्यावृतः
आत्रेयान्वयविद्वदध्वरहविर्गन्धानुवन्धार्पित-
क्षेमो भात्यरशाणिपाल इति हि ग्रामोऽभिरामो भुवि ।

9. साध्वग्रे सरयूपेतः साकेतनगरश्रियम्
अग्रहारो विभात्येष रघुनाथाभिरक्षितः ।—Śl. 356-57.

10. Colophon :

इति श्रीपञ्चमतभञ्जननिबन्धनविख्यात-तातयज्वभागिनेय-वाजपेयसार्वप्रष्टास्तोर्यामादियाज्यात्रेयवंशमौक्तिकीभवदप्पयार्यतनूभव-श्लेष-यमक-चक्रवर्ति-रघुनाथाचार्यतनयस्य श्रीनिवासकृपातिशय-संविदितनयस्य सीताम्बागर्भसंभवस्य श्रीमत्काञ्चीनगरवास्तव्यस्य महाकविश्रीमद्वेङ्कटाध्वरिणः कृतौ विश्वगुणादर्शचम्पूः समाप्तिमगात् ।

V. *Śrīnivāsa-vilāsa-campū :*

11. Colophon at the end of the Pūrva-bhāga (p. 132. N. S.P. ed., 1933.) :—

इति श्रीमच्छ्लेषकाव्यपारावारगमननौकायमानचरणाभिवन्दन-नृकण्ठीरवाचार्यसूरिहीरान्तेवास्यन्यतमस्याक्लिष्टश्लिष्टरचनापटोः स्वकीर्तिकदम्बधवलितदिग्भित्तिवेङ्कटगिरिनिवासिवेङ्कटक्ष्मापालयुगलाश्रितस्याप्रयासापादितसाहित्यकलस्य कविमशकशिशोर्देशिकचरणसरसीरुहसमर्पितनिजसुकृतस्य वेङ्कटेशस्य कृतिषु पूर्वश्रीनिवासविलासो नाम श्लेषोत्तरकाव्यबन्धः पर्याप्तः ।

12. Colophon at the end of the Uttara-bhāga (p. 172.):—

इति श्रीमन्निखिलश्लिष्टकाव्यरचनाधौरेयकविचूडामण्डितमुकुटललामावली-नीराजितचरणयुगल-श्रीमद्वेङ्कटाध्वरिविरचितायां श्रीनिवासविलासाभिधाशालिन्यां चम्पूवां उत्तरविलासे पञ्चमोऽयमुल्लासः ।

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From the first Colophon we know that our poet was one of the disciples of Nṛkaṇṭhīravācārya who was a gem among the learned and who cannot be identified now. 'Veṅkaṭācala' may mean the town of that name as well as the mountain Veṅkaṭācala at Tirupati. 'Veṅkaṭa-kṣmāpāla' may be taken to apply to the god Śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara as well as to Veṅkaṭapati-rāya I of the Āravīḍu dynasty who ruled from 1585—1614 A.D. If this identification be correct, then Veṅkaṭādhavarin might be said to have been a protégé of Veṅkaṭa I and the poet might have been born in the last quarter of the 16th century, i.e. 1575—1600.

Names of historical importance referred to in this Campū: King of Madura (**मधुराधिप**. p. 29); King of the Colas (**चोलेन्द्र, चोलनरेन्द्र, चोलदेव** —pp. 29-30); Viyadbhūpāla (=Ākāśa-bhūpāla, p. 95), Ākāśa-bhūpāla (pp. 112 and 167). *Vidagdha-mukhamaṇḍana* (p. 129), Kavi Nīlakaṇṭha (pp. 142, 144), Poet Kalānidhi (pp. 145, 147); Poet Kahoḍa (p. 161); Poet Somanātha (pp. 161, 162); Toṇḍimānanṛpāla (=King of Pudukoṭa and brother of Ākāśa-bhūpāla, pp. 167-72); Kumāra (Toṇḍimāna's son, pp. 167-72).

VI. *Uttara-campū* :—

13. नत्वा पितुः पदयुगं रघुनाथसूरे-
भंक्त्या प्रपद्य च पितामहमप्पयार्यम्
आत्रेयवेङ्कटकविर्नवगद्यपद्यै-
रुज्जृम्भते भणितुमुत्तररामवृत्तम्। —(p. 3. Tel. ed.)

14. Colophon (p. 109) :—

इति श्रीवादिहंसाम्बुदाचार्यवंशावतंसश्रीकाञ्चीनगरनायक-तातार्यभागिनेय-वाजपेयसर्वप्रष्टासोर्यामयाजिनः श्रीश्रीनिवासाचार्यतनूभवस्य श्लेषयमकचक्रवर्तिनः रघुनाथार्ययज्वनस्तनयेन श्रीश्रीनिवासकृपातिशयसुविदितनयेन सीताम्बागर्भसम्भवेन श्रीमदात्रेयवेङ्कटयज्वना विरचितः उत्तरचम्पूप्रबन्धः सम्पूर्णः।

VII. *Varadābhyudaya-Campū* (or *Karigiri-Campū*):—

15. प्रख्यातः प्रणतार्तिहृद्गुरुरिति श्रीभाष्यकर्तुर्मुनेः
योंऽहानसिकस्तदुक्तिरसिकः श्रीमान् स यत्राभवत्
वंशे तत्र हि वादिहंसजलदाचार्यादिभिर्भूषिते
यज्वाभूद्रघुनाथदेशिकमणिः श्रीश्रीनिवासेष्टिनः—śl. 4.

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16. तनयोऽस्य नयोदधेः सुधांशो-
र्विनयोन्मेषविशेषहृद्यविद्यः
वरदाभ्युदयाभिधां यथार्थां
कृतिमेतां वितनोति वेङ्कटार्यः। śl. 5.

The colophon is almost identical with that of the *Uttara-Campū*.

VIII. *Lakṣmī-sahasra* :—

17. पौत्रेणात्रेयगोत्राभरणनयचक्षुश्रीनिवासाध्वरीन्दोः
श्रीमद्रामांघ्रिभक्तिप्रमुदितरघुनाथार्यतज्ज्वात्मजेन
वेदान्ताचार्यपादाम्बुजनिहितहृदा वेङ्कटार्येण कृत्तम्
रम्यं लक्ष्मीसहस्रं पठत तदृढतरं नित्यकल्याणकामाः।
—XXV *Stabaka*, 18 śl. (Madras ed. Vol. II. 1909).

Colophon—almost the same as that in the *Viśva-guṇādarśa*.

IX. *Pradyumnānanda-nāṭaka* :—

18. आविर्भावमुपेयिवान् शुभयशस्यत्रेः पवित्रे कुले
श्रीमानप्पयदेशिकाध्वरिमणिर्जागर्ति कीर्त्या भुवि
अस्तोकैर्यदनुष्ठितैर्मखवरैर्हस्तिक्षमाभृत्पतिः
स्तां वैतानवपाहविःकबलनक्रीड़ां पुनः स्मारितः।

19. अत्रेरत्र पवित्रयन्नभिजनं जागर्ति बोधाम्बुधिः
श्रीमानाश्रयतां भवार्णवतरिः श्रीश्रीनिवासाभिधः
यूपो यत्कृतवाजपेयमखभूवेदिप्रतिष्ठो वह-
त्याशामण्डनकीर्तिपाण्डरजयच्छत्रैकदण्डश्रियम्।

20. यतिपतिमतधुर्यो यस्य सिंहासनस्य
क्षितिपतिगुरुरुच्चैरद्भुतौदार्यधुर्यः
अजनि विमलशीलो मातुलो भूतलोद्यत्
कुमततिमिरसूर्यस्तातयाचार्यवर्यः
तस्य किल तनूभवः—

21. आत्रेयान्वयजृम्भितः सततमप्यन्तर्मुकुन्दं वहन्
सारत्रैरघुनाथदीक्षितकविक्षीराब्धिराराध्यते
प्रौढालङ्करणापवित्रपदविन्यासगभीरध्वनि-
र्यस्यास्यादुदिता ददाति कवितास्वर्धेनुरर्थान् बहून्।

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22. परमप्रभयातुलोऽकलङ्कः
कृतदानश्च महाच्छ्विप्रहस्ते
भुवि भाति विधूतदूषणश्री-
रघुनाथार्यमखी यथार्थनामा ।

23. तस्यैतस्य तनूभवः कविरयं लब्ध्यञ्चलब्ध्याक्रिया-
तर्कप्रौढचमत्क्रियासुनिपुणो मीमांसकोत्तंसकः
तत्तादृक्कवितासरोजसवितादत्ताशयः श्रीपतेः
शेषद्माधरवासिनश्चरणयोः श्रीवेङ्कटार्याध्वरी ।

24. कल्पन्ते विदुषां मुदे स्मरवधूकर्णावतंसोत्पल-
स्वैरोदञ्चितशीधुपूरसुहृदः श्रीवेंकटार्योक्तयः
श्रोत्रैर्याः सुचिरं निपीय दधते शृङ्गारपारङ्गताः
श्रीमत्तिर्मलरायपण्डितमुखाः श्लाघाविलोलं शिरः । P. 2.

25. अन्तर्यामितया चिरन्तनगिरामन्तेषु निर्धारितो
दिष्ट्या हन्त स एव वेङ्कटपतिर्देवः सभानायकः
श्रीकृष्णस्य जगत्प्रभोस्तनुभवः शृङ्गाररङ्गावनिः
प्रख्यातः कृतिनायकस्तु भगवान् प्रद्युम्न एव स्वयम् । P. 3.

[Veṅkaṭapatiḥ devaḥ=King Veṅkaṭapati & God Veṅkaṭeśvara]

Colophon—almost the same as in *Viśvaguṇādarśa.*

X. *Subhāṣita-Kaustubha* :—

26. श्रीवेङ्कटाख्यमखिना रघुनाथसूरेः
सम्प्राप्तजन्मयुगलेन यथमनीषम्
आतन्यते सुमनसा मनसूयकानाम्
हर्षाय सम्प्रति सुभाषितकास्तुभोऽयम् । श्ल. 2.

XI. Veṅkaṭādhvarin's many-sided erudition and literary achievements :—

27. एकेनैव दिनेन काव्यरचनामीष्टे विधातुं तथा
शास्त्राणामपि शक्नुयात्कलयितुं टीकामनायासतः

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शक्तो युक्तिमहोर्मिभिः शमयितुं दुर्वादिगर्वानलं
दासः श्रीसखसेविनां स जयति श्रीवेङ्कटार्याध्वरी ।

—*Pradyumnānanda*, p. 3.

28. व्यायामं गमितात्वलङ्कृतिपथे व्यापारिता व्याकृतौ
तर्कारण्यगतागतैः श्रमवती तन्त्राङ्गणे नर्तिता
लय्यद्रेरधिरोपिता च शिखरं तर्षादियं भारती
गम्भीरं गजभूधरेश्वरकथागङ्गाक्षरं गाहते ।

—*Karigiri-Campū*, I Vilāsa, 6 śl.

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A DYNAMIC CONCEPTION OF MAN

By Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids

It is an old theory I have held for over forty years, a theory ever being supported by as many years of research, that Buddhism started as a gospel of will without a fit term to say so. A more academic phrasing of this were to say 'started with a dynamic conception of man'—of man not as an essentially static being, using and partly hindered by, a fleeting apparatus of body and mind (that is, ways of using body), but as no less than they, a growing, evolving being, not liable as were they to periodical decadence, in that the maturity preceding that decadence has never been reached, but, so far as earth-life shows, is ever yet to be.

If for this theory the agreement I may have hoped for has been chary and slow, I have ascribed it less to an error on my part, and more to writers about Buddhism failing to discern new influences at work diverting the youthful gospel, unbuttressed as yet by sanctions of 'orthodoxy', to an adoption of other values, and hence other terms in its technique of teaching, when these, after the long interval usual in India, came to be recorded in scripture.

I discerned three influences as mainly effecting this 'side-tracking':

(1) the rising preoccupation with a monastic régime. This in India, unlike Christian monasticism, took a pessimistic turn, emphasizing life as 'ill', and exercise of will as mainly evil desire or craving or thirst.

(2) the growing analytic attitude towards man's inner world (proto-Sāṅkhya), a world where man's interest began in afferent rather than in efferent phenomena: a 'naming' rather than 'handling'.

(3) the preoccupation of the widening rift between the orthodox teaching of Immanence and a certain Protestant feature in 'Śākya' concerning ritual and the Brahman tradition, whereby the more optimistic 'forward view' in the former became ever more discredited, its main teaching coming to be merged in the rift with matters less essential.

I have come to see, that emphasis on these three points needs, as fourth, addition of emphasis on that very defect alleged in my theory: namely, that the 'side-tracking' was strengthened and accelerated by want of a clear strong word like 'will' to express the essence of the New Message. There had been such previously, but from very indifference perhaps to need of 'will' in religion, they had been wor-

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sened or dropped. Such words were *kāma,* and *kratu* (as used in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣd,), and *karma* and *taṇhā* (*tṛṣṇā*). To choose (*vūṇoti*) was evaded rather than used. And words for resolve, determination (*adhiṭṭhāna, abhinīhāra, ajjhāsaya*) were rather inventions for a need felt later (with academic growth), than idioms of early usage.[1]

Two courses lay open to the first 'sons of the Śākyans' in their mission. The one, with which I have dealt elsewhere, was to adopt the growing use of forms of the verb *bhū.* These forms are present in nearly every page of Buddhist scripture. The incoming especially of the causative form *bhāv-* seems to imply the felt want; 'to make become' is so palpably an act of will. And I have found reason to suspect that the much-emphasized 'eightfold' quality of the Mārga, the leading figure of the teaching, was a later insertion, where there had been elided the prefix *bhava* which (cf. *bhava-cakka*) had come to be a badly worsened word, even compared with things held most vile.[2] Used as it had come to be for 'lives' and 'worlds' held by the monk to be wholly 'ill', emphasis of appreciation was shifted to the causative, and to the gerund (*bhabba*). Thus what might have kept Buddhism to its first teaching became, in this verbal way, no sure buttress.

The other course was to lend new emphasis to terms of effort, energy and endeavour. These were, it is true, not will-terms ; they were but modes of using will. They seem to have been little used before the Śākyan missioners began, yet were they unworsened. And no students of Buddhist Pāli literature should fail to note, that such terms are listed as second in number only to the (much longer) list of terms for *prajñā,* that word of loftiest import for Brahman as for Śākyan, till, centuries later, we find it all but eliminated from a leading manual of philosophy. In one item indeed an all but identification is made with will itself. This is *viriyārambha,* or onset of energy. Now it is work of energy that makes us pick up and throw a stone, but the 'onset' was inner and an act of will. The same word is used in a striking but wholly overlooked Sutta of the Fourth Collection (*Nikāya*), where Gautama is shown condemning a disbelief in the reality of the self as agent with the words : When you shift your movement, is not that an 'initiative' (or onset : *ārabbhadhātu*) of yourself or another's self ? Nevertheless, with such rare exceptions, the word 'onset' is not found emphasized in the gospel of 'the Way'.

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1. Cf. too the Abhidhamma invention *kattukamyatā ;* also the growth of the Śakti cult.

2. E.g. *Aṅguttara,* i, Vg. 1, 18 : clearly an added gloss.

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It is in the makeshift terms oftener used by Buddhism for 'will', that I find need of a fourth point as contributory to its 'side-tracking' from its original aim, terms, I mean, not of effort, but of mind, words of intellection, cognition. Such were *manas, citta, cetanā, cetas, saṅkalpa* and *sati* (*smṛti*). It is a common occurrence to find these terms used, not as pure work of thought, but as having so to speak a co-efficient of will, such as we allow in the words : purpose, intention, design.

For instance, where, in the well-known four Divine Abidings (*brahma-vihārā*) the disciple sets himself to 'suffuse' some absent X with needed amity, pity, etc. the feeble phrase is used: "*citta* accompanied by amity, etc.," when what is much more needed is the strong televolition of "wills, a suffusion of X with amity". Again, in the Sutta-Nipāta, the aged devoted Piṅgiya says :—

> Worn out and frail am I,
> so that my body fails to get to him,
> but ever I go faring by effort of intent (*saṅkappayattāya*) ;
> the mind of me is linked with him.

And another loyal soul, Anuruddha :

> He when he knew my 'will' (*saṅkappa*),
> as were his body made of mind,
> came unto me.[3]

Manas too is classified as a species of action (*kamma*), as if looked upon not as a relatively static form of life anymore than are the other two, to wit, *kāya* (overt action) and *vācā* (speech). But the force of this is weakened by the *afferent* emphasis laid on *manas* as the referee (*paṭi-saraṇa*) of the varied messages of the five senses. *Cetanā* too is in one context only called a species of *kamma,* and it is, though only in the later Abhiddhamma exegesis, specially distinguished from *citta,* being likened to a master giving orders. Indeed my late colleague Shwe Z. Aung insisted that modern Burmese culture sees in it 'volition' and not cognition. Deferring to this, I altered the translation of it from 'thinking' to 'volition' in reproducing my translation of Book I., and have borne in mind the implied volition in both this term and *cetas* ever since. Nevertheless these words, as compared with our will, or the older *kāma* and *kratu,* are as weak as is today the word 'sentiment' when used to mean emotion or passion.

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3. The verse adds *iddhiyā upasaṅkami,* and the reader may say: here was a word at least as strong as 'will.' That may be, but was it a fit term for a gospel for 'Every man' ?

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Finally, the term *sati* came to take on a new force in early Buddhism. I do not think this has been fully realized. Meaning *saraṇa*: memory (this is in Abhidhamma given as an equivalent), it is practically never taken to mean this save with the prefix *anu*. Actually it is used in the sense of mindfulness, attention, for which there was in older Pāli no special term. *Manasikāra*: work of mind, came it is true to have this specialized meaning, but only much later. In the Suttas its meaning, coupled with the adverbial term *yoniso,* is as unspecific as are the intellective terms *vitakka, vicāra.* But in exegesis its given meaning is a 'mental expectant moving towards,' similar to *āvajjana*: adverting. Even where the *anu* prefix occurs, the meaning is as often a 'dwelling upon' as in the category of the Anussatis, as a recollecting, as in the psychic gift of far-back memory: *pubbe-nivās' ānussati.* It may be remembered that when the preparatory process of 'the four Jhānas' is completed the *jhāyī* has a mental *tabula rasa* save only for bare *sati* and poise, he being held then to be ready for experiencing such of the five *abhiññās,* of which he may be constitutionally capable. And in general the good disciple is ever bidden to be *sato* (or *satimant*) and *sampajāno*: mindfully alert and intelligent, but with no special injunction herein that he recollect this or that in the past, as in memory. Compare too the force of *sati* in the four Satipaṭṭhānas. In the Abhidhamma definition of *sati* as *apilāpanatā* or absence of superficiality of mind, this can hardly be interpreted as enjoining reminiscence, much less the *smṛti,* 'tradition', of Brahman culture.

In so far as *sati* for early Buddhism meant 'attention', it was a term of will as much as of cognition. Our psychology has done justice to that. And Jhāna, as I have often shown, as preparation for developing the abhiññās of clairvoyance and clairaudience, made necessary this state of blank attentive alertness. That *sati* was used to denote this does give the will-co-efficient that is in attention in a way that we have too much overlooked.

Now, in that the first Buddhist missioners were compelled, in the attempt to expand the current Immanence by the quickening force of a gospel of choice and initiative—in other words of will—to cast about for fit words, such as would appeal to 'the general' outside the Academy, and in that they were, as I have shown, compelled to use the relatively makeshift terms mainly of intellectual import, I suggest that these relative misfits would, with lapse of time, bring about more quickly a side-tracking of the original line of teaching. Such makeshifts may have force and fitness when a speaker is using them, able to clarify and guard his meaning by figure, by gesture, by what not. But when those weaker terms are learnt as recorded, when they become weighed in records by posterity, when eventually they become written records, they

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will tend to be of weight rather in their main, their basic meaning as intellectual, than in their implied and adapted use as volitional. And thus the real ideal of the original teaching as a new gospel of will would tend to fade out, and the subsequent teaching become one of preponderant introversive thought, and of 'ideas about'. As a new message Śākya called on man as seeker after Ātman, as reaching out after (*atthiko*) an Aim (*attha*), as choosing a Way, as willing to become actually That Who he was potentially. To realize the peak of the Immortal (*t'amat' agge*), he needed to be "willing to learn" (*sikkhakāmo*). To get further (*uttariṁ karaṇīyam*), he needed effort to become. He was to be ever "for the More" (*hand'-āham atirekāyā'ti*). I have here suggested, that herein he was handicapped by lack of the fit, the clear word, word such as Jesus had ready to hand, and plentifully used. And the teaching became ever more one of, not a splendid More in life, but a Less, a Not.

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MISCELLANEA

* RACIAL ELEMENTS IN VEDIC RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Though scholars have long recognized that some of the features of the later Vedic civilization came from the pre-Aryans, they sometimes committed a blunder in accepting these latter as aboriginal half-savages. The theory that all the pre-Vedic Indian races were dark-skinned (*kṛṣṇā*) and broad-nosed (*anās*) savages is no longer entertained by scholars.[1] It is now generally accepted that there were races of different physical and cultural types amongst the pre-Aryans. The more primitive section of these races is now sometimes conveniently designated *Niṣādic;* the most advanced section was perhaps represented by the Mediterranean races[2] who were mainly instrumental in building up the Indus Civilization (Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa). It is possible that the Aryan conquerors were comparatively less civilized than the Indus valley people whom they appear to have conquered.[3] By analogy with the history of the contact of the Mediterranean races (Minoans and Aegians) and Aryan Greeks which brought about the renascence of Greek culture in which the civilization of the older conquered races played a predominant part,[4] it is perhaps permissible to conclude that the civilization of the more cultured elements in pre-Vedic India played an equally important role in shaping the destinies of the later Vedic civilization.

The contributions of the pre-Aryans to the religion and philosophy

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* This brief note was prepared to raise some discussion in the Anthropology Section of the Indore Session of the Indian Science Congress. But I could not attend the Session due to my engagements in the All-India Oriental Conference held in the Same year (1935) at Mysore.

1. See Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India,* Calcutta University Press, Vol. I., 1931, pp. XXIX ff.
2. *Census of India,* 1931, Vol. I, Part III., 1935, p. lxx.
3. Compare : Romans : Greeks ; Teutons : Romans ; Turks : Arabs, etc.
4. Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East,* 8th Ed., 1932, pp. 521 ff.; See also Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda,* 1925, p. 10.

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of India are now generally recognized. In 1900 Macdonell admitted that the Aryan settlers received the first impulse in certain directions in Vedic philosophy from the aboriginal inhabitants of India.[5] In 1916 Chanda drew our attention to the un-Vedic character of the *Pāñcarātra* and certain features of *Śaktism*.[3] He also suggested that the *Yoga* system of philosophy with its mental asceticism[7] also came from the Indus Valley civilization into the Aryan system. He based his opinion on the fact that a bearded head of a priest-king(?) (fig. a) discovered at Mohenjo-Daro has its eyes concentrated on the tip of the nose (*nāsikāgra-dṛṣṭi*)[8] in the traditional pose of a *Yogin*.[9] Quite recently Marshall has endorsed this view and has tried to support it by archæological evidence. He has specially drawn our attention to a figure on a plaque whom he regards as the prototype of Śiva-Paśupati of later days. The figure according to him is *ūrdhvameḍhra, trimukha,* seated in a *yogī*-like pose on a deer-throne surrounded by animals like Paśupati and crowned with the horns of divinity (*triśūla*) (fig. b). When he considered that this was associated with the sanctity of the bull (fig. c) and phallus (*liṅga*) worship (*śiśna-devāḥ*) (fig. d) he had little doubt that some of the most important aspects of Śaivism were non-Aryan and pre-Vedic.[10]

All these conclusions, I fear, require re-examination and criticism before being accepted as certainties. One of the objects of writing this note is to receive such criticism and revaluation of evidence from competent scholars. Take for instance the so-called phallic emblems discovered at Mohenjo-Daro. We have to explain the great gap that separates them from the earliest *liṅgams* in the Brahmanical pantheon.[11]

My other object in writing this note is to ask a question. It is well known that there was a great change in the philosophical and socio-

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5. *Sanskrit Literature,* p. 387.

6. *Indo-Aryan Races,* chapters III and IV ; see also Coomarswamy, *Indian and Indonesian Art,* p. 5.

7. Bodily asceticism (*tapas*) is known to the Vedas. See, Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature,* p. 397.

8. The nose of the 'head" including the tip is broken.

9. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Civilization,* Vol. I, p. 54.

10. *Ibid,* Vol. III, plate. XCVIII.

11. Gudimallam *Liṅga* in N. Arcot dated in the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C.; See Coomarswamy, *Indian and Indonesian Art,* p. 39, Plate XVIII, no. 66. Prof. J. N. Banerjea has, I understand, notice a few *liṅgams* on certain coins, discovered in Taxila and Ujjayinī, of about the same period. See the next issue of the *Indian Historical Quarterly.*

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religious outlook of the Vedic Aryans as they moved from the period represented by the Ṛgveda to that of the Upaniṣads.[12] At present I beg to draw attention to the following two features :—

(i) Theory of transmigration (*saṁsāra*) dependent on retribution and pessimism.

(ii) Cult of non-injury (*ahiṁsā*).

The early Indo-Aryan outlook on life had been generally one of joy and optimism. This was replaced by a new note of pessimism. Life was considered a misery. A feeling of pity for animals and a desire not to injure life became intensified. The cult of *ahiṁsā* also received special emphasis.

The Ṛgveda practically contains very little trace of these beliefs. But the Upaniṣadic literature (c. 600 B.C. to c. 300 B.C.) reveals a state of society which is almost dominated by these ideas. By the acceptance of the doctrine of transmigration,[13] "Vedic optimism, which looked forward to a life of eternal bliss in heaven, was transformed into the gloomy prospect of an interminable series of miserable existences leading from one death to another." The theory of *ahiṁsā* first definitely appearing in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*[14] became a factor of ever-increasing importance in the religious, social and political life of India. These ideas and beliefs being fundamentally opposed to the atmosphere of the Ṛgveda, scholars have tried to offer some explanations for some of them. Macdonell for instance suggested that the Aryans received their first impulse in the direction of the theory of transmigration from the aboriginal inhabitants of India. He drew our attention to certain ideas of the 'Sonthals' and some other half-savage tribes among whom there is a wide-spread belief that the soul passes into trunks of trees and the bodies of animals.[15] Griswold proposed to find the roots of

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12. Note in this connection the theory of Hutton on the origin of the Caste system which from germs in the Ṛgveda, took definite shape and was fully established in the later Vedic period : *Census Reports*, 1931, Vol. I, Part, I, pp..

13. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 387. The transition to the developed theory of 'Transmigration' of the *Upaniṣads* is to be found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

14. III, 17, 4.

15. Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 387. Keith's (*op. cit.*, p. 497) statement on the point is interesting. "We may," says he, "if we so desire, call the Upaniṣadas the products of Aryo-Dravidian thought ; but if we do so, we must remember that the effect of the intermixture must be regarded in the light of chemical fusion, in which both elements are transformed. He does not however find any definite evidence to clearly distinguish the Dravidian element in Indian thought. See *op. cit.*, pp. 629-34.

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Hindu pessimism in the trying climate of India and in the gradual fusion of the Aryans with the aborigines.[16] Macdonell unfortunately was under the impression that the pre-Aryans were half-savages and was therefore not disposed to give them full credit for the elaboration of some of the above theories.[17] But with our more correct knowledge of their high degree of culture is it not possible to suggest that these ideas were introduced with minor modifications into the Aryan system from the philosophy and religion of the conquered? If so, is there now any definite evidence available beyond mere theory and guess? Or is it possible to explain these as perfectly logical developments from Ṛgvedic germs, taking into consideration the Indian physical and climatic factors?

H. C. Ray.

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16. *The Religion of the Rigveda,* 1923, p. 326.

17. *Op. cit.,* pp. 387-88. Keith in 1925 was also of the same opinion see *op. cit.,* p. 149.

A NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF VIJAYANAGARA

In Volume VI, No. 1 (July 1939) of the *Indian Culture,* pp. 107-109, Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti has brought to light a Tāntric work called *Vidyārṇava Tantra,* in which an interesting account of the foundation of Vijayanagara is given. I saw this Ms. exhibited in the gallery of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in December last. Mr. Chakravarti has given a short account of the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara as mentioned in the introductory portion of the work. The version of the origin of Vijayanagara as given in this work is historically unreliable. This will be evident when we examine a few details concerning the royal personage and his father mentioned in it. The name of the latter is given as Prauḍhadeva. We are told that on king Prauḍhadeva's death, his posthumous son (unnamed) became king, and that at the latter's request and at that of the learned men, a

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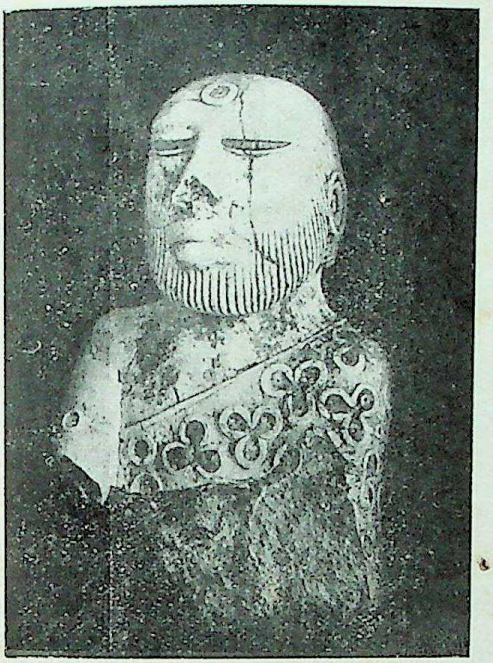

Fig. a.

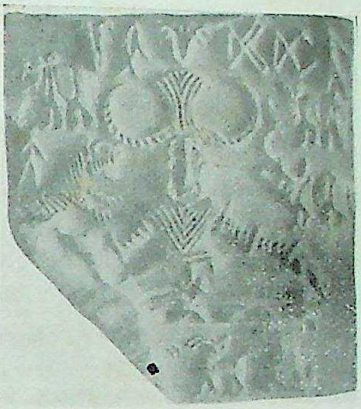

Fig. b.

Fig. c.

Fig. d.

(*Vide* Article *Racial Elements in Vedic Religion and Philosophy*)

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disciple of one Pragalbhācārya (as the Bengal R.A.S. version puts it), or Pragalbhācārya himself (as the Kashmiri version avers), composed the VT.

Now the only Prauḍhadeva known to Vijayanagara history is king Deva Rāya II, who ruled from A.D. 1419 till A.D. 1446.[1] This monarch had the special *biruda* of *Gajabēṇṭekāra* (Hunter of Elephants), in addition to his other name Prauḍhadeva Rāya.[2] He died on the 24th of May A.D. 1446.[3] The posthumous son of Prauḍhadeva, according to the VT, therefore, could have come to the throne only in A.D. 1446. If we are to believe the anonymous author of the VT, this work was composed by him (or by Pragalbhācārya) on the accession of the unnamed son of Prauḍhadeva Rāya. That is to say, in no case can the VT be assigned to a date earlier than A.D. 1446. It was written, therefore, about 106 years after the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom (A.D. 1346), and about seventy-eight years after the construction of the great city of Vijayanagara (A.D. 1368).[4]

Who was the posthumous son of Prauḍhadeva, who came to the throne of Vijayanagara on the latter's death? From historical records we know that king Prauḍhadeva Rāya was followed in A.D. 1446 by his eldest son by queen Ponnalā Devī, Mallikārjuna Deva. This ruler reigned from A.D. 1446 till A.D. 1467.[5] Why the author of the VT does not mention king Mallikārjuna by name, cannot be made out. Was it because, as Rice has pointed out, king Mallikārjuna's reign "was wanting in vigour"?[6]

The anonymous author of the VT gives a strange account of the death of king Prauḍhadeva Rāya. We are told that that monarch died of the effects of a curse pronounced by Lakṣmaṇa, one of the nine lay disciples of Śaṅkarācārya, for the insult offered to Lakṣmaṇa in the matter of his presents.[7] This does not seem to be historical. In the first place, it cannot be made out who this Śaṅkarācārya was. If we are to suppose with the anonymous author of the VT that the reference here is to the renowned Śaṅkarācārya, it cannot be understood how a disciple's disciple of that great Teacher (*circa* eighth century A.D.) could ever have been a contemporary of Prauḍhadeva Rāya (middle of the

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1. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 112.
2. *Ibid*, p. 116.
3. *Ibid*, p. 117.
4. Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 18, 103.
5. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *I.C., op. cit.*, p. 109.

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fifteenth century A.D.) ! And, secondly, from the available trustworthy sources we know that far from being a petty-minded ruler, as the anonymous author of the VT would make him, king Prauḍhadeva Rāya was truly a generous monarch who was held in high esteem by the people. Witness, for example, the poet Candrakavi (*circa* A.D. 1430) singing the ten good qualities of that monarch[8].

Contemporary epigraphic evidence also confirms the praise Candrakavi bestows upon king Deva Rāya II. In one of the two inscriptions dated A.D. 1446, which record that king's death, he is called "the abode of valour, the matchless Deva-rāṭ."[9] Indeed, from the records available in the Śriṅgeri *maṭha* we may unhesitatingly say that king Deva Rāya II was a magnanimous ruler, and that he was especially generous to the *gurus* of the Smārta school. For instance, in the Mañjugaṇi copper-plate dated A.D. 1432, Thursday, July the 10th, registering the gift of the village of Mañjugaṇi to the *guru* Puruṣottamāraṇya, the king is praised thus :—"....a Vikramāditya in valour, a Bhoja in enjoyment, and a Kubera in liberality....pre-eminent among the righteous....".[10] And in the Kaigai copper-plate also found in the same *maṭha,* and also dated in the same year, but February the 2nd Saturday, the same ruler is praised thus :—"....By his learning, liberality, and prowess he caused admiration and lessened the fame of Nābhaga, Nahuṣa, and others", "a celestial tree to supplicants", and "a Pārijāta on earth".[11] It cannot be that a monarch who was so generous to a *guru* like Puruṣottamāraṇya, who belonged to the Smārta *sampradāya* of the great Śaṅkarācārya, was parsimonious to another ascetic like Lakṣmaṇa who, according to the VT, also belonged to the school of the great Ācārya.

Moreover as regards the assertion of the anonymous author of the same work that he built the beautiful city of Vidyānagara (Vijayanagara) resembling the mystic śrīcakra, all that we may note is that that city, as related above, was already in existence about seventy-eight years before his time.

Supposing we identify the unnamed posthumous son of Prauḍhadeva with king Mallikārjuna, can we accept the statement of the anonymous author of the VT that the latter was the regent of king

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8. Saletore, *op. cit.,* I, p. 324.
9. *Epigraphia Carnatica,* II, nos. 328, 330, pp. 139-140 (rev. ed.).
10. *Mysore Archæological Report for* 1933, pp. 158, 159.
11. *Ibid,* pp. 170-171.

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Mallikārjuna? This is again highly doubtful. For the great minister of king Mallikārjuna was the famous Sāluva Nṛsimha, also called Narasinga Rāya, who usurped the throne in A.D. 1478.[12] It is extremely unlikely that any one could have asserted himself as the regent of king Mallikārjuna in the presence of the latter's most powerful noble Narasinga.

B. A. SALETORE.

12. Rice, *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

AN APOCRYPHAL SECTION IN PIṄGALA'S CHANDAHSŪTRA

To the points that I have raised about the *Chandaḥsūtra* of Piṅgala in *I.C.*, July, 1939, p. 110 ff., I am now inclined to add one other. There is reason to believe that a portion of the present text of the CS. is apocryphal, and it may be suggested that the work belongs not to a particular author called Piṅgala, but to a school, possibly founded by Piṅgala.

The very nature of the first part of Ch. VIII. of the CS. appears to indicate a later date. This part describes some additional *Samavṛtta* metres, and it is very interesting to note that the metre *Gaurī* (VIII, 5) is exactly the same as the metre *Cañcalākṣikā* defined earlier in VI, 27. A quite different metre called *Gaurī* has moreover been described in VII, 4. These facts appear to prove that the first part of Ch. VIII (if not the whole of this chapter) of the CS. is a later addition. It must also be noted in this connection that the additional metres described there are not found in the section on metrics in the *Agni Purāṇa* (Bangabasi ed., Ch. 334) which largely draws upon the CS.

As regards the chronological relation of the CS. with Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, it may be pointed out that some MSS. of the NŚ. follow a recension that utilises, in its section on metrics, Piṅgala's code of algebraical symbols like *m, n, bh,* etc. This recension of the NŚ. is therefore certainly later than the CS. or at least the original text of the CS.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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TWO VIEWS ABOUT THE BUDDHA

Professor A. B. Keith concluding his recent article on 'The Buddha as a master mind' says that "we need not hesitate to *ascribe* to the Buddha the claim of being a master-mind, but on grounds which are not those asserted by Sir S. Radhakrishnan".[1] The grounds of Professor Keith are as follows :

He does not ascribe any specifically new doctrine characteristic of a master-mind to the Buddha, because he says that such a position leads us to 'great difficulty'. Besides it is pointed out that the doctrine of transmigration which Buddha accepted was essentially Brahmanical and traditional in its character. Professor Keith holds "that Buddha is considered to take rank with the great founders of religious communities, men of practical rather than theoretical insight", because of the "organisation on sane lines of monastic communities, in which members are not asked to engage in asceticism carried to excesses, but were afforded opportunities for community life and taught to achieve mental conditions of an essentially attractive character by systematic exercises destined to the sublimation of the mind."[2] Besides this, Professor Keith attributes the success of the Buddha to the fact that "he demanded faith and affection from his devotees and in return assured them of the certainty of Paradise and ultimately of Nirvāṇa. It is contended that Sir S. Radhakrishnan, in his British Academy Lecture, has ignored this vital aspect of faith in the Buddha as essential to salvation even in early Buddhism.

Let us grant for a moment that the great success of the Buddha was due to the unswerving faith which he commanded from his devotees and which he preached, as the way to salvation. The Buddha went about preaching and promised final liberation and the joys of heaven through belief in himself and the following out of the moral code. To preach to the world at large that they should have faith in him, himself having failed to achieve settled convictions as to the metaphysical questions, is certainly not the quality of a master-mind, but at best the characteristic of a master-crook. And yet this is all that follows from Professor Keith's assertion that Buddha's success was due to the doctrine of faith in himself, taken together with his statement "the view that Buddha had failed to achieve settled convictions as to metaphysical questions and was therefore content to preach a faith which essentially means the practising of mental states productive in this

1. Indian Culture, Jan. 1939, p. 238.
2. *Ibid*, p. 236.

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life of ecstacy appears therefore the only view which is consistent with the doctrine of indeterminates."[3]

The organisation founded on monastic lines was not an unmixed blessing. Professor Keith himself does not wholly commend this aspect of the Buddha's teachings. He says that "he (Buddha) drew the unwise conclusion that the life of meditation would be carried on without the preliminary experience of studentship and the life of a householder" (pp. 232-3). The Professor continues : "but it remains a grave admission that the Buddha failed in the essential duty of a philosopher to see life whole and not in one aspect only. It is plain that his doctrine if fully followed out would have condemned to annihilation the whole world of useful activity". Again, the inclusion of women in the monastic order was not without its evils. The purity of Buddhism would have lasted longer had they not been included.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan maintains in categorical terms that the Buddha is a master-mind because he is the continuator of the Upaniṣhadic tradition shorn of its unessentials, and not an innovator. As for the evidence of the texts, a few of them affirm the view of Sir Radhakrishnan and the relative importance to be attached to these is naturally a matter of opinion. The Buddha's counsel to have the self as the light (*attadīpa*) or the self as the refuge (*atta-saraṇa*) cannot be interpreted, as Professor Keith urges, in terms of the empirical self. The empirical self for the Buddha is not an enduring existence, but a changing aggregate. It makes no sense to appeal to such a self as a light or refuge. For that which seeks the light being the empirical self, what is sought must be something other than empirical, though not other than the self ; we have to interpret it as the affirmation of the transcendental. Similarly, Sāriputta's statement that the Tathāgata is neither the aggregate of the five nor different from them is not intelligible except as referring to a transcendental self.

What I seek to make clear in this short note is that the hypothesis of Sir Radhakrishnan, that Buddha had "the experience of an absolute and immutable reality as the background against which the emptiness of the contingent and the mutable is apprehended",[4] is more intelligible and does better justice to the philosophical stature of the Buddha than the one Professor Keith maintains, i.e., that the Buddha, though he himself had failed to achieve settled convictions and was an agnostic, asked the credulous folk of his age to have dogmatic faith in him. This can by no means be construed as the characteristic of a master-mind.

P. NAGARAJA RAO.

3. Indian Culture, Jan. 1939, p. 232.
4. Gautama the Buddha : Sir S. Radhakrishnan, p. 46.

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THE THIRD SESSION OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL CONGRESS

History as a branch of Indian literature cannot be said to occupy the same place as Poetry or Drama, Philosophy or Grammar. Our country produced in ancient times a Vālmiki and a Kālidāsa, a Pāṇini and a Śaṅkarācārya but no Thucydides or Polybius. Nevertheless there is evidence that stories of kings and ministers, of armies and battles, excited the curiosity even of assemblies of wanderers (*paribbājaka-parisā*) in bygone ages. Tales of kings and sages used to be recited before the great gathering of *ṛṣis* presided over by a *Kulpapati* in the Naimiṣa forest. The Great Epic of India bears testimony to *sabhās* where "they passed their time in describing stirring tales of war and moil" and genealogies of eminent men. It is to such assemblages that we owe in part the survival of those historical fragments that lie embedded in the *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* literature as well as in the Vedic and the Pāli canons.

It is a happy sign that attempts are being made in recent times to resuscitate in a modern shape the aforesaid *pariṣads* and *sabhās* of antiquity. The earlier endeavours resulted in securing for History a place merely as an appendage of some institution the scope of whose activities embraced other and more popular branches of knowledge. But it did not take long for independent assemblages of historians to come into existence. One of these associations, namely the *Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁsodhaka Maṇḍala,* Poona, conceived the idea of holding an All-India Congress of Modern History as a part of its Silver Jubilee programme. The Congress was actually inaugurated on June 8, 1935. In the General Meeting of the institution held on the 10th June, 1935, it was decided to widen the scope of its activities so as to embrace the Ancient and the Mediæval as well as the Modern Period of Indian History. Thus came into existence the Indian History Congress which got a new constitution at the Second Session at Allahabad.

The scene now shifted from *Yuktaveṇī* to the neighbourhood of *Muktaveṇī*. The University of Calcutta invited the Third Session of the Congress to the city that had been the centre of activities of Jones and Colebrooke, of Wilson and Prinsep, of Rajendralal Mitra and Haraprasad Sastri, of Henry Maine and Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, of Manomohan Chakravarti and R. D. Banerji.

A Reception Committee was organised with the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman and Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, Mr. P. N. Banerji and three local secretaries as the Working Council. Eleven sub-committees were ap-

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pointed at the same time. Circulars and a bulletin were sent out to all provincial Governments, major Indian States, Universities, Research Societies, Record offices, Museums, Degree Colleges and teachers of History all over India as well as to scholars known to have an interest in any aspect of India's glorious past, inviting them to co-operate in the task of making the Congress a success. The response was quick and gratifying. Representatives from the Government of India, several Provincial governments and Indian States including those in the Far South, sixteen Universities, twenty-seven research institutes and other learned bodies and thirteen colleges graced by their presence the great assembly that met in the University Premises on December 15, 1939. The total number of delegates was 185. The number of papers contributed by the members of the Congress came up to the total of 143.

The Reception Committee, whose membership reached the figure of 165, did its best to ensure the smooth working of the Congress and to make the stay of the delegates in the capital of Bengal comfortable. Its task was facilitated by the generosity of public-spirited citizens, notably the great family of Law, the handsome grants from the local government and the University and the unstinted labour of a number of selfless workers including members of the various University bodies, teachers and the office staff of the University, professors of affiliated colleges, members of the Bar, Boy Scouts and students, particularly those belonging to the History and Ancient Indian History Unions.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca and the first Professor of History in that institution, was the General President. The Session was inaugurated by His Excellency Sir John Arthur Herbert, G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal and Chancellor of the University of Calcutta on December 15 at 10 A.M. The ceremony took place in a spacious and decorated pandal which had been erected near the Asutosh Building.

The Vice-Chancellor, who welcomed the delegates and other members of the Congress to the city where was laid "the foundation of what we may term Modern India", referred to the country's glorious heritage and spoke about the aims and ideals of the true historian. He then invited His Excellency the Governor to inaugurate the Session. His Excellency in his speech pointed out that the Congress represented a long and distinguished tradition of historical scholarship and research. He laid stress on the problems which faced the world at the time and added that events of to-day are not, and never can be, dissociated from the past. The historian, said he, can be of help even to people who are primarily concerned with day to day affairs.

The President of the Session in his address emphasised the necessity of a public forum for the discussion of historical problems. He put

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in a plea for widening the scope of the activities of the Congress and indicated the lines on which future investigations in History ought to proceed.

In the same pandal, on the afternoon of the same day, the Hon'ble Chief Minister of Bengal, who also holds the portfolio of Education, opened the Historical Exhibition. The Exhibition which was housed in the Senate Hall had been organised by a sub-committee of the Reception Committee. Its success was due in large measure to the devoted labour of the Curator of the Asutosh Museum, the teachers, research fellows and students of the Department of Ancient Indian Studies and other workers. Many valuable exhibits were displayed and proved to be a great attraction. The Exhibition was kept open for a few days after the Congress Session was over in consideration of its educative value for research scholars and the public.

The work of the Congress was divided into five sections—Archaic (including early cultural), Ancient Imperial, Early Mediæval (including the Age of the Sultanates), Mughul (including the early Maratha-Sikh Period) and Modern (including the later Maratha-Sikh history). The sectional presidents were Dr. A. S. Altekar, of the Benares Hindu University, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri of the Madras University, Dr. M. Nazim of the Archæological Department, Dr. Tarachand of the Kāyastha Pāṭhśālā of Allahabad and Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari of the Annamalai University. A panel of secretaries and members of the Meetings Sub-Committee saw to the efficient and uninterrupted working of the sectional meetings under the guidance of the Presidents. The number of papers read before the sections were 21, 34, 27, 26 and 35 respectively. The meetings were so arranged that all the delegates could, if they liked, listen to the Presidential addresses in the different sections by turns. The papers read before the sections dealt with various historical and cultural aspect of ancient, mediæval and modern Indian history and helped to throw light on many obscure problems. Dr. Altekar offered his suggestions regarding the reconstruction of the pre-Bhārata-War History of India. Professor Nilkanta Sastri made some illuminating observations on the conception of Empire in Ancient times. Dr. Nazim took stock of the progress made by individual scholars in elucidating the history of the period of the Sultanates. Dr. Tarachand gave a learned discourse on Indian culture under the Mughuls while Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachari delivered an address on the Study of Modern Indian History. Interesting discussions followed the papers read by Dr. Aiyangar, Mr. Tridib Ray, Mr. P. Acharyya, Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, Mr. D. N. Mukherji, Mr. B. N. Puri, Dr. M. M. Nagar, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Mr. K. P. Chattopādhyāya, Dr. D. C. Sircar, Mr. N. B. Ray, Dr. B. B. Majumdar, Dr. N. C. Banerji, Dr. H. C. Ray, Mr.

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S. N. Dhar, Dr. Qanungo, Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, Mr. V. D. Rao, Professor Spear, Professor S. N. Banerji, Prof. R. C. Banerji, Mr. H. R. Ghoshal, Mr. T. Chakravarti and other scholars. Of special interest was Mr. Deshpande's paper on a copper-plate of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti which threw welcome light on an obscure period in the history of Berar. Mr. K. P. Chattopādhyāya's theory regarding the cross-cousin marriage and matrilineal succession of the Śātavāhanas drew from Professor Mirashi the important information that in a large find at Akola hundreds of Śātavāhana coins have been brought to light and on these the royal title and the metronymic *did not go together*. Dr. D. C. Sircar invited attention to the evidence furnished by Parāśara's *Kṛṣisaṁgraha* which suggested that the auspicious symbol at the beginning of Indian inscriptions was pronounced as *Om Siddhiḥ*. Mr. Dhar assailed the theory that Buddhists acted treacherously towards king Dahir of Sind. Dr. Qanungo spoke about the romantic figure of Dewal rānī. Dr. Bhuyan's paper sought to elucidate an obscure chapter of the History of Assam. Mr. V. D. Rao's generalisation from Maratha bardic literature evoked a keen debate and so did Professor Spear's paper on Ellenborough and Bentinck.

In addition to the papers read at the section meetings the academic activities of the Congress included an interesting illustrated lecture by Rao Saheb K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, on Pre-Historic Antiquities of the country, on December 15. On the 17th, the delegates had the opportunity of attending the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society for which facilities were provided by the Reception Committee of the Congress.

The social side of the Congress owes much to the hospitality of public-spirited citizens of Calcutta. To meet the members of the Records Commission and the History Congress a pleasant function was organised by the Indian Research Institute of which Dr. B. C. Law is a leading spirit. Dr. S. C. Law was At Home to the members of the Congress on December 16, in his beautiful Aviary. The next day Dr. N. N. Law gave a sumptuous dinner to the distinguished guests at his Residence. The Arts Faculty Club of the University arranged a musical soiree on the opening day of the Session. This was followed by a University lunch at 12 noon the next day, and a dinner given by the Vice-Chancellor at his residence at 8 P.M. The next day the Reception Committee organised a steamer party and the *Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishad* staged two plays, the *Bālacharitam* and the *Bhagavadajjukīyam*. The Session was wound up on December 18 by an excusion to Triveṇī and its environs, the trip being managed by the University History Union. The party visited the Belur Math, the Public library at Uttarapārā, the Serampore College, the church at Chandernagore, the Hooghly

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College, the Imambara, and the Church at Bandel on its way to Triveṇī. A reception was given at Uttarapārā by the local gentry led by Mr. D. N. Mukherji, M.L.A. At Chandernagore Mr. Harihar Seth with his usual generosity entertained the party at lunch. The *Mahāśayas* at Bansberia invited the distinguished visitors to tea in the afternoon.

Papers, discussions, lectures and a trip to historic sites did not exhaust the activities of the Congress at its third session. In the Archaic section a resolution was moved from the chair, and adopted by the scholars assembled, that the Government of India be requested to reconsider its decision about stopping further excavation work by the Archæological Department on account of the financial stringency due to war. The Resolution further invited the co-operation of Indian Universities and other learned bodies in the matter. At the Plenary Session of the Congress on December, 16, a special committee was appointed to explore the financial aspect of the scheme of undertaking a comprehensive history of India. On behalf of the University of the Punjab Professor J. F. Bruce invited the History Congress to hold its next Session at Lahore. The offer was accepted with thanks.

H. C. R. C.

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REVIEWS

MARWAR-KA-ITIHAS, PART I., by Pandit Bisheswar Nath Reu, Superintendent, Archæological Department and Sumer Public Library, Jodhpur.

This is a history of Marwar written by Pandit Bisheswar Nath Reu, a reputed scholar and historian from Jodhpur. It has surpassed, so far as we know, many publications dealing with the vernacular histories of the different States in India.

Pandit Reu has thrown sufficient light on the repeated help given by Rao Ganga, Maldev, Maharaja Ajit Singh, Bijayasingh, etc. of Marwar to the rulers of Mewar, which has either been misunderstood or neglected even by Dr. Gaurishankar Ojha in his History of Rajputana. He has similarly refuted on the basis of good arguments a number of statements advanced by previous and modern scholars about Rao Maldev, Chandrasena, Maharaja Jaswantsingh and Ajit Singh of Marwar and has brought to light numerous hitherto unknown facts as the result of his own scholarly researches.

Mr. Reu has ably criticized Dr. Ojha's charge of treachery against Rao Ranmal and has proved his own statement regarding the conquest of Mandor by Rao Jodha, as this campaign also has been misrepresented or misunderstood in *Rajputane-ka-Itihas.*

The author of this Volume has also given at the beginning of his book a brief history of Marwar of the pre-Rathor period. Pandit Reu's sound judgement and excellent mode of refuting the statements of other scholars is praiseworthy.

We congratulate the Jodhpur Darbar and the Jodhpur Archæological Department for bringing out such an authentic and valuable work which will be helpful to the students of Indian history and will also serve as a model history for other enlightened Indian States.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

REVEALING INDIA'S PAST edited by Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A., with a foreword by A. Foucher. Published by the India Society, London, 1939. Pages 374 with plates and archæological sketch map of India.

The chapter one is devoted to a comprehensive history of the Archæological Department of India from 1862 to 1938, contributed by Sir John Marshall, an ex-Director-General of Archæology in India.

In the second chapter, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit has written a note as to

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the preservation of the monuments in India, and in the latter part of this chapter, he has furnished us with an interesting account of Hindu and Buddhist monuments. So far as the Islamic monuments are concerned, Mr. Zafor Hasan has treated them ably with reference to particular places in northern and eastern India. It is true to say that muslim monuments are scattered more or less throughout the country, but their chief centres are such places as were the capitals of the muslim empire or the independent provincial monarchies. Mr. Moneer has given us a connected account of Islamic monuments in western India, especially in Gujrat, Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Sind and Mandu. It has been pointed out by Sanaullah that the valuable antiquities in Museums in India are subject to decay and ultimate destruction on account of atmospheric influences or local conditions. In this connection, he has pointed out that the numerous monuments in Central India built out of sandstones from the Vindya Range and the Deccan traprock are weathering very badly through the agency of meteoric waters. The famous frescoes at Ajanta and Bagh in the Gwalior State have been very carefully preserved by the application of certain chemical materials which do not produce any injurious effects on them.

The chapter III has been ably handled by N. G. Majumdar confining himself to excavations and explorations of pre-historic and proto-historic artifacts—Indian palæolithic implements, etc. Here we find an account of a discovery of a large number of cairns and stone circles in the Coimbatore District and certain burials contained in cairns and circles at Gajjalakonda in the Kurnool District. He has also referred to the excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa which have brought to light numerous objects of household use and fine specimens of arts and crafts practised by the Indus people. In this chapter he records the discoveries in the field of pre-historic India made by the Archæological Survey since 1921. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni's note on Buddhist monuments, e.g., Asokan Pillars, monuments of Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta, deserves credit. He has also mentioned that the Archæological Survey of India has well served the Buddhist community by the identification and exploration of eight great places of Buddhist pilgrimage, e.g., (1) Lumbini grove, modern Rummindei in Nepal, where Buddha was born, (2) Bodh-Gaya or Gaya, the place of his enlightenment, (3) Isipatana (modern Sarnath near Benares), the place of his first sermon, (4) Kusinagara (modern Kasia in the Gorakhpur District of the United Provinces), the place of his death, etc. These eight places fell into ruin about the twelfth century A.D., and remained buried and forgotten until they were reidentified by Sir Alexander Cunningham. Thanks are due to Sir John Marshall, Sten Konow, Vogel, Hargreaves, Hirananda Shastri and Daya Ram Sahni who were the principal explorers of these sacred places. Dr. Vogel has contributed a masterly note on the North-Western Frontier and Hellenic civilisation. Sir Aurel Stein's note on the exploration in Central Asia is exhaustive and illuminating. He has given details of expeditions from 1900 to 1916. Shuttleworth has dealt with Archæological discoveries in India—Tibet denoting the west-Himalayan countries from the Indus to the Sutlej Valley which once formed the kingdom of western Tibet and are now within the Indian empire.

The chapter IV is devoted to Epigraphy under different heads—(1) Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions by D. R. Bhandarkar, and (2) Muslim Inscriptions by Zafar Hasan. These two notes written by learned authors are very readable and instructive.

The description of the Archæological museums by Hargreaves in Chapter V reveals many interesting details, specially with reference to the Archæological

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section of the Indian Museum, Taj Museum of Agra fort, Delhi fort Museum, Mahenjo-Daro Archæological Museum, Harappa Archæological Museum, Taxila Museum, Lahore fort Museum, Central Asia Antiquities Museum in New Delhi and Burmese Museum at Mandalay and Pague.

Dr. Sten Konow's note on Archæological publications in Chapter VI mentions the most important publications concerning art, architecture, archæology and inscriptions.

In Chapter VII, the work done by the Archæological Department controlled by the undernoted Indian States has been recorded :—Hyderabad by Yazdani, Mysore by Krishna, Baroda by Hirananda Shastri, Jammu and Kashmir by Ram Chandra Kak, Gwalior by Garde, Travancore by Poduval, Jaipur by Daya Ram Sahni, Bhupal, Nagod and Mayurbhanj by Rama Prasad Chanda.

The Chapter VIII treats of the Archæology in Burma which includes Mandalay, Pague and Prome by Charles Duroiselle.

The Chapter IX which is the last chapter contributed by Gordon Hearn on India and the Tourist contains geographical information as to the different places of archæological interest in India and Burma.

The Index is exhaustive. The illustrations given at the end increase the value of the book. The book, though popularly written, is a masterpiece and due credit should be given to authors who have contributed very interesting and instructive notes to this book.

B. C. Law.

A GUIDE TO RAJGIR by Md. Hamid Kuraishi, B.A., revised by A. Ghosh, M.A., published by the Manager of Government Publications, Delhi, 1939. Pages 40 with plates and a map showing the plan of old and new Rajgir.

About 13 miles south-west of Bihar Shariff, Rajgir (ancient Rājagṛha) which stands on an unmetalled District Board road, is a sacred place of pilgrimage for Hindus, Buddhists and Jains. Mr. Ghosh has done a great service by bringing out a revised booklet on Rajgir dealing with its history, ancient names, five hills, mythical kings, activities of Buddha and Mahāvira supplemented by the evidence of the travels of the Chinese pilgrims and Archæological reports. Then he has given us an account of new Rajgir—its foundation, rampart and excavations, etc. His treatment of Venuvana, Sattaparṇi cave, Jain temple, Maniar math, Sonabhāṇḍar caves, etc. deserves mention. Then he has given us an account of Jivaka's mango-grove, Bimbisāra's road, stūpas, ancient fortifications, etc. It is undoubtedly a very useful guide and should be welcomed by scholars and laymen alike. A serviceable index at the end would have been much better.

B. C. Law.

ALIVARDI AND HIS TIMES—by K. K. DATTA, Published by the University of Calcutta, 1939.

This is a useful contribution to the history of Bengal in the eighteenth century. The author has attempted an exhaustive study of his subject for which he has had to utilize a very wide variety of sources. In this volume we read

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in considerable detail the romantic story of Alivardi's rise to power and of the terrible difficulties which he had to contend with in order to maintain it. An interesting chapter is that which describes the character of Alivardi's administration. The author is able to establish that the success of Alivardi's government depended on the zealous services of a band of able Hindu Officers, civil and military. He, however, tells us little of the administrative machinery with which Alivardi governed Bengal.

The author has collected much information on the economic and social condition of Bengal of the period which he has embodied in his work on the *History of the Bengal Subah,* and Chapters VII to IX of the present volume appear to be mere selections of the same information published over again. Often identical sentences appear in the two books and since both have been published by the University of Calcutta, one can not help admiring the generosity of that body in publishing the same matter for the author twice.

A. P. D. G.

THE SUPREME COURT IN CONFLICT, by Dr Indubhusan Banerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Lecture in History, Calcutta University. Bīṇā Library, 15, College Square, Calcutta. 1940, 295 pages.

Dr. Banerjee, whose *Evolution of the Khalsa* has been so widely appreciated in India as well as in Europe, is to be congratulated on the publication of this interesting and useful volume on British administration under Warren Hastings. The central theme of the book is the famous conflict between the Supreme Court and the Governor-General in Council which followed the passing of the Regulating Act. Sir James Stephen is generally regarded as the only authoritative writer on this subject. Dr. Banerjee, however, clearly shows that his account is neither complete nor impartial. It is interesting to learn that, in his unbalanced eagerness to justify the proceedings of the Court, Sir James has not hesitated to misrepresent the views of the Council by suppressing material portions of the relevant documents. Dr. Banerjee has, for the first time, utilised all available despatches and letters dealing with his subject. He has wisely allowed the actors in the drama to speak for themselves, and offered to the reader the fullest opportunity of testing his conclusions. For the first time we get a complete and vivid account of the famous Dacca and Kasijora cases which marked the culmination of the conflict. It is gratifying to learn from the 'Preface' that this volume is merely 'the preliminary clearing of the ground', and that the author intends to give us a fuller account of the controversy in the near future. All readers of the volume under review will undoubtedly join with us in requesting the author to complete his studies as soon as possible.

A. C. BANERJEE.

FOUNDERS OF VIJAYANAGARA by S. Srikantaya. Bangalore, 1938, pp. 161+Index.

This treatise on the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire is divided into five chapters, whereof the first two recount the story of the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India, and the condition of South India up till the rise of

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the Vijayanagara Empire. In a section of the second chapter, the author suggests that Vijayanagara, just before its emergence as the capital of the empire as founded by Harihara and Bukka, was known as Hosapattana, and was a residential capital of the Hoysala Ballāla III. In the third chapter, the author discusses the various theories regarding the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire and upholds the view that Harihara I had been a feudatory (*Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*) of Vīra Ballāla III, and had founded the Vijayanagara Empire in or about 1336 A.D. In the next two chapters, the author maintains that Sāyana's brother, Mādhava, alias Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda (of Sringeri), rendered considerable assistance, financial and otherwise, to Harihara I, in the foundation of the empire, and that Vijayanagara was known as Vidyānagara after Vidyāraṇya. But in view of the strong epigraphical evidences that the *rāja-guru* of the sons of Saṅgama was Kriyāśakti, it is difficult to agree with the author as to Vidyāraṇya's part in building the capital or in the foundation of the empire. And as such, we must cease to be dogmatic on the correctness of the traditional date of the foundation of the empire. But nevertheless, the pages of this monograph bear the stamp of a high degree of scholarship on the part of the author.

N.

VIJAYANAGARA SEXCENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME, Dharwar, 1936, pp. 380.

Under the joint auspices of the Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association and the Karṇāṭaka Historical Research Society, Dharwar, is published this volume on the solemn occasion of the celebrations at Hampi, in December, 1936, commemorating the sexcentenary of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1336 A.D., according to tradition. "The object of the celebrations", as we are told in the Preface, "is to remember with gratitude the rich cultural legacy which the Vijayanagara Empire has bequeathed and the Volume has been so devised as to bring into bold relief the political, literary, artistic and religious aspects of the history of that Empire." We have thus in this volume 32 papers on these various apects written by different scholars like Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Rev. H. Heras, Dr. B. A. Saletore, Dr. M. H. Krishna, Dr. V. Raghavan, etc. Mr. Sripada Rama Sharma's paper on "Vijayanagara and Jainism" requires a particular mention in view of the originality and importance of the theme. Prof. K. K. Basu's paper, "The Battle of Talikota—Before and After" is a highly interesting study. Vijayanagara is no longer a 'forgotten empire'; on the contrary, we now know much more of this mighty and glorious empire of Karṇāṭaka than of many other empires of India that rose either in Ancient or in Mediæval times. Yet much remains to be known, and when the writing of a complete history of the four dynasties of the empire will be undertaken, the Volume under notice is sure to be taken into account not only for general references but new materials as well. Mr. D. P. Karmakar (Secretary, Vijayanagara Commemoration Volume), Mr. V. B. Halabhavi (Chairman, Managing Committee of the Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association) and the G. S. Press of Madras deserve congratulations upon bringing out this neatly printed and well got-up volume, enriched by more than thirty beautiful illustrations. A systematic arrangement of the papers, and the insertion of one or two maps showing the positions of Vijayanagara and the later capitals of the empire, would have appreciably enhanced the value of the Volume.

N.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE INDIAN HISTORY CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION. pp. 623 + Exhibition Souvenir, pp. 98.

This volume contains the Proceedings of the second session of the Indian History Congress held at Allahabad in the second week of October, 1938, with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar as the General President. The lists of the representatives of the various Universities, Colleges, learned Societies and Indian States, and of other delegates who attended the session, and the large number of papers read in the various sections of the Congress, evince what enormous success it did score at Allahabad, thanks to the efforts and zeal of Sir Digby Livingstone Drake-Brockman, Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, General-Secretary, Dr. Banarasi Prasad Saksena and Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Assistant Secretaries, and other secretaries and members of the Working Committee. The work of the Congress at Allahabad was divided into eight sections, viz., Ancient Indian History, Archæology, Early Mediæval History, Sultanate History, Mughal History, Modern Indian History, Sikh History and Marhatta History, presided respectively over by Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Dr. Surenda Nath Sen, Prof. Mohammed Habib, Principal R. P. Khosla, Dr. Balkrishna, Principal Sitaram Kohli and Prof. D. V. Potdar. Besides the learned addresses of the General President and of seven Sectional Presidents (the Presidential Address of the Marhatta History Section being not printed herein), we have in this volume, either in full or in summaries, seventeen papers under Section I (Ancient Indian History), thirteen under II (Archæology), eighteen under III (Early Mediæval and Rajput History), eight under IV (Sultanate Period), twelve under V (Mughal History), four under VI (Sikh history), fifteen under VII (Modern Indian history), and six under VIII (Marhatta history). Most of these ninety-three papers, written all by eminent scholars, have already been reviewed by Sir Safaat Ahmed Khan in his Introduction to these Proceedings, and what is expected of me is to review the Introduction only. Apart from its other features, it is, within a reasonable compass, as able and skilful an analysis, uniformly in a sympathetic intonation, of the papers included in the Proceedings, as it is a highly fascinating study so far as it deals with "the basic problems with which students of British Indian History are constantly faced." 'The Knight-Bachelor of Rohilkhand' knows perfectly well where and how to begin, and how and where to end, and sympathy, therefore, precludes itself from being degenerated into prejudiced compassion in his discussion of the papers. Sir Safaat, however, has left for me the pleasant task of drawing more attention than he has done to the most erudite paper of Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, who adduces cogent evidence to set forth that "the Imperial Guptas, particularly Chandra Gupta II and Kumāra Gupta I, had intimate relations, social, commercial and political with the land of the Kuntalas in the fifth century A.D.," and this may well go to constitute quite a new chapter to the history of the Imperial Guptas.

As to the Exhibition held on the occasion of the History Congress at Allahabad, Rai Bahadur Braj Mohan Vyas shares with Messrs. R. C. Tandan and O. P. Bhatnagar, the credit for the great success that attended it. A complete list of the exhibits, which consisted in a large number of terracottas, sculptures, coins, inscriptions, records, documents, manuscripts and paintings, together with eighteen plates of some of the exihibits, has been appended to in this volume, which is sure of a warm welcome by all students of Indian history. N.

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IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXIV, Part I, January, 1937.

The Bajaur Casket of the reign of Menander by N. G. Majumdar.
Inscriptions on two Relic-caskets from charsadda by N. G. Majumdar.
Pauni Stone Inscription of the Bhāra king Bhagadatta by V. V. Mirashi.
The Jurāḍā Grant of Nēṭṭabhañjadēva by C. R. Krishnamacharlu.
An Inscribed Brick from Nālandā of the year 197 by A. Ghosh.
Śēndamaṅgalam Inscription of Maṇavālapperumal; 5th year by V. Venkatasubba Aiyar.
Regulations of the Sabhā from two Uttaramallūr Inscriptions by K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer.
Notes on the Irdā Copper-plate Grant of king Nayapalādeva by J. C. Ghosh.
Siripuram Plates of Anantavarman, Lord of Kaliṅga by G. V. Srinivasa Rao.

Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 4, December, 1939.

New Light on the History of Bengal by H. C. Ray.
Gaṅgādāsa, the author of the Chandomañjarī and his works by P. K. Gode.
Sanskrit Poetes Vijjā and Morikā by J. B. Chaudhuri.
The Jaina Rāmāyaṇas by D. L. Narasimhachar.
Identification of Bhaṭṭi and Devarāja of the Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka by K. Kumar.
Khasarpaṇa by J. C. Ghosh.
Karkācārya of Acalapura by G. N. Saletore.
A Short Cultural History of the Cāhamānas by S. S. Majumdar.
Caste of the Śuṅgas by J. C. Ghosh.
Date of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya by D. C. Sircar.

Jaina Antiquary, Vol. V, No. 111, *December,* 1939.

Draupadī ke pañcapatitva par vicār by K. B. Shastri.
Mind in Jain philosophy by S. C. Ghosal.
Some Inscriptions on Jaina Images by A. N. Upadhye.

Journal of Indian History, Vol. XVIII, Part 3, *December,* 1939.

The Judges of the Supreme Court at Madras (1801-1862) by G. S. White.
Buddha's Life in Art by B. C. Law.
The Bengal Revolution of 1757 and Raja Ramnarain by S. H. Askari.
Prativādi-Bhayaṅkaram-Aṇṇan by S. K. Aiyangar.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, No. 4, December, 1939.

The Beginnings of Civilization in India by W. N. Brown.

Journal of the Benares Hindu University, Vol. IV, No. 2, 1939.

The Hindu Saṁskāras of Childhood by R. B. Pandey.
Fine Arts as depicted by Kālidāsa by B. S. Upadhya.

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Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXV, Part III-IV, September and December, 1939.

The extent of the Sena kingdom by A. Banerji.

Journal of the Gujarat Research Society, Vol. I, No. 4. October, 1939 (*Dr. Bhagwan Lal Indraji Commemoration Volume*).

Buddhist Relics from Sopara re-examined by K. N. Dikshit.
Dependent origination by B. C. Law.
Kāṭhiawar and Karnāṭaka by B. A. Saletore.
Studies in Varieties of Viṣṇu Images from Gujarat by M. R. Majumdar.
Buddhist Influence in Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ by A. S. Gadre.
The Art of Cutting Hardstone Ware in Ancient and Modern India by M. Chandra.
Kāladi or the Birth-place of Śri Śaṅkara by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar.
Jambu the Asia Major by H. R. Mankad.
Some early Gurjara settlements by S. K. Dikshit.
Non-Vedic Origin of Vaishṇavism by D. R. Bhandarkar.
A Historical Hymn of the Ṛg Veda by M. Patel.
Identification of the Rabaris from Sanskrit Literature by V. S. Agrawala.
Divinity of King in Hindu Polity by A. S. Altekar.

New Indian Antiquary, Ross No, 5, Vol. II, No. 7, October, 1939.

Some Etymological Notes by S. K. Chatterjee.
The Numerals in the Mohenjo Daro Script by H. Heras.
Shāh Ṭāhir of the Deccan by M. H. Hosain.
Bengal and the Rajputs in the Early Mediæval Period by D. C. Sircar.

Poona Orientalist, Vol. IV, No. 3, October, 1939.

Studies in Pāṇini by V. N. Gokhale.
Padacandrikā—A Commentary on Daśakumāracarita by Kavindracarya Saraswati by M. M. Patkar.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXX, No. 2, New Series, October, 1939.

Ābhīras in the Deccan by R. N. Saletore.
Studies in Bird-Myths by S. C. Mitra.
Studies in Plant-Myths by S. C. Mitra.
Advaita Vedānta by P. N. Rao.

Visva-Bharati Quarterly, Vol. V, Part III, New Series, November, 1939—*January,* 1940.

On the Origin of Caste in India by K. M. Sen.

Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., 170, Maniktala Street, Calcutta, and Printed by G. C. Sen, B. Com., The Sree Bharatee Press, 170, Maniktala Street, Calcutta.

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लघुमानसम्

LAGHUMĀNASAM

By

MUÑJĀLĀCĀRYYA

With English Translation, Notes and Illustrations

By N. K. MAJUMDER, M.A.

In India the Science which is based on the luminous celestial objects (stars, planets, etc.) is called the *Joytis-śāstra.* This is broadly divided into two parts—*Gaṇita* (or mathematical, which, in modern language, is Astronomy) and *Phalita* (dealing with the effects on human destinies of the stars, planets, etc. and their movements, termed Astrology in modern nomenclature). Their common name is *Jyotiṣa.*

Gaṇita Jyotiṣa (Astronomy) is divided into (i) *Siddhānta,* (ii) *Tantra,* and (iii) *Karaṇa.* In the *Siddhānta* the calculations start from the beginning of the "creation" (*Kalpādi*); the *Tantra* reckons time from the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* (*Kalyādi*) or 3,102 B.C.; and the *Karaṇa* from any subsequent specified Epoch.* According to another view, the *Siddhānta* deals with the theory on which the astronomical calculations are based, together with their rationale; while the *Karaṇa* gives practical, brief and convenient methods of calculation, without any rationale or theory on which such calculations are based. The *Tantra,* according to this view, is another name for *Gaṇita Jyotiṣa.*

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* See P. C. Sen Gupta, *Khaṇḍakhādyaka,* Chapter I, p. 1. Compare also *Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi, Madhyamādhikāra,* V. 6:

त्रुट्यादिप्रलयान्तकालकलना मानप्रभेदः क्रमा-
च्चारश्च द्यु सदां द्विधा च गणितं प्रश्नास्तथा सोत्तराः।
भूधिष्ण्यग्रहसंस्थितेश्च कथनं यन्त्रादि यत्रोच्यते
सिद्धान्तः स उदाहृतोऽत्र गणितस्कन्धप्रबन्धे बुधैः॥

Also *Śripati's Sidhānta-Śekhara, Sādhanādhyāya,* V. 3:

शतानन्दध्वस्तिप्रभृति त्रुटिपर्य्यन्तसमय-
प्रमाणं भूधिष्ण्यग्रहनिवहसंस्थानकथनम्।
ग्रहेन्द्राणां चाराः सकलगणितं यत्र गदितं
स सिद्धान्तः प्रोक्तो विपुलगणितस्कन्धकुशलैः॥

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The *Siddhānta* is again divided into two parts :—

(a) *Grahaganita,* dealing with theoretical rules of calculation, and (b) *Golaganita, dealing* with their rationale.

The *Phalita Jyotiṣa* is divided into two parts : (i) *Horā* and (ii) *Saṁhitā*.. The *Horā* deals with the determination of good and evil effects of celestial objects on the destinies of individuals, while the *Saṁhitā* deals with such effects on the destinies of a society or a country. The subjects treated of in *Varāha's Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* gives an idea of the comprehensiveness of the *Saṁhitā*.

The *Laghumānasa* is a *Karaṇa* (giving methods of practical astronomical calculations), ascribed to *Muñjālācāryya*. As its name implies, it gives methods by which mental calculations can be made briefly and quickly.

The treatise consists of 60 *Ślokas* (Verses), but there is no mention of the name of the author in any of these *Ślokas*. The name is gathered from the colophon of some of the Manuscripts :

इति मुञ्जालभट्टविरचिते लघुमानसाख्ये करणे शृङ्गोन्नत्यधिकारः ।

(Here ends the Section called *Śringonnati* in the *Karaṇa* named *Lahumānasa* compiled by *Muñjālabhatta*). *Ācāryya* is a common title of Astronomers and Astrologers in India. One of the commentators, *Yallaya,* who seems to belong to the 15th Century A.D., gives the name as *Mañjulācāryya ;* his reasons are that the Sun is called *Mañjula* in the locality where *Mañjulācāryya* lived, and, as *Mañjulācāryya* was as famous as the Sun, he was called *Mañjulācāryya.* We have used the first name as it is more frequently met with in the writings of other authors.

The treatise is divided into 8 Sections :—

I. *Madhyamādhikāra,*
II. *Spaṣṭāddhikāra,*
III. *Tithyadhikāra,*
IV. *Tripraśnādhikāra,*
V. *Grahayutyadhikāra,*
VI. *Sūryyagrahaṇādhikāra,*
VII. *Candragrahaṇādhikāra,* and
VIII. *Śringonnatyadhikāra.*

From certain passages (See Notes under Verse 2) quoted by the commentator, *Praśastidhara,* from another treatise of *Muñjāla,* said to be *Bṛhanmānasa,* it seems that *Muñjāla* flourished about 854 *Śāka* (932 A.D.).

A number of Manuscripts of *Laghumānasa* were procured in 1920

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by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for the Calcutta University from Cochin, Travancore and Madras. T[illegible]nt Text has been collated from these Manuscripts with the help of Pundit Babua Misra, *Jyotiṣā-cāryya,* of the Calcutta University.

1—*Madhyamādhikāra*

(Dealing with Mean Motions of Planets)

Introduction—

प्रकाशादित्यवत् ख्यातो भारद्वाजो द्विजोत्तमः।
लघ्वपूर्वस्फुटोपायं वक्ष्येऽन्यल्लघुमानसम् ॥ १ ॥

prakāśādityavat khyāto bhāradvājo dvijottamah |
laghvapūrvasphutopāyaṁ vakṣye'nyallaghumānasam || 1 ||

1. I, belonging to the *Bhāradwāja Kula,* the best amongst *Brāhmaṇas,* famous as the Sun in (the pattana of) *Prakāśa,* state another (treatise), *Laghumānasa,* giving brief and unprecedented methods of determining the true places (of the planets).

Notes.—The author, as already mentioned, does not state his name. The name is gathered from the colophon and from the commentators.

The word "anyat" means another. This treatise is thus "another" treatise, indicating that *Muñjāla* was the author of another and previous treatise on the subject, which, by comparison with this brief treatise suitable for light mental calculations, is designated by one of the commentators, *Praśastidhara,* as *Bṛhanmānasam.*

The methods given in the Treatise are brief no doubt, and on that account naturally lead to very rough results, but they serve practical purposes for short periods (not exceeding one hundred years according to another commentator, *Yallaya*).

Praśastidhara states in his Introduction to the Commentary of *Laghumānasa*—

एकं चास्ति बहुधा यद्ब्रह्म परं प्रणम्य तद्भक्तया।
लघुमानसकरणस्य तनुते विवृतिम् प्रशस्तिधरः ॥
अल्पग्रन्थमनल्पं प्रायासरहितं परिस्फुटं व्यापि।
समदृग्गणितमतो मे तद्विवृतावस्ति बहुमानः ॥

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which shows his estimate of the Treatise. It is brief in contents (*alpa*), but [illegible] (*alpam*); the calculations are made without effo[illegible] *yāsa-rañi*[illegible] is quite lucid and comprehensive; and the [illegible] calculated ac[illegible]g to the Rules given in the Treatise coincide with the observed p[illegible] two parts 4. [illegible]

The knowledge of elements at the [illegible] sential for subsequent calculations—

चैत्रादौ वारसंक्रान्तितिथ्यर्केन्दूच्चकध्रुवान् ।
ज्ञात्वान्यांश्चार्कवर्षादावाजन्म गणयेत्ततः ॥ २ ॥

Caitrādau vārasaṁkrāntitithyarkenduccakadhruvān |
jñātvānyāṁścārkavarṣādāvājanma gaṇayettatah || 2 ||

2. Having known (a) the day of the week, (*b*) the *tithi* of the (next) *Samkrāṇti* (the sun's passing from one sign into another), and (c) the *Dhruvas* (correct positions) of the sun, the moon and their *uccas* (*Apoges*), at the commencement of the (lunar) month *Caitra*, and (d) the other elements at the commencement of the (next) solar year, one makes calculations for ever from that date (or from those elements).

Notes.—(a) From the following passages quoted by *Praśastidhara*, possibly from the *Bṛhanmānasa* of *Muñjāla*, the following elements seem to have been taken by *Muñjāla* in 854 *Śāka* (932 A.D.):—

कृतशरवसुमित (८५४) शाके चैत्रादौ सौरिवारमध्याह्ने ।
राश्यादिरजनृपार्का (११ रा । १६° । १२′) रविरिन्दूर्भवधृतिद्वियमाः (११रा । १८°।२२′)॥
सूर्य्यान्मन्दोच्चांशा वसुतुरगाः (७८°) पर्वतास्तु सत्रयंशाः (७° । २०′) ।
स्वररवयः (१२७°) खाकृतयो (२२०°) द्विनगभुवो (१७२°)
ऽशोति (८०°) रद्रिजिनयः (२४७°) ॥
द्व्युत्कृतिखानि (२ रा । २६° । ०′) युगोत्कृतिकराब्धयः (४ रा । २६° । ४२′)
खाष्टनव (० रा । ८° । ९′) दशत्रिसुराः (१०रा । ३° । ३३′) ।
गोष्टाविंशतितानाः (९ रा । २८° । ४९′) कुजादयः सूर्य्यभगणान्ते ॥
संक्रान्तितिथिध्रुवकः शक्रा (१४) वसुनवरसेषवो (८ रा । ९°। ५६′) राहोः ।
कृत (४) यम (२) वसु (८) रस (९) दशका (१०) दशाहता शेषपातांशाः ॥

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अयनचलनाः षड़ंशाः पञ्चाशल्लिप्तिका ([illegible] ०′) स्तथैकैकाः ।
प्रत्यब्दं तत्सहितो रविरुत्तर[illegible]
अन्तरयुक्ते हीने भ[illegible]
चक्रीने शत[illegible] तु संक्रमतिथिः स्यात् ॥

INDIAN [illegible]URE

(i) [illegible]di—

(1)	Saturday, Noon ;						
(2)	(Next) *Saṁkrānti Tithi*	14 ;					
(3)	Sun (Longitude) :	11	signs	16	deg.	12	min.
(4)	Moon (Do.)	11	,,	18	,,	22	,,
(5)	*Mandocca* of Sun : 78^0=	2	,,	18	,,	0	,,
(6)	*Mandocca* of Moon :	0	,,	7	,,	20	,,
(7)	Mars (*Mandocca*) : 127^0=	4	,,	7	,,	0	,,
(8)	Mercury (Do.) : 220^0=	7	,,	10	,,	0	,,
(9)	Jupiter (Do.) : 172^0=	5	,,	22	,,	0	,,
(10)	Venus (Do.) : 80^0=	2	,,	20	,,	0	,,
(11)	Saturn (Do.) : 247^0=	8	,,	7	,,	0	,,

(ii) *Varṣādi*—

(12)	Mars (Longitude)	2	,,	26	,,	0	,,
(13)	Mercury (Śig.) (Do.) :	4	,,	26	,,	42	,,
(14)	Jupiter (Do.) :	0	,,	8	,,	9	,,
(15)	Venus (*Śig.*) (Do.) :	10	,,	3	,,	33	,,
(16)	Saturn (Do.) :	9	,,	28	,,	49	,,
(17)	Node of the Moon	8	,,	9	,,	56	,,
(18)	Do. Mars	0	,,	40	,,	0	,,
(19)	Do. Mercury	0	,,	20	,,	0	,,
(20)	Do. Jupiter	0	,,	80	,,	0	,,
(21)	Do. Venus	0	,,	60	,,	0	,,
(22)	Do. Saturn	0	,,	100	,,	0	,,
(23)	*Ayana-calanāṁśa*	0	,,	6	,,	50	,,
	Rate of Precession per solar year	0	,,	0	,,	1	,,

From these illustrations from *Muñjāla's Bṛhanmānasa,* we gather the nature of the elements implied in the *Śloka.*

The following elements given by *Praśastidhara* for 880 *Śāka* and by *Yallaya* (another commentator) for 1404 *Śāka* may also be compared :—

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Praśastid *Yallaya*
... for 1404 *Śāka*
Chaitrādi— ... quite
(1) D... Tuesday, ...g to th... Wednesday, Noon
and incide... ...wo part... 4. ...
(2) *Saṁkrānti Tithi* ... term... ...oo sec...
signs. deg. min. s... N. Dikṣhals,

(3) Sun	11	28	18	11	19	or	30
(4) Moon	0	22	17	11	14	0	0
(5) *Mandocca* of Sun	2	18	0		78		
(6) *Mandocca* of Moon	11	16	18	6	6	33	30
(7) Mars (*Mandocca*)	4	7	0		128		
(8) Mercury (*Mandocca*)	7	10	0		220		
(9) Jupiter (*Mandocca*)	5	22	0		172		
(10) Venus (*Mandocca*)	2	20	0		80		
(11) Saturn (*Mandocca*)	8	7	0		240		
Varsādi—							
(12) Mars	0	22	33*	0	26	0	28
(13) Mercury (*Śīghra*)	4	11	3	1	4	52	11
(14) Jupiter	2	17	13	4	20	8	0

---

* The following *Ślokas* are given by *Praśastidhara*—

भौमात् खाकृत्यमरा (० । २२ । ३३) युगभवरामा (४ । ११ । ३)
द्विसप्तदशविश्वे (२ । १७ । १३) ।
अष्टाकृतयो (८ । २२) वसुनृपषड़श्विनः (८ । १६ । २६) सूर्य्यभगणान्ते ॥
संक्रान्तितिथिध्रुवको यमला (२) स्त्रिनृपाद्रिवह्नयो (३ । १६ । ३७) राहुः ।
कृत (४) यम (२) वसु (८) रस (६) दशका (१०) दशाहताः शेषपातांशाः ॥
अयनचलनास्तथांशा नगा नृपा (७ । १६) लिप्तिकास्तथैकैका ।
प्रत्यब्दं तत्सहितो रविरुत्तरविषुवदादा स्यात् ॥

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15) Venus (*Śīghra*)			22				0
(16) Sa			26			8	2
(17)		16	37	2	4	44	10
(18) Node of Mars		40			40		
(19) Node of Mercury		20			20		
(20) Node of Jupiter		80			80		
(21) Node of Venus		60			60		
(22) Node of Saturn		100			100		
(23) *Ayanacalanāṁśa*	0	7	16		14	48	36
Rate of Precession per solar year	0	0	1	0	0	0	54

78° for the position of the *Mandocca* of the Sun is peculiar to *Āryyabhaṭa* only. No other writer gives this value.

127° for the position of the *Mandocca* of the Mars is the same as given in the *Uttara-Khaṇḍa-Khādyaka* of *Brahmagupta.*

172° for the position of the *Mandocca* of Jupiter agrees very closely with 170° given in the *Uttara-Khaṇḍa-Khādyaka.*

220° and 80° for the positions of the *Mandoccas* of Mercury and Venus exactly agree with what are given in the *Khaṇḍa-Khādyaka* and in *Varāha's Sūryya-Siddhānta.*

247° given by *Praśastidhara* (or *Muñjāla*) for the position of the *Mandocca* of Saturn may be compared to 240° given in the *Khaṇḍa-Khādyaka* and in *Varāha's Sūryya-Siddhānta,* which latter figure agrees with 240° given by *Yallaya* (commentator of *Langhumānasa*) in 1404 *Śāka.*

The following Table compares the positions given by different writers :—

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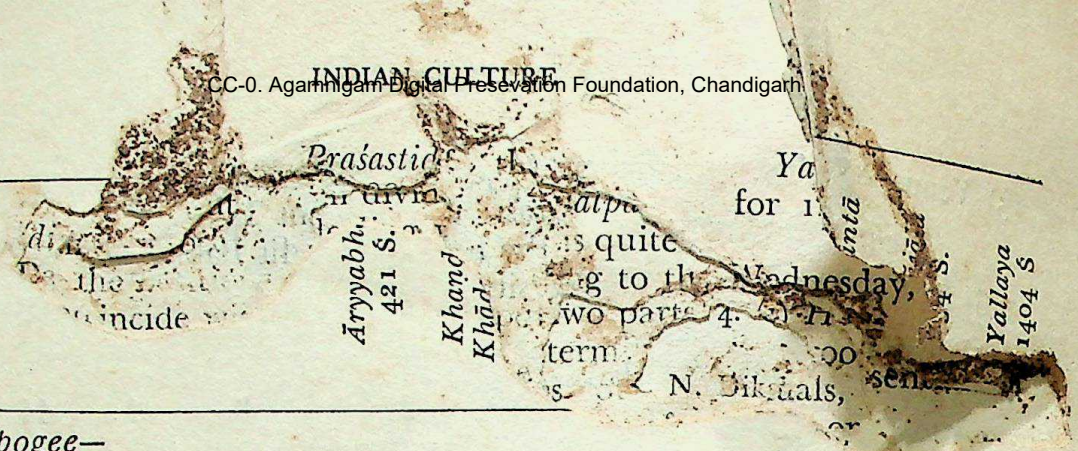

I. *Apogee*—

	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.	deg.
Sun	78	80	77	80	78	78
Mars	118	110	127	110	127	128
Mercury (Śig.)	210	220		220	220	220
Jupiter	180	160	170	160	172	172
Venus (Śig.)	90	80		80	80	80
Saturn	236	240		240	247	240

II. *Nodes* (Retrograde)—

	deg.	deg.		deg.	deg.
Mars	40	40	Not stated in the Text	40	40
Mercury	20	20		20	20
Jupiter	80	80		80	80
Venus	60	60		60	60
Saturn	100	100		100	100

As *Khaṇḍa-Khādyaka* is generally based on *Āryyabhaṭa's* elements, there are strong reasons for assuming that the calculations of *Muñjāla* were based on the same elements.

The positions have been calculated according to *Āryyabhaṭa* and may be compared with the position given by *Muñjāla* as follows :—

854 *Śāka*	*Muñjāla*			*Āryyabhaṭa* with *Lalla's* corrections			
Chaitrādi Śukla—	signs	deg.	min.	signs	deg,	min.	sec.
Sun	11	16	12	11	16	11	34
Moon	11	18	22	11	18	22	
Candrocca	0	7	20	0	7	31	
Varṣādi—							
Mars	2	26	0	2	26	14	
Mercury (*Śig.*)	4	26	42	4	25	35	
Jupiter	0	8	9	0	8	16	
Venus (*Śig.*)	10	3	33	10	3	8	
Saturn	9	28	49	9	28	17	
Node of the Moon	8	9	56	8	15	29	

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CAN WE RECONSTRUCT PRE-BHĀRATA WAR HISTORY?[1]

By A. S. ALTEKAR

Thanks to the efforts of a number of scholars of the last three generations, the political history of ancient India of the post-Buddhist period has now been worked up fairly satisfactorily in its broad outlines. There are still some gaps in this period which have to be filled, but we are more or less sure about the main incidents of the history of this period and their approximate time. The same however cannot be said about [illegible]

CORRIGENDUM.

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Page.	Line.	For	Read
253	22	Rao Saheb	Rao Bahadur.

[illegible] Rājā war period. Quite recently Prof. V. Rangacharya has, in his *Vedic India,* given us an account of early dynasties mentioned in the Vedic and Pauranic literature. Still, however, there is a general reluctance to utilise the Pauranic data for the reconstruction of the history of the pre-Bhārata war period, which is hindering intensive research work in that field. A careful examination of the available data will show that there is nothing unscientific or unhistorical in utilising the data of the Pauranic genealogies of the Pre-Pāṇḍava

1. This paper is the main part of the address delivered by the writer as President of the third session of the Indian History Congress held at Calcutta on 15-12-1939.

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The earliest and the most daring attempt made to reconstruct the political history of the pre-Pāṇḍava period is no doubt that of Pargiter, who has tried to give us some landmarks in the political history of northern India during the second millennium B.C. He was followed by Dr. S. N. Pradhan, who, in his *Chronology of Ancient India,* has done valuable work in discussing the chronology of the post-Dāśarājña war period. Quite recently Prof. V. Rangacharya has, in his *Vedic India,* given us an account of early dynasties mentioned in the Vedic and Pauranic literature. Still, however, there is a general reluctance to utilise the Pauranic data for the reconstruction of the history of the pre-Bhārata war period, which is hindering intensive research work in that field. A careful examination of the available data will show that there is nothing unscientific or unhistorical in utilising the data of the Pauranic genealogies of the Pre-Pāṇḍava

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period for reconstructing the contemporary history, of course after taking all due precautions necessitated by the nature of our original sources and the way in which they have been preserved.

I think that we shall be fully justified in holding, as Pargiter did, that the various dynasties like the Pūrus, Yadus, Druhyus, etc., which the Purāṇas unanimously declare to have ruled before the Bhārata war, were historic ruling families of the period, holding sway in territories indicated by them. There are many lacunæ in these genealogies,[2] and Purāṇas themselves are in many places conscious of them.[3] But we cannot merely on that account pronounce them to be unreal or fictitious. What motives can there be in preparing fictitious genealogies? They are sometimes invented at the instance of a reigning dynasty in order to take its history to a hoary past. But this motive could not operate in the case of the pre-Bhārata war genealogies, for

---

2. Dynastic lists would be a more correct expression to be used for these lists, for the Purāṇas themselves do not always say that each successor in the list was a son or relative of his predecessor. In many cases they only say that so and so came after so and so, without indicating any relationship between them. It is certain that in many cases the successor merely belonged to the tribe of the predecessor and not to his family.

3. One example may be given by way of illustration. According to the Purāṇas Revatī, wife of Balarāma, was the daughter of king Raivata, who flourished only about 90 generations before his son-in-law. Ancient bards were quick to realise that this was an impossible marriage to narrate. They have, therefore, tried to explain this strange wedlock in an interesting and characteristic way. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV. i. 21) tells us that king Raivata went to heaven to consult Brahmadeva about the selection of a proper bridegroom for his daughter Revatī. He, however, soon forgot his mission, being enchanted by the celestial music in heaven, which he went on listening for ages. Eventually he recollected the purpose of his visit and began to discuss the relative merits of the bridegrooms, whom he had tentatively selected when on the earth. Brahmadeva said to him, 'Bewitched by the heavenly music, you do not seem to have realised that you have been here for ages. All your bridegrooms-elect died centuries ago. After your arrival here, demons attacked and destroyed your capital Dvārakā. Well, if you want my advice about your daughter's marriage, I would ask you to give her to Balarāma, who is now living on the earth.' This quaint story, historically interpreted, indicates that the wife of Balarāma belonged to an old Yādava family, which claimed descent from Revata, a hero of hoary antiquity, but which had, owing to vicissitudes of fortune, failed to preserve its genealogy intact. Purāṇas give us the little fragment of the genealogy they knew and cloak their ignorance by the strange story of Raivata's prolonged detention in heaven and the overthrow of his family in his absence.

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most of them were compiled and included in the original Purāṇa some time after the dynasties concerned had flourished and disappeared. There were at that time no descendants of theirs who were interested in claiming a fictitious antiquity for their ancestors.

One may naturally doubt the historicity of characters which figure as heroes and heroines in purely didactic stories. Satyavān and Sāvitrī, Ambarīṣa and Durvāsas, Viśvāmitra and Hariścandra, all belong to this category. They may or may not have been historical personages. But such is surely not the case with most of the kings who figure in the Pauranic genealogies of the pre-Bhārata war period. They are not at all mentioned in connection with any didactic stories but in chapters, which profess to deal with the history of purely human dynasties. A glance at the names of these rulers will show that it would have been very difficult for any Paurāṇika to compile these dynastic lists from pure imagination, either when the original Purāṇa was compiled, or when it was transformed into the present versions early in the Christian era. The names of the kings in these genealogies had long gone out of vogue even in the age of the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads. We hardly ever come across names like Pṛthu, Yuvanāśva, Haryaśva, Tridhanvā, Trayyaruṇa, Sagara, Dilīpa, Ahinagu, Vyuṣitāśva, Dhruvasandhi, Kṛtañjaya, Kūrca, Satyaśravas, Marutta, Udāvasu, etc., among the rulers of the dynasties which have flourished in India subsequent to *c.* 600 B.C. How then could they have been thought of, if the genealogies were purely fictitious? Some of the Rajput genealogies, which seek to establish the connection of the ruling families with the sun or the moon or some epic hero, betray their unhistoric character by the simple circumstance that many of the names mentioned in them are such as became popular only in much later times. Such is not the case with a single pre-Bhārata war genealogy preserved in the Purāṇas.

The genealogies, it may be argued, may not be fictitious ; but what reason is there to warrant the supposition that they were carefully preserved and transmitted? *Prima facie,* they all refer to the second millennium before the Christian era ; how could they have been preserved intact for two thousand years before they were incorporated in the present Purāṇas? This is no doubt a legitimate question, but we can give a satisfactory answer to it.

Though most of the Purāṇas were given their present form at the beginning of the Gupta period, there is no doubt that the Purāṇa in its pristine *pañca-lakṣaṇa* form existed several centuries earlier. It is referred to not only in *Āpastamba* and *Gautama Dharma Sūtras,* but also in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (III, 4, 1-2), *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XVI, 2, 27), *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (X, 7) and the *Śatapatha*

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Brāhmaṇa.[4] Nay, it is mentioned in the *Atharva-veda* itself.[5] This need not surprise us, for the Pauranic tradition asserts that the original Purāṇa was expounded by Dvaipāyana Vyāsa to Romaharṣaṇa at the same time when he arranged the Vedic materials into four Saṁhitās.[6] The *Vāyupurāṇa* further enlightens us as to how this Purāṇa was compiled. It was not by drawing upon fables or imagination, but by putting together *Ākhyānas, Upākhyānas* and *Gāthās,* which were dealing with the history and achievements of the different dynasties, that the original Purāṇa was compiled.[7] It is therefore clear that historical material in the form of stories and ballads existed in society from the Vedic period ; the fact that it is mentioned as a Veda by the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[8] shows that it must have been as highly revered as the hymns themselves. It is no wonder that society should have preserved this literature very carefully. Just as a section of society, the Brāhmaṇas, had addressed itself to the preservation of the hymnal literature, another section of it, the *sūtas,* had dedicated itself to the cultivation and transmission of the Purāṇa literature. We would not have been groping in the dark about the history of the pre-Bhārata war period if this class of scholars had continued to flourish like their *confrères,* the Brāhmaṇas, throughout the whole period of our ancient history, and the study of the Purāṇas had continued to be regarded as a *svādhyāya,* as obligatory as that of the Vedas.

The Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature of the Vedic period, referred to by the *Atharva-veda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* must obviously

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4. मध्वाहुतयो ह वा एता देवानां यदनुशासनानि विद्या वाकोवाक्यमितिहासपुराणं गाथा नाराशंस्यः। स य एवं विद्याननुशासनानि……इतिहासपुराणं गाधा नाराशंसीरित्यहरहः स्वाध्यायमधीते मध्वाहुतिभिरेव तद्देवांस्तर्पयति। XI. 5, 6, 8.

5. इतिहासस्य च वै स पुराणस्य गाथानां नाराशंसीनां स प्रियं धाम भवति य एवं वेद। XV, 6. 12.

6. अस्मिन्युगे क्रतौ व्यासः पाराशर्यः परंतपः।
ब्रह्मणा चोदितः सोऽस्मिन्वेदं व्यस्तुं प्रचक्रमे॥
अथ शिष्यान् स जग्राह चतुरो वेदकारणात्।
… … …॥
इतिहासपुराणस्य वक्तारं सम्यगेव हि।
मां चैव प्रतिजग्राह भगवानीश्वरः प्रभुः॥ 60, 11ff.

7. आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभिः कुलकर्मभिः।
पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः॥ *Ibid,* 21.

8. पुराणं वेदः सोऽयमिति किंचित्पुराणमाचक्षीत। XIII. 4, 3, 13

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have consisted of the genealogies of the earlier and contemporary royal houses and stories about the exploits and achievements of the celebrities among them. If the Purāṇas composed at about the 4th century A.D. could preserve with sufficient accuracy the names of the dynasties and their rulers who had ruled during the preceding millennium, why should not the same feat be possible for the custodians of the Itihāsa-Purāṇa literature of the late Vedic period, especially since it was then held in as high a veneration as the Vedic literature itself?

There can therefore be no doubt that in the late Vedic period there did exist a popular school of historians, which was carefully preserving the skeleton of ancient history. The achievements of famous heroes were often summed up in short pithy stanzas, which used to be transmitted from generation to generation. Many of these have been incorporated in modern Purāṇas, but they can be easily detected. The present Purāṇas usually give us merely a string of names with reference to the pre-Bhārata war dynasties, but when a famous personage comes in, they invariably quote the *nārāśaṁsī-gāthās* about him, which still lived in popular memory. Thus when in the case of the Ikṣvāku dynasty, the name of the famous king Māndhātā is mentioned, the *Vāyupurāṇa* stops its prosaic enumeration and says, 'Here are two verses about this ruler, which have been preserved by the Paurāṇika Brāhmaṇas.'[9] The same procedure is followed when later on other celebrated persons of the dynasty like Triśaṅku, Hariścandra and Dilīpa are mentioned. Similar *nārāśaṁsī-gāthās* about the renowned rulers of other pre-Bhārata war dynasties like Alarka, Jyāmegha, Babhru, Bharata, Arjuna Kārtavīrya, etc., were quite well known in the bardic circles and have been incorporated in the present Purāṇas.

There are also indications to show that some of the custodians of the pre-Bhārata war genealogies were fairly careful students of history, and that the names of kings, which they had preserved, had a real significance for them. Thus when there is an occasion to mention the name of king Nala in the Ikṣvāku genealogy, the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* stop their prosaic enumeration and add, 'There were two Nala kings famous in the Purāṇas. One of them was the son of Vīrasena,

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9. अथाप्युदाहरन्तीमौ श्लोकौ पौराणिका द्विजाः ।
यावत्सूर्य उदयति यावच्च प्रतितिष्ठति ॥
सर्वं तद्यौवनाश्वस्य मांधातुः क्षेत्रमुच्यते ।
अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीमं श्लोकं वंशविदो जनाः ।
यौवनाश्वं महात्मानं यज्वानममितौजसम् ॥ 88, 67.

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and the other was a scion of the Ikṣvāku family.'[10] In the Pūru family there were several kings bearing the names Ṛkṣa, Bhīma, Parīkṣit and Janamejaya ; lest there should be a confusion about their number, the *Brahmapurāṇa* observes, 'In this Soma family, there were two Ṛkṣas and only two Parīkṣits ; Bhīmasenas were three and Janamejayas two.'[11] When, while narrating the Turvaśa genealogy, the *Vāyupurāṇa* has an occasion to mention the name of king Marutta, it stops to add, 'The king Marutta, the son of Avikṣita who was mentioned before, was quite a different personage from this ruler.'[12]

The above quotations will show that the ancient royal genealogies were carefully studied, analysed and preserved by their custodians. We have also seen that they were incorporated in the original Purāṇa as early as the time of Dvaipāyana Vyāsa, that is to say, about fifty years before the Bhārata war. Are we not then fully justified in assuming that the royal houses they refer to, were historic ruling families, holding sway in different parts of northern India during the second millennium before the Christian era ?

A study of these genealogies makes it further clear that they cannot be referred to any pre-Aryan Dravidian ruling families. All the kings mentioned in them were Aryans and the followers of the Vedic religion. The Aryans were well known for their horsemanship and a number of these kings bore names showing their skill in or liking for that line. Bṛhadaśva, Dṛḍhāśva, Haryaśva, Yuvanāśva are only some of the names of this class. The incidental references to contemporary religious conditions and practices make it quite clear that the Vedic sacrificial religion then ruled supreme in society. That even among Kṣatriyas, proper names like Kūrca, Kuśa, Suhotra, Veṇuhotra, Vītihotra, Somaśravas, Sutapā, Mīḍhvā, Divodāsa, Marutta, Somadatta, Devarāta, etc., should occur with fair frequency will show quite clearly that the Vedic sacrificial religion was then in ascendancy. It is surprising to learn that Dhūminī, 'the smoky one,' was the unromantic name of one of the beloved queens of king Ajāmīḍha in the Paurava dynasty. But our surprise vanishes when we learn that this worthy queen had acquired this proud name because she was accustomed to perform a number of sacrifices when she would sleep

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10. नलौ द्वाविति विख्यातौ पुराणेषु दृढ़व्रतौ ।
वीरसेनात्मजश्चैव यश्चेक्ष्वाकूकुलोद्वहः ॥
Vāyu, 88, 174. Matsya, 12. 50.

11. द्वावृक्षौ सोमवंशेऽस्मिन्द्वावेव च परीक्षितौ ।
भीमसेनास्त्रयो विप्रा द्वौ चापि जनमेजयौ ॥ 13, 112.

12. अन्यस्त्वविक्षितो राजा मरुत्त: कथित: पुरा । 99. 2. *Brahma*, 13, 143.

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in the sacrificial pandal on the Kuśa grass. This practice of hers had really made her smoky in colour and given her the curious title, 'the Smoky One.'[13] The names of kings and queens thus make it quite clear that during the time of the ascendancy of the pre-Bhārata war dynasties, the Vedic religion was in vogue. The structure of the caste system, as disclosed by these genealogies, also shows that they must be referring to very ancient days, when the translation of a person of a lower caste into a higher one caused no surprise whatsoever. Later orthodox works were very reluctant to record and admit the elevation of Viśvāmitra to the Brāhmaṇa caste ; they seek to explain it away by various possible and impossible ways and theories. The genealogies of the pre-Bhārata war period, however, narrate in a matter of fact way, without showing the least concern or surprise, how the descendants of a number of Kṣatriya kings like Māndhātā, Jātūkarṇya, Rathītara, Śaunaka, Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, Ajāmīḍha, Mudgala, etc., became Brāhmaṇas and founded celebrated priestly families.[14] That such elevations of Kṣatriyas to Brāhmaṇa status should have been recorded as ordinary events, calling forth no comment or explanation whatever, would show that they really refer to the Hindu society of the Vedic period, when a priest could confess without feeling any awkwardness that his father was a physician and maternal grandmother a stone-cutter.[15] That these facts, so inconsistent with the beliefs of the later age, should have been preserved in Purāṇas even after their transformation into the present form would raise a strong presumption in favour of the hypothesis that the old genealogies were incorporated in the present Purāṇas precisely

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13. हुत्वाग्निं विधिवत्सा तु पवित्रा मितभोजना ।
अग्निहोत्रकुशेष्वेव सुष्वाप सुनिसत्तमाः ॥
तस्यां वै धूम्रवर्णायामजमीढः समेयिवान् ॥ *Matsya*, 50, 91-20.

14. About Ambarīṣa, Yuvanāśva and Hārīta, who were descendants of Māndhātā from one of his younger sons, the *Vāyupurāṇa* says :—

एते ह्यंगिरसः पुत्राः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः । 88, 73.

About the descendants of king Jātūkarṇya, the *Bhāgavata* says :—

ततो ब्रह्मकुलं जातमग्निवेश्यायनं नृप । IX, 2, 22.

About the Paurava family, the *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99. 278, says :—

ब्रह्मक्षत्रस्य यो योनिर्वंशो देवर्षिसत्कृतः ।
क्षेमकं प्राप्य राजानं संस्थां प्राप्स्यति वै कलौ ॥

15. कारुरहं ततो भिषगुपलप्रक्षिणी नना । *Rgveda*; IX, 112, 3.

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in the form in which they were handed down without any conscious effort being made to modernise or change them.

The strongest evidence, however, in favour of the view that the pre-Bhārata war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas flourished before the time of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas is the circumstance that the Pauranic data about many of the royal houses, kings and sages is confirmed by the Vedic literature to a surprising extent. The prevailing impression, largely based upon Pargiter's oft-repeated emphasis on the Brahmanical lack of historic sense, is that there are hardly any points of contact between the Pauranic and Vedic tradition about the ancient history of our country. But such is not really the case. Many of the pre-Bhārata war Pauranic kings and sages reappear in the Vedic literature and it is possible to identify them. The number of such kings is fairly large, especially when we remember that the Vedic literature had really few occasions to refer to contemporary political events.

Some Pauranic kings like Ambarīṣa, Ṛtuparṇa, Pṛṣadhra, Bṛhaduktha, Purumīḷha, Devātithi and Vātāpī appear in the Vedic literature also. But they may or may not be the same, as we have no conclusive data to prove their identity. There are, however, quite a large number of cases where there can be no reasonable doubt that the Pauranic genealogies are really referring to kings who figure in the Vedic literature also. I shall now mention some such typical cases.

(1) In the Ikṣvāku dynasty, Māndhātā Yauvanāśva figures as a well-known emperor, famous as a great sacrificer. Ancient bards had preserved two traditional verses about him which have been included in a number of Purāṇas (*see* p. 267, n. 9). The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* refers to a Brāhmaṇa named Vicāri Kabandha going to the sacrifice of a paramount king named Māndhātā Yauvanāśva, and asking him some questions there.[16] It is obvious that the Brāhmaṇa work is referring to the same king who figures as a great emperor and sacrificer in the Purāṇas.

(2) In the same royal family there later flourished a king named Trayyaruṇa, son of Tridhanvā, who was well known for his strict regard for justice and fair play. Purāṇas narrate how he expelled even his crown prince for abducting a princess, who was being married to another king (*Vāyu*, 88. 78ff). The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* tells us that there was a king named Trayyaruṇa, son of Tridhātu, belonging to the Ikṣvāku dynasty, who did not mind incurring the wrath of his

16. स मांधातुर्यौवनाश्वस्य सार्वभौमस्य राज्ञः सोमं प्रसूतमाजगाम। स सदोऽनुप्रविश्य ऋत्विजश्च यजमानञ्चाम'चयामास। II, 9.

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Purohita by expelling him for running his chariot over a child in the street.[17] It is quite clear that Trayyaruṇa of the Purāṇas is identical with the king of that name occurring in the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* as both belonged to the same dynasty and had fathers of the same name, *Traidhātva* of the Vedic text being a mistake for Traidhanva.

(3) King Hiraṇyanābha of the same dynasty is described in the Purāṇas as a great *yogeśvara* and a keen student of Vedic ritual.[18] Yājñavalkya is stated to have studied Yoga under him. Hiraṇyanābha Kauśalya, mentioned in the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* (XVI. 9. 13) as the Hotā of king Aṭṇāra, and in the *Praśna Upaniṣad* as the proposer of some mystic questions to Sukeśā Bhāradvāja,[19] would appear to be the same personage.

(4) In the Vaiśāli dynasty Marutta, son of Avīkṣita, figures as a powerful emperor and famous sacrificer. Traditional verses have been preserved about him, averring that no one could possibly equal this ruler in the grandeur of sacrifice or the generosity to priests. His name is still sung every morning and evening at the time of *mantrapuṣpa* in every orthodox Hindu family and temple. Purāṇas further state that Saṁvarta was his priest.[20] Now the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* also refers to king Marutta, who was son of Avīkṣita, whose priest was Saṁvarta, and who was very famous as an emperor and sacrificer.[21] It is absolutely clear that the Vedic and the Pauranic traditions are referring to the same king.

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17. द्रप्शो वै राजन्यस्य चय्यरुणस्य त्रैधात्वस्त्वाकस्य पुरोहित आस। XII, 3, 12.

As a consequence of the wrath of the expelled Purohita, Fire declined to ignite. The king managed to get over the difficult situation by inducing the Purohita to return. The Purohita then recited *Ṛgveda*, V. 2. 9 and lo! the Fire ignited once more. *Bṛhaddaivata*, V. 14-23.

18. हिरण्यनाभो महायोगीश्वरो जैमिनिशिष्यः। यतो याज्ञवल्क्यो योगमवाप। Viṣṇu, IV, 4, 48

19. भगवन्, हिरण्यनाभः कौशल्यो राजपुत्रो मामुपेत्यैतं प्रश्नमपृच्छत्।
षोड़शकलं भारद्वाज पुरुषं वेत्थ। VI. 1.

20. मरुत्तो नाम धर्मात्मा चक्रवर्तिसमो नृपः।
संवर्तेन दिवं नीतः समुद्दत्तदृबांधवैः॥ Vāyu, 86, 9.
मरुत्तस्य यथा यज्ञस्तथा कस्त्वं भविष्यति।
सर्वं हिरण्मयं यस्य यज्ञवस्त्वतिशोभनम्॥
अमाद्यदिन्द्रः सोमेन दक्षिणाभिर्द्विजातयः।
मरुतः परिवेष्टारः सदस्याश्च दिवौकसः। Viṣṇu, IV, 1, 17.

21. एतेन ह वै ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण संवर्त आंगिरसो मरुत्तमाविक्षितमभिषिषेच। VIII, 21.

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(5) According to the *Mahābhārata* (XIII, 30, 29-30) king Pratardana of Benares, who had been driven out of his capital by the Haihayas of Cedi country, could succeed in regaining his kingdom by enlisting the help of the sage Bharadvāja. The *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* states that the Apratiratha ritual enables one to conquer his enemies and adds that it enabled Bharadvāja to win back the kingdom for king Pratardana.[22] It is obvious that the *Saṁhitā* is referring to the incident in Benares history, mentioned in the great epic.

(6) There flourished in the Nariṣyanta dynasty just before the Bhārata war a king named Jātukarṇya, who, according to the Purāṇas, founded a *Brahmakula*.[23] In the *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* (26.5) he figures as a venerable sage and a great authority on points in dispute in rituals and philosophy.

(7) In the midst of its prose narrative, the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* quotes a verse about king Babhru, son of Devavṛdha, of the main Yādava dynasty, extolling his greatness and exploits.[24] King Babhru, son of Devavṛdha, who became a great king by virtue of the mysterious efficacy of a certain ritual described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 34), must be identical with him.

(8-10) The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* supports the Pauranic account of the birth of king Bharata from Śakuntalā,[25] as also the story of the love affair of Purūravas and Urvaśī.[26] It also confirms the statement of the Purāṇas[27] that Pañcāla was a new name given to the country some generations before the Bhārata war.[28]

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22. अथैतदप्रतिरथम्। एतेन ह स्म वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं सन्नह्यन्नथ्र्यति ततो ह स वै राष्ट्रमभवत्।
Pañc. Br., XV. 3. 7 also refers to this incident.

23. ततो ब्रह्मकुलं जातमग्निवेश्यायनं नृप। Bhāgavata, IX. 2. 22.

24. यथैव श्रुतो दूरादपश्याम तथान्तिकात्।
बभ्रुः श्रेष्ठो मनुष्याणां देवैर्देववृधः समः॥ IV, 13. 4.

25. शकुंतलाऽप्सरसा भरतं दधे। XIII. 5. 4. 3.
Like the Purāṇas, this *Brāhmaṇa* also described him as a great conqueror and performer of several Aśvamedhas.

26. XI. 5. 4. There is a remarkable agreement about several details of this story.

27. About his five sons, one of whom was Krimilāśva, king Ṛkṣa says :—
पञ्चानां विद्धि पञ्चैव्यान् स्फीता जनपदा युताः।
अलं संरक्षणे तेषां पञ्चाला इति विश्रुताः॥ Vāyu, 99. 198.

28. क्रिवय इति ह पुरा पञ्चालानाचक्षते। XIII. 5. 4. 7.
Krivis seem to be connected with the prince Krimilāśva of the Purāṇas.

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(11) The *Matsya Purāṇa*[29] tells us that prince Devāpi of the Paurava line could not ascend the throne because he was suffering from some skin disease. He eventually became a priest and sacrificed for his brother Śantanu, who succeeded to the throne, and thereby secured rain for the country. Ṛgveda, X. 98. 5 tells us how Devāpi officiated at Śantanu's sacrifice and brought down rain from the sky. The circumstance that the Ṛgveda describes Devāpi as Ārṣṭiṣeṇa need not go against this identification, for Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa could well have been an epithet of Dilīpa, who was Devāpi's father according to the Purāṇas. This would not be a gratuitous assumption, for the Vedic tradition, as recorded in the *Bṛhaddaivata* (VII. 155, VIII. 5) expressly declares that Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa was a brother of Śantanu Kauravya.

(12) Dhṛtarāṣṭra, son of Vicitravīrya, who is mentioned as a king in the Kurupañcāla country in the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* (X. 6) must obviously be identical with the father of Duryodhana who was a son of Vicitravīrya.

(13) According to the Purāṇas, an early king of Benares named Śunahotra had a younger son named Gṛtsamada, who became a great Vedic sage along with his son Śaunaka.[30] The Vedic tradition confirms this Pauranic account, for it assigns the second Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda to Gṛtsamada, and internal evidence shows unmistakably that Śunahotra was his father or ancestor.[31]

(14) The *Brahmapurāṇa* credits the sage Atri with the feat of restoring light to the universe by killing the demon Svarbhānu who had overpowered the sun.[32] This legend, which seems to owe its origin to Atri's astronomical skill in anticipating the occurrence and duration of solar eclipse, finds confirmation in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* in all its important particulars.[33]

(15) The Ṛgvedic evidence shows that the Atris were probably

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29. देवापिस्तु ह्यपध्मातः प्रजाभिरभवन्मुनिः ।
.....
किलासीद्राजपुत्रस्तु कुष्ठी तं नाभ्यपूजयन् ॥ 50, 39 and 41.

30. काश्यः कुशो वीरमद इति गृत्समदादभूत् ।
शुनकः शौनको यस्य बह्वृचप्रवरो मुनिः ॥ Bhāgavata IX, 17. 3.

31. अयं हि ते शुनहोत्रेषु सोम इन्द्र त्वाया परिषिक्तो मदाय ॥ II, 41, 14.

32. स्वर्भानुना हते सूर्ये पतमाने दिवो महीम् ।
तमोऽभिभूते लोके च प्रभा येन प्रवर्तिता ॥ 13. 9.

33. स्वर्भानुर्वासर आदित्यं तमसाऽविध्यत् ।
तस्यावयस्तमोऽपजिघांसंत । 24, 3,

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closely connected with the Kaṇvas;[34] this is confirmed by the Pauranic account about the Paurava genealogy. Atri was a son-in-law of Ṛceyu, an early king in the dynasty, and the Kaṇvas are represented as descendants of a later king Ajāmīḍha through his wife Keśinī.[35] It is interesting to add that the Ṛgveda, IV, 44, 6, also represents descendants of Ajāmīḍha as priests and singers.

(16) According to the *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa,* Vibhāṇḍaka was a pupil of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa* Vibhāṇḍaka officiated as a priest of king Haryaṅga of the Ānava dynasty, who was two generations junior to Ṛṣyaśṛṅga (48.98). The two sources thus confirm each other about the relative chronology of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Vibhāṇḍaka and Haryaṅga.

(17) It is well known that the Vedic evidence shows that the Bharatas rose into prominence after the decline of the Pūrus and were themselves later eclipsed by the Kurupāñcālas. From the Purāṇas we learn that Pūru was the founder of the Paurava family and kings Bharata and Kuru flourished later about 40 and 70 generations respectively. The Pāñcāla dynasty also was founded about 10 generations later than the time of Bharata. It will be thus seen that the Vedic and the Pauranic evidence confirm each other.

(18) The Purāṇas inform us that king Janamejaya II, son of Parīkṣit, had become guilty of *Brahmahatyā,* his chariot having run over and killed a son of the sage Gālava. His people then abandoned him and he could regain his position only when the sage Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka agreed to cleanse him of his guilt by performing an Aśvamedha for him[36] The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* [37] confirms this episode in every particular.

34, प्रियमेधवदत्रिवज्जातवेदो विरूपवत्।
अंगिरस्वन्महीव्रत प्रस्कण्वस्य श्रुधी हवम्। 1. 45. 3.

35. अजमौढस्य कैशिन्यां कण्वः समभवत् किल।
मेधातिथिः सुतस्तस्य तस्मात् काण्वायना द्विजाः॥ Matsya, 49. 16.

36. गार्गस्य हि सुतं बालं स राजा जनमेजयः।
दुर्बुद्धिर्हिंसयामास लोहगंधो नराधिपः॥
पौरजानपदैस्त्यक्तो न लेभे शर्म कर्हिचित्। ...
इन्द्रोतो नाम विख्यातो योऽसौ मुनिरुदारधीः।
याजयामास चेन्द्रोतः शौनको जनमेजयम्॥
अश्वमेधेन राजानं पावनार्थं द्विजोत्तमः॥ Vāyu, 93. 22-25.

37. एतेन हैन्द्रोतो दैवापः शौनको जनमेजयं पारिक्षितं याजयाञ्चकार। तेन ह सर्वां पापकृत्यां सर्वं ब्रह्महत्यामपाजघान। XIII. 5. 4. 1.

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(19) Rohita figures as a son of Hariścandra in the Ikṣvāku genealogy of the Purāṇas and the *Bhāgavata* also describes the sacrifice of Śunaḥśepa (IX. 7. 22-5). There is a substantial agreement between the Pauranic and Vedic tradition about the different functions discharged by different priests on the occasion.[38]

(20) King Sudās, who was the hero of the famous Dāśarājña war of the Ṛgveda, figures in the north Pāñcāla dynasty of the Purāṇas, along with other members of his family like Vadhryaśva, Sṛñjaya, Divodāsa, Sahadeva, Somaka, etc. The precise relationship between some of these persons is not clear both in the Pauranic genealogies and Vedic hymns. I think that we can detect a reference to the Dāśarājña war in the *Mahābhārata* also in the description it gives of the sad lot of the Paurava family at the time of king Saṁvaraṇa. 'When this king was ruling,' says the great epic, 'we hear that there was a great slaughter of people and the Pūrus suffered in various ways. The whole nation was shattered. The Bharatas were attacked by their enemies in immense numbers. The Pāñcāla king invaded the country with a great force, and the Kuru king had to fly to the west with his ministers, family and allies.' Ultimately the Pūrus found an asylum somewhere on the bank of the Indus, where they lived for some time. They then requested sage Vasiṣṭha to become their Purohita and bless and help their effort to regain their dominions. Vasiṣṭha agreed, gave the Pūru king *sāmrājyābhiṣeka* and the Pūrus eventually became successful in regaining their kingdom.[39]

The genealogies show that the Pāñcāla contemporary of king Saṁ-

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38. *Cf. Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra,* 15. 17 with *Bhāgavata,* IX. 7. 22-3 and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* VII, 16.

39. See *Mbh.,* I. 101. 23ff. (Kumbhakonam edition) :—

आर्चे संवरणे राजन् प्रशासति वसुन्धराम् ।
संचयः सुमहानासीत् प्रजानामिति नः श्रुतम् ॥
व्यशीर्यत ततो राष्ट्रं चयैर्नानाविधैस्तदा ।
अभ्यघ्नन् भारतांश्चैव सपत्नानां बलानि च ॥
चालयन् वसुधां चेमां बलेन चतुरंगिणा ।
अभ्यायत्तं च पांचाल्यो विजित्य तरसा मह्वीम् ॥
अक्षौहिणीभिर्दशभिः स एनं समरेऽजयत् ।
ततः सदारः सामात्यः सपुत्रः ससुहृज्जनः ॥
राजा संवरणस्तस्मादपलायत मह्वाभयात् ।

(Continued on the next page)

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varaṇa who had shattered his power, was king Sudāsa. It is precisely this ruler who is the hero of the Dāśarājña war. The Vedic data show that the Pūrus were among the opponents of Sudāsa and that they were completely overthrown in the critical battle fought on the bank of the Paruṣṇī. Marching from the east Sudāsa succeeded in shattering the power of the big confederacy and driving his opponents to the west across the river. This is confirmed by the *Mahābhārata* when it states that the Pūrus eventually found a safe asylum on the Indus. The Vedic tradition makes it quite clear that both Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha had served Sudāsa as his Purohita, and that one of them was later discarded in favour of the other, which led to the long standing enmity between the two priestly families. The statement of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 21) that Sudāsa was coronated by Vasiṣṭha would show that Vasiṣṭha was the original priest of the family, who was later superseded in favour of Viśvāmitra. The epic account supports this view and indicates how Vasiṣṭha wreaked his vengeance. He championed the cause of the Pūrus, who were among his old patron's erstwhile enemies, worked hard for them and eventually enabled them to regain their ancestral kingdom from the descendants of Sudāsa. It will be thus seen that there is a remarkable agreement in the accounts of this war as they have been preserved in the Ṛgveda and the *Mahābhārata.*

I have discussed above some twenty typical and clear cases, where we find the Vedic literature confirming the Pauranic accounts about the kings, sages and incidents of the pre-Bhārata war period. There are some other equally good cases, but they need not be discussed here. I feel sure, however, that the cases discussed above will dispel the usual impression that the pre-Bhārata war genealogies of the Purāṇas are altogether unrelated to the fragments of contemporary and early history as preserved in the Vedic literature. This literature deals with ritualistic, religious and philosophical matters, and we hardly expect it to refer to secular or political history and events. *And yet its close study shows that it confirms to a surprising degree the infor-*

(Continued from the last page).

ते प्रतीचीं पराभूता: प्रपन्ना भारता दिशम् ॥
सिन्धोर्नदस्य मद्दति निकुंजे न्यवसंस्तदा ।
अथाभ्यगच्छद्भरतान् वसिष्ठो भगवानृषि: ॥
तमासमे चोपविष्टं राजा वव्रे स्वयं तदा ।
पुरोहितो भवान्नोऽस्तु राज्याय प्रयतेमहि ॥
औमित्येव वसिष्ठोऽपि भरतान् प्रत्यपद्यत ।

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mation to be gathered from the scanty Pauranic accounts of pre-Bhārata war dynasties on several important points. The conclusion thus becomes irresistible that the various pre-Bhārata war dynasties mentioned in the Purāṇas are as real and historical as the Nandas, or the Mauryas or the Āndhras, which are later described by them, and that we shall be fully justified in reconstructing the political and literary history of the period with their help.

I shall now proceed to do so very briefly. It will be first necessary, however, to determine the date of the Bhārata war. In a later article I propose to show how the most probable date of this war is *c.* 1400 B.C. Let me now assume that date and proceed with the immediate work in hand. On pp. 144-49 of his valuable book, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,* Pargiter has given us a very important table of the contemporary Pauranic dynasties of the pre-Bhārata war period, giving the approximate position of each ruler in his family. To save time and space, I shall be referring here to this table for determining the position of any particular king or event that may be under discussion.

Purāṇas do not supply us with the reign periods of any of the pre-Bhārata war rulers, as they do in the case of almost every king of the post-Śiśunāga period. If they had been inclined to give us a fictitious history, they could have done so with great ease. This regard for the truth which they have shown is indeed admirable. It of course places us under peculiar difficulties in determining the chronology of the period, but we shall have to wade our way as best as we can. We can only determine the chronology of a particular king or event as being so many generations before the Bhārata war. We can get a more approximate idea of the time by fixing a probable average for one reign. We have to deal with very long genealogies, extending over 50 to 90 generations, and so the averages taken from the Maurya or the Mughal dynasty would not be useful. In the case of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty, we have a definitely historical genealogy extending over a very long period and preserved with care and accuracy, which may well excite the envy of any modern record office. We find that the reigns of 40 kings who belonged to this dynasty, covered 656 years. This gives us an average of about $16\frac{1}{2}$ years per reign. We would be therefore erring on the side of caution if we assume that the average reign period in the case of the pre-Bhārata war genealogies was 15 years.

It is now possible to date every one of the incidents and kings mentioned in the 20 cases that I have discussed above, as being so many generations, and therefore years, before the Bhārata war, *i.e.*, before 1400 B.C. I would here content myself with pointing out that

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some of the synchronisms established by the Pauranic data get surprising confirmation from the Vedic evidence also. After describing the miraculous efficacy of the Nārāśaṁsa Soma drink, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 34) informs us that in ancient times it was administered by Pravata and Nārada to kings Somaka, son of Sahadeva, Sahadeva, son of Sṛñjaya, Babhru, son of Devavṛdha and Bhīma and Nagnajit of Vidarbha and Gandhāra countries respectively. It is clear from the above statement that these kings were contemporaries and the Pauranic evidence supports this conclusion. The north Pañcāla genealogy mentions kings Sṛñjaya, Sahadeva and Somaka. The Pauranic tradition agrees with the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* in stating that Somaka was the son of Sahadeva, but differs in observing that *Sṛñjaya* was the grandfather of Sahadeva. King Babhru, son of Devavṛdha, does not figure in Pargiter's tables. He belonged to a junior Yādava branch and was a grandson of king Satvata of the main line through his second son Devavṛdha. This Satvata was a contemporary of Sṛñjaya, and so the contemporaneity presupposed by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* is supported by the Purāṇas in this case also. Bhīma of Vidarbha was also a contemporary of these rulers, as Pargiter's tables show (p. 143). Nagnajit of Gandhāra does not figure in the Pauranic lists and so we cannot test his contemporaneity. The above discussion shows that four out of the five kings mentioned as contemporaries by the Vedic tradition are shown to be so by the Pauranic evidence also. Now the Pauranic genealogies show that these kings flourished about 30 generations, *i.e.*, 450 years before the Bhārata war. We can then confidently place them somewhere in the 19th century B.C. King Sṛñjaya, mentioned above, was four generations junior to king Sudāsa, who was the hero of the Dāśarājña war. This would show that this famous war took place about 60 years earlier; *c.* 1900 B.C. may then be tentatively fixed as the time of that event. The time of other kings like Māndhātā, Trayyaruṇa, Hariścandra, Pratardana, etc., whom I have mentioned in this article, can also be similarly determined.

It is interesting to note that the Pauranic tradition enables us to determine the date of many of the Vedic sages and therefore of the hymns that were composed in their families. It is now high time that we should try to tackle the problem of Vedic chronology by this new method. Vedic scholars are agreed that the so-called family books of the Ṛgveda constitute its earliest nucleus and the Pauranic evidence supports this conclusion. We have shown above (p. 273, f.–n. 30) that Gṛtsamada, the founder of the family whose hymns are included in the IInd Book of the Ṛgveda, was a junior member of the Benares ruling family. He flourished about 85 generations or 1275 years before the Bhārata war and so his time would be *c.* 2700 B.C.

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The majority of the hymns of this Maṇḍala must have been composed during 2700-2500 B.C.

The Pauranic tradition would show that the fifth Maṇḍala would rank next to the second Maṇḍala in antiquity. We have already shown above (p. 273, n. 14) how its traditional author Atri and his apparent success in predicting a solar eclipse are referred to both in the Ṛgveda and the Purāṇas. According to the latter, Atri was a son-in-law of king Ṛceyu of the Paurava dynasty, who flourished about five generations later than Gṛtsamada. His time therefore would be about 2600 B.C. and we should place the early hymns of this book between 2600 B.C. and 2400 B.C.

The fourth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda informs[40] us that two Aryan chiefs, Arṇa and Citraratha, were overthrown by Indra on the bank of the Sarayū in favour of a devotee of his. Some Vedic scholars are inclined to think that the Sarayū, referred to here, may be some river other than the well-known one in Oudh. The Pauranic evidence shows that this gratuitous assumption is altogether unwarranted. Among the kings of the Anu dynasty ruling in Aṅgadeśa, the Purāṇas mention a king named Citraratha. About his father Dharmaratha we are told that he had drunk Soma in the company of Indra on the Viṣṇupāda hill near Gayā and the Kālañjara mountain in Banda district in the south-eastern U.P.[41] It is therefore crystal clear that Dharmaratha and his son Citraratha were holding sway over eastern U.P. and Bihar, and that the river Sarayū was flowing in their dominion. The Ṛgveda expressly describes them as Aryans and the Purāṇas show that the family of at least one of them was following Vedic religion and performing Vedic sacrifices. The fourth Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda can therefore well refer to Aryan chiefs ruling in Kośala and fighting with each other and invoking Indra's help in their wars. The Sarayū mentioned in it is therefore clearly the well-known river of that name in Oudh. According to the Purāṇas, king Citraratha flourished about 40 generations, *i.e.*, 600 years before the Bhārata war. His time then would be *c.* 2000 B.C. Ṛgveda, IV. 31.8, which refers to his death, cannot be earlier than this date. The fourth Maṇḍala would thus be later than Maṇḍalas II and V. It continued to receive

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40. उत त्या सद्य आर्या सरयोरिन्द्र पारतः । अर्णाचित्ररथा वधीः । IV. 41. 18.

41. स वै धर्मरथः श्रीमान् येन विष्णुपदे गिरौ । सोमः शक्रेण सह वै यज्ञे पीतो महात्मना ॥
Vāyu, 99. 102.

तेन धर्मरथेनाथ तदा कालञ्जरे गिरौ । यजता सह शक्रेण सोमः पीतो महात्मना ॥
Brahma, 13, 39.

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further additions for at least two centuries more, for in IV. 15.4 it describes the generosity of kings Sṛñjaya and Sahadeva who flourished three or four generations after the Dāśarājña war. We may therefore determine its time as being *c.* 2000-1800 B.C.

Acccording to the Purāṇas, Viśvāmitra, the author of the third Maṇḍala, was the last member of the Kānyakubja royal house. He renounced his Kṣatriya status in order to found a Brāhmaṇa family. He flourished about 60 generations or 900 years before the Bhārata war. His time therefore would be *c.* 2300 B.C. and the third Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda would then be not earlier than that time. Viśvāmitra's descendants continued to compose hymns for several generations and many of them were admitted into the third Maṇḍala when the canon was finally closed by Vedavyāsa in *c.* 1500 B.C. Some of these later hymns like III. 33, for instance, are as late as 1900 B.C. The hymn above referred to contains a dialogue between a descendant of Viśvāmitra and the rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī, which dramatises a critical incident in connection with the Dāśarājña war. So it cannot be earlier than *c.* 1900 B.C. We can therefore place the third Mṇḍala between 2300 B.C. and 1900 B.C. The Purāṇas throw no light on the probable time of the Vasiṣṭha family ; it is however well-known that Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra families were contemporaneous and so we can place the seventh Maṇḍala also during the above period.

There is a general agreement among Vedic scholars that the eighth Maṇḍala is on the whole later than the family books. The Pauranic evidence supports this conclusion. Vedic hymns describe Kaṇva, the traditional author of this book, as a descendant of Ajamīḷha. Purāṇas confirm the Vedic evidence, for they state that the Kaṇva priestly family was founded by one of the younger sons of king Ajamīḍha of the Paurava dynasty, who flourished about 40 generations before the Bhārata war.[42] The Kaṇva family therefore began to flourish sometime after 2000 B.C., and was thus junior to that of Gṛtsamada, Atri and Viśvāmitra. It was more or less contemporary with that of Vāmadeva. We may therefore place the early hymns of this book between 2000 B.C. and 1800 B.C. It is possible to draw similar inferences about the time of some of the other groups in the Ṛgveda.

The Pauranic evidence thus shows that the hymnal activity of the Vedic period started sometime about 2700 B.C. and continued

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42. अजमीढस्य कैशिन्यां कण्वः समभवत् किल ।
मेधातिथिः सुतस्तस्य तस्मात् काण्वायना द्विजाः ॥
Matsya, 49, 46.

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for more than a thousand years till the canon was finally closed by the compilations of the Saṁhitās by Vedavyāsa about four generations before the Bhārata war. This event may therefore be placed in *c.* 1500 B.C. Some late hymns composed just about this time like those referring to Śantanu and Devāpi were also included in the collection as the central figures therein belonged to the royal family with which Vedavyāsa was closely connected. The later theory that the Vedic hymns ought to be preserved without the change of a single letter or accent did not exist in this age ; the language and vocabulary of the archaic hymns were to some extent assimilated to those of the later times. This linguistic assimilation is suggested by the Pauranic tradition when it declares *that principal Vedic Śākhās arose primarily on account of a difference of reading.*[43] After an exhaustive study of Vedic repetitions, Bloomfield also has come to the conclusion that the *Vedic collection of hymns depends upon a long antecedent activity and that it represents the mixed final precipitate of a later time.*[44] In Vedic hymns therefore we do not find that amount of linguistic variety which we would expect in a collection, consisting of hymns separated from each other by more than a thousand years. We can also understand why there should be such a close similarity between the language of the Veda and that of the Avesta, in spite of the late date of the latter's text. Though the antiquity of the Vedic age goes back to about 2700 B.C., and some of the hymns in the present collection go back to that date, still they do not show that amount of archaicness which we expect them to exhibit, because they were to some extent assimilated to the later forms of language and grammar.

The Pauranic tradition shows that the age of the *Brāhmaṇas* would be *c.* 1600 B.C. to *c.* 1000 B.C. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is usually regarded as one of the latest, and the joint evidence of Vedic and Pauranic tradition shows that it belonged to the latter half of this period. The internal evidence shows that Tura Kāvaṣeya was the founder of certain ritualistic practices and doctrines which are discussed in books VII-X of this work. In the *guruparamparā* list given at the end of the 10th book, he figures as the first human teacher and is folowed by 12 others. This *Brāhmaṇa* was thus receiving additions for about 250 years when its canon was finally closed in the time of Sāñjīvīputra. Now Tura Kāvaṣeya who figures as a very ancient sage

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43. सर्वास्ता हि चतुष्पादाः सर्वास्ता ह्यर्थवाचिकाः ।
पाठान्तरे पृथग्भूता वेदशाखा यथा तथा ॥ Vāyu, 61. 59.

44. Bloomfield, *Vedic Repetitions*, p. 646.

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in the above list of teachers, was a Purohita of king Janamejaya, the grandson of Arjuna, according to the joint testimony of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,*[45] and the *Bhāgavata.*[46] His time therefore would be *c.* 1350 B.C. The time of the composition of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* would thus be *c.* 1350 B.C. to *c.* 1100 B.C. The sage Aruṇa, the father of Uddālaka, was four generations or about 100 years junior to Tura Kāvaṣeya. His son Uddālaka and the latter's pupil Yājñavalkya play a very prominent part in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.* The philosophical theories of this Upaniṣad therefore go back to *c.* 1200 B.C., though it was no doubt given its present form about 40 generations later. What is true of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* would be true of the *Chāndogya* also. The Upaniṣadic thought activity would therefore have to be placed between *c.* 1200 B.C. and 600 B.C.[47] Students of philosophy will readily concede that the philosophical diversity presupposed by Buddhism and Jainism would require at least five hundred years to come into existence.

The above outlines of the Vedic chronology do not come into conflict with any other data. We have seen that if we place the Mahābhārata war in *c.* 1400 B.C., the beginning of the Vedic age cannot be taken back to earlier than *c.* 2700 B.C. The relics of the Indus Valley civilisation show that the Aryans probably came to India after that civilisation disappeared sometime at about this very time. The evidence of this civilisation, as far as we are able to understand it at present, thus seems to confirm our Vedic and political chronology, as outlined above on the Pauranic evidence. We can also understand how the Aryan gods appear in the Mittani inscriptions of the 14th century B.C. As Pargiter has already pointed out, the Aryan emigration to Mesopotamia is suggested by the Pauranic tradition which states that the Druhyu dynasty disappeared from India *because its members migrated to the north and became rulers*

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45. एतेन ह वै ऐन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण तुरः कावषेयः पारिक्षितं जनमेजयमभिषिषेच। तस्माद् जनमेजयः पारिक्षितः समन्तः सर्वतः पृथिवीं जयन् परीयाय अश्वमेधेन ईजे। III. 21,

Compare also VII. 34 & IV. 27.

46. कावषेयं पुरोधाय तुरं तुरगमेधराट्। IX. 22. 37.

47. It is interesting to note that Sir S. Radhakrishnan places the beginning of the Upanishadic age in *c.* 1000 B.C. (*Indian Philosophy,* I. p. 142) and Prof. Ranade in *c.* 1200 B.C. (*Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy,* p. 13).

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over territories inhabited by the Mlecchas.[48] This would support the view that some of them went into Mesopotamia with their Aryan gods and founded their own principalities there.

We shall have to revise very considerably our current ideas about the time of the Aryanisation of northern India in the light of what we have seen above. The usual view that the Aryans had not spread much beyond the Kurupañcāla country in the Brāhmaṇa period will have to be completely abandoned. It was in the first place based upon a fundamental misconception. The Kurupañcāla country was no doubt the centre of the Vedic and Aryan culture in the Brāhmaṇa period. But that need not show that the Aryans had not spread much beyond it at that time. The cultural centre also need not always be the geographical centre of a people or country. Calcutta and Poona are no doubt the centres of modern Bengali and Marathi culture, but they are situated in far off southern corners of Bengal and Mahārāṣṭra respectively. Owing to the presence of the traditional holy rivers like the Sarasvatī, the Dṛṣadvatī, the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, the Kurupañcāla country remained the centre of the Aryan religion and culture for several centuries, even when the Aryans had penetrated to Oudh, Central India and northern Deccan. This penetration will have now to be placed even earlier than 2000 B.C.

It has been already shown above that the internecine war among the Aryans in which king Citraratha lost his life on the bank of the Sarayū in Oudh took place at *c.* 2000 B.C. *(ante,* p. 279). Citraratha's father had offered several sacrifices to Indra on the hills of Viṣṇupāda and Kālañjara. It is therefore clear that the Aryan chiefs who fought on the bank of the Sarayū, must have penetrated into eastern U.P., Oudh, and Bihar sometime before 2000 B.C. The Cedi country, *i.e.,* the territory round Jubbulpore, was colonised about ten generations earlier, as the Yādava genealogy shows. This event may then be placed not later than *c.* 2150 B.C. The generosity of a Caidya king named Kaśu has been praised in the eighth Maṇḍala[49] of the Ṛgveda, the nucleus of which was started in *c.* 2000 B.C. as shown already *(ante,* p. 280). According to the Pauranic tradition, this territory was first colonised by king Cidi belonging to a junior branch of the Yādava family about fifty generations or 750 years before the Bhārata war.

48, प्रचेतसः पुत्रशतं राजानं सर्व एव ते ।
म्लेच्छाराष्ट्राधिपाः सर्वे ह्युदीचीं दिशमाश्रिताः ।
Vāyu, 99. 12

49 यथा चिच्चैद्यः कशुः शतमुष्ट्राणां ददत् सहस्रा दश गोनाम् । VIII. 5. 37.

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We have therefore to place this event in *c.* 2150 B.C. We can therefore well understand how Vedic priests flourishing after 2000 B.C. eulogise the generosity of a later descendant of the founder of the house.

The genealogy of the Benares royal family would show that this famous city was occupied even earlier than *c.* 2600 B.C. It would however appear from the legend of the demon Kṣemaka devastating it for a long time soon after the reign of king Divodāsa, that the Aryans lost their hold over this city for a considerable time. We have seen already *(ante* p. 278) that according to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,* king Bhīma of Vidarbha was a contemporary of king Sahadeva who flourished about four generations after the Dāśarājña war, *i.e.,* in *c.* 1850 B.C., as shown already *(ante,* p. 280). The Northern Deccan must therefore have been occupied by the Aryans sometime before the time of Bhīma. The Pauranic tradition places this event about 25 generations earlier, *i.e.,* sometime in the 22nd century B.C.

The joint testimony of the Vedic and Pauranic traditions thus shows that the whole of the Gangetic plain up to Bihar, Central India and Northern Deccan were already Aryanised at least a century before *c.* 2000 B.C. And this need not cause any surprise, for we have already seen that the Aryans had penetrated into India sometime before 2700 B.C.

In conclusion, I would very respectfully submit that the unexpected confirmation of the Pauranic tradition by the Vedic data about numerous kings, sages and incidents connected with the pre-Bhārata war history, to which I have here drawn pointed attention, shows beyond the shadow of any doubt that *we can well proceed to reconstruct the political and literary history of our country with the help of pre-Bhārata war genealogies. The dynasties of these genealogies are as real and historical as the Mauryas, the Colas or the Moghuls. They flourished in what is known as the Vedic period and many of the Vedic sages were their protégés. They had succeeded in occupying the whole of the Gangetic plain, Central India and the northern Deccan sometime before 2000 B.C. Some of them had sent colonies to Mesopotamia.* The reconstruction of the history of this period is a very difficult, hazardous and slippery task ; but it has got to be attempted, as it refers to a very important period of our culture. The details of the above picture have to be filled, and perhaps even its outlines to be changed, by further patient research.

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DELBRUCK'S INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON OLD INDIAN PROSE.

By A. M. GHATAGE

The following is an English translation of Delbrück's Introduction to his book 'Die altindische Wortfolge aus dem Śatapathabrāhmaṇa' forming the third volume of 'Syntaktische Forschungen.'

The observations about the word-order in Indian languages must be directed, above all, to the oldest prose. It is, therefore, necessary to prefix a few general remarks on it.

The oldest traditional prose of the Indians that we possess, is, no doubt, the non-metrical formulæ appearing in sacrifice. They are handed down to us in great number in the Saṁhitā of the Yajurveda. These are, for the most part, so short and fragmentary and the situation which they describe so little clear that much cannot be gained from them by way of syntactical investigation. On the other hand, of quite extraordinary importance in this context is the prose, which is connected and moving in organic sentences, in which are found the oldest observations on the origin and value of the different parts of the sacrifice and the origin of the natural and ethical world order. A few of them are found in the Atharvaveda, and a great many in the Taittirīyasaṁhitā and they form the major portion of the so-called Brāhmaṇas. It is more than probable that the passages occurring in the Vedic Saṁhitās are old and that the most important Brāhmaṇas like the Aitareya and the Śatapatha closely follow them. These Brāhmaṇas themselves are proved, at closer inspection, to be not fully homogeneous works, but it has been shown that they are put together out of different pieces. (cp. Weber Ind. Stud. 8.371 ff. and 13.265 ff.) Also in the present work there will be an occasion (20) to think of certain discrepancies between different books of the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa. And yet the similarity of style is so great that one can look on not only the Brāhmaṇas but also the prose portions of the Saṁhitās as one big homogeneous mass, for investigations like the one before me.

The contents of these widely discursive books are as unrefreshing as possible. The ritual which is partly put forth in them and partly described or indicated, bears a stamp of limitless trifle and the discus-

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sions of the origin and meaning of individual rites of the sacrifice are, for the most part, as much wonderful as wooden. The philosophical reveries sometimes astonish us by their boldness but make the impression more of a play with ideas than earnest conviction. Delightful are, in fact, only the passage of legendary character, scattered here and there, of which some are written in a quite perfectly narrative tone.

All the more valuable for us is the language. An abundance of instructive material lies therein for those who will pick them up. First of all this prose language is of great interest because it forms the conclusion of Vedic morphology. We can follow, in case of nouns and verbs, how those forms which can be called as extempor formations vanish and those which are preserved arrange themselves under a regular canon, and in case of verbs we can see how the finely formed logical necessity produces new formations. So it cannot be doubted that we can investigate the history of sentence building on no other monument of Indo-Germanic literature so well as on this primitive prose, an assertion for which the present work, as it to be hoped, will give a part of the proof. In the end I may point out that this prose sometimes teaches us the meanings of certain forms which cannot be determined with certainty from the old poetry, and which prove to be old by the comparison of other Indo-Germanic languages. For illustrating these assertions for the time being I give such a form with very old significance (the Imperative in–*tāt*) and as a contrary case a tense newly formed out of a noun (the future in–*tar*).

The Imperative In –*TĀT*.

The Imperative in –*tāt* is used in the ŚB. usually in the 2nd person sing. act. and seldom as the 3rd pers. (11,5,5,10.14,4,1,26.14, 6,11,6.) The modal meaning of the form becomes clear from the following places :

In the 11th book, where the story of Urvaśī and Purūravas is told, the Gandharvas give Purūravas the following direction (11,5,1, 14): *té hocuḥ : saṁvastarám cātuṣprāśyám odanáṁ paca, sá etasyaivāśvatthasya tistrá-tisraḥ samídho ghṛténānvájya samídvatībhir ghṛtávatībhir ṛgbhír abhyá dhattāt, sá yás táto'gnír janitá sá evá sá bhavitéti*/. 'They said : for one year cook food for four, then lay on every time three logs of this aśvattha tree, besmearing them with butter, with utterance of verses in which the words samidh and ghṛta occur ; and the fire which will then arise will be the right one.' It is illuminating that by *paca* an action is dictated, which is to stretch over a year from the moment of speaking, but by *dhattāt* an action which will occur only in a future moment. From the same I cite yet

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another sentence. Urvaśī says to Purūravas : *gandharvā́ vaí te prātár váraṁ dātáras, táṁ vṛṇāsā́ íti/* 'The Gandharvas will grant you a boon tomorrow, which you may choose for you.' Thereupon Purūvas answers : *táṁ vaí me tvámevá vṛṇīṣvéti/* 'Choose it yourself better for me.' She agrees to it and says : *yuṣmā́kam evaíko 'sāníti brūtād íti/* 'Well, then say tomorrow, I will be one of you.' *brūtāt* is here used in the same manner as *dhattāt* before. Pointed is the apposition between *brūhi* and *brūtāt* in the following sentence : *ihaívá mā tíṣṭhantam abhyéhíti brūhi, táṁ tú na ā́gatāṁ pratiprá brūtād íti/* 3,2,1,22. The gods point out to the Yajña in this sentence, how he is to win the vāk and speak to him so : Say *(brūhi)* to her 'come to me, while I remain standing here,' and when she has come, then inform *(brūtāt)* us. Often *–tāt* follows on a conditional sentence of the same kind as those which have èàn in Greek with the conj. e.g. *yádi tvaitát púnar brúvataḥ sá tváṁ brūtāt/* 'when they speak you thus, then answer them as follows.' 4,1,5,10. Equally clear is the meaning of the form standing in the address, 11,5,1,11. *(saṁvastaratamíṁ rā́triṁ ā́ gacchatāt)* and so also in 11,5,1,1. where it is said : *Urvā́śī hāpsarā́ḥ purūrávasam aiḍáṁ cakame, táṁ ha vindámānovāca :tríḥ sma mā́nho vaitaséna daṇḍéna hatāt/* Urvaśī the Apsaras loved P. the son of Ilā. When she took him to be her husband she said to him : (when we will become husband and wife) so you may three times the day etc.'

I know only one place in which the form in *–tāt* appears to have a different meaning, namely 11,6,1,2. *sá hovāca prā́ñ putraka vrajatāt/* Varuṇa spoke, wander to the east my son, an invitation which can have a reference to nothing else than the present.The cause of deviation becomes immediately clear when one reads further : *tátra yát pā́syes tád dṛṣṭvā́ dakṣṇā́ vrajatāt, tátra yát pā́syes tát dṛṣṭvā́ pratyā́g vrajatāt* etc. Because *vrajatāt* is justified in the second and the third instance etc. so it is used also in the first place as well, for the sake of harmony of style.

So it is proved that the Imperative in *–tāt* contains a direction which is to become a fact only at a future moment.

This form, as the direction pertains to the future, is naturally particularly suitable to express such desires which we give in the form of invitation as for example when we call to a departing person 'when you have reached all, come back well' and the like. So it is to be understood when Pāṇini 7,1,35. says ; the form in *–tāt* stands for *āśiṣi* i.e. for a benediction.

Now we compare with this the situation in Ṛgveda. First of all as regards the division into persons, I hold against *Sāyaṇa* and

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Grassmann, that in the refrain in 10,154 *gacchatāt* is to be taken as the third person. In verses 1-3, one could indeed regard that the departed or the one who is dying is addressed and so recognize the 2nd person *gacchatāt,* but verses 4 and 5 show that the prayer is directed to Yama. It would be unbearable to take *gacchatāt* as the second person and yet not to connect it with Yama. The annotators take *vahatāt* 10,24,5 as dual, but one can preserve the singular, if one regards that indeed two are meant but only one is addressed, a peculiarity of expression which really must have been caused by the necessity of metre. In all other cases *–tāt* is certainly second Sing.

As regards the modal significance, agreement with the usage of the ŚB. is to be found in a series of cases, e.g., *yadā́ śṛtáṁ kṛṇávo jātavedó 'them enaṁ prá hiṇtāt pitṝ́bhyaḥ/'* when you have cooked it, O J. then send it to the fathers 10, 16, 1 (cp. 2). Similarly 1,48, 15. 104,5.3,8,1.5,60,6. (which we will offer). 9,86, 41. (when you have drunk). 10,11,8.10,30,5.

In a second series of places one recognizes the meaning not so easily, but it becomes clear when one notes that the form in *–tāt* does not open the invitation but follows another imperative, e.g. *úd agne tiṣṭha práty á tanuṣva ny àmítrāñ oṣatāt* etc. 'raise yourself O Agni, string the bow and then burn down the enemies' 4,4,4. Similarly 2,30,5.3,18,1,23,2.4,16,12. The rest is formed by a few places which are not clear enough (5,50,2.61,18.10,24,5.) and then a few in which one must admit in an impartial manner that the imperative in *–tāt* is used in no other way but as the usual imperative, namely 8,3,2. 10,154 and 4,54,3. In the first two places indeed the acceptance of the Brāhmaṇa–meaning of the imperative is not impossible (one is compelled then to accept that 10,154 deals with a departed person); I do not know how to justify this meaning in 4,54,3 as one can scarcely take that the begged for forgiveness of sins is to follow only in the next life. So it happens that the Brāhmaṇa meaning suits in the majority of cases in Ṛgveda but not in all. The same should happen if one follows this form in the liturgical Vedas, only that the places which are not quite clear are naturally greater.

If one desired to judge the phenomenon represented here simply from the stand point of Sanskrit one could perhaps come to the hypothesis that *–tāt* had not from the beginning a meaning different from that *–tu* and *–i,* and yet in Ṛgveda is seen a differentiation of forms originally having the same meaning, and this differentiation is completed in the ŚB. Against this interpretation Latin raises a protest. The Imp. in *–to* has exactly the same meaning as the form in *–tāt* in ŚB. (cp. Draeger Hist. Syntax der lat. Spra. 1,298). It would be unnatural to accept that this agreement is accidental. We must, therefore, ac-

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cept for the Indo-Germanic an Imp. in *-tāt* with the meaning described above.

While I reserve for some other place to draw the consequences of this fact with reference to Greek, I will merely point out here, how I would like to explain the relation of facts in Ṛgveda. I believe, it is to be explained from the circumstance that the Vedic poets did not always know to reconcile the demands of the language with the metre fully. That a poet has not to do violence to language forms and meaning *metri causa* will not be doubted by any body today. But one must also take care, on the other side, in applying the standards of Greek to other people. Many of the Vedic poets are in fact so constituted that one can indeed believe in them that they would have overlooked very minor shades of meaning in the choice of forms when the metre imperatively demanded one of the forms. Something similar is to be perceived in the use of Active and Medial, which appears older in prose than in Veda or even in Epics.

THE FUTURE IN *-TAR.*

(in comparison with the future in -syati).

I now turn to the future in *-tar.* According to my knowledge, Bollensen (Or. u. Occ. 2,483) is the first who expressed that this future does not exist in Ṛgveda. That he is right does not appear to me doubtful, even when Grassmann in his Wörterbuch takes these forms in *-tar* which are construed with Acc. as participles (III) of verbs (cp. under the roots *kṛ gam ci ji tar dā dhā nī pā bhar yam yā van śaṅs śru sad tan sah su han* etc.). But the construction with Acc. is not a sufficient reason to reckon a nominal form under a verb, for otherwise, for example, in the verse *gántéyānti sávanā háribhyāṁ babhrír vájraṁ papíḥ sómaṁ dadír gáḥ|* RV. 6,23,4. also *babhriḥ* etc. must be regarded as participles, and the same holds good in case of many adjectives in *-uka,* the frequent appearance of which is a characteristic feature of TS. e.g. *véduko váso bhavati yá evám véda|* 'he gets a cloth who knows this' TS. 5,1,5,3. *grāmyān paśún dáṅśukāḥ syuḥ|* 'they would bite the tame animals' 5,2,9,6. *tásmād ápo 'gníṁhárukāḥ|* 'therefore the waters consume the fire' 5,6,4,5. *kámukā enaṁ stríyo bhavanti yá evám véda|* 'him the wives love who knows this' 6,1,6,6. *udāvartáḥ prajá gráhukaḥ syāt|* 'sickness will catch his progeny' 6,4,1,1. and many others. It appears to me also clear that one has not sufficient reason to relate to verbs a part of nouns in *-tar,* and indeed much less, as no outside distinction of the noun and the participle (something like accent) can be carried out, as Grassmann takes as participles both *nétar* and *netár, yántar* and *yantár, śrótar* and *śrotár, hántar* and *hantár.* That the

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nouns in *–tar,* when construed with Acc. have a future meaning in RV. is not found by me. (cp. the collection in Kuhn KZ. 18,390). At any rate no place in RV. is pointed out in which a noun in *–tar* joined with a form of *as* or standing alone, points out to a future happening of a definite event. I, therefore, hold fast to it (after I have verified the places considered by Grassmann to have a participle meaning) that a future in *–tar* is not to be found in RV. A definite example of this form I find in TS. 2,6,2,3. *keśínaṁ ha dārbhyáṁ keśí sátyakāmir uvāca : saptápadāṁ te śákvarīṁ śvó yajñé prayoktáse|* 'K.S. spoke to K.. D. tomorrow in your sacrifice you will use a śakvarī of seven lines.' In this sentence a definite event at a definite time is placed in view and therefore the future meaning is undoubtful.

Now in ŚB. we find the same use of the future in *–tar.* Often with it there is found a statement of time as in this sentence in TS. Such cases are : *tásmād idám adyáhar átha rátrirátha śvó 'har bhavitá|* 'therefore to day here is day, then night, then tomorrow there will be day again' 4,3,1,11. *yáthā yébhyaḥ pakṣyánt syát tán brūyád ityahé vaḥ paktásmíti|* 'as one says to them whom he wishes to entertain, with so and so many will I entertain you' 3,3,4,17. *gandharvá vai te prātár váraṁ dātáraḥ|* 'the Gandharvas will grant you tomorrow a boon' 11,5,1,12. *sá hovāca saṁvastaratamíṁ rátriṁ á gacchatāt tán ma ékāṁ rátriṁ ánte śayitáse jātá u te 'yáṁ tárhi putró blavitéti|*' 'Urvaśī spoke : this night after a year, you are to come back, then you will sleep with me for a night, and then will this your son (with whom she was pregnant) be born 11,5,1,11. *'śvó nòdetá|* 'tomorrow it will not rise' 1,6,4,14. 11,1,4,1. Or when no definite time is given, yet contrast between the future and the present is clearly emphasised. *etáddha sma vai tád vidván āha gaúrivītiḥ śāktyáḥ kṣatráṁ iváha kíla vayáṁ amúṣmin loké bhavitásma íti|* 'in this knowledge says G. Ś. we will be in the other world like warriors 12,8,3,7.' *etáddha sma vai tád vidván āha śvetáketur āruṇeyáḥ : káṁ svid evāpariṣu mahānāgáṁ ivābhisaṁsáraṁ didṛkṣitāro yá evám etád prayājānāṁ yáśo veditéti|* 'in this knowledge says Ś.A.: in future people will stream together and will look on him as a great serpent who knows the prayājās thus 11,2,7,12. *'saìvèyám adyápi pratiṣṭhá sò evápyáto 'dhi bhaviá|* 'this is to-day the basis and will be also in future 7,1,2,8.' Very similar are 3,9,4,24. 9,4,4,16. In all cases the occurrance of the event in future is regarded as certain, as it also becomes clear from the following sentences : *bibhṛhí mā pārayiṣyámi tvéti, kásmān mā pārayiṣyasíti|* '(the fish says to Manu) nourish me and then I will save you. From what will you save me? A flood will carry off all creatures, from it will I save you 1,8,1,2.' The willing offer is expressed by *pārayiṣyāmi,* the definite forecast through the future in *–tar.* So also in

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the 3 and 4 verses of the same story. At the end, two nearly identical places are to be cited. *taú cén me vivakṣyáti ná vaí jātu yuṣmākam imáṁ káścid brahmódyaṁ jetéti|* 'if he can answer to me these two questions, he will not be conquered by any body in a dispute' 14,6,8,1. cp. 12.

Therefore it is without doubt that the future in *–tar* points out to a definite occurrence of an event in the future and indeed objectively without any appearance of the view or hope of the subject. How this meaning has arisen, can be easily appreciated. *yó vivakṣyáti sá jetā* means, taken exactly, 'he who guesses is a victor.' The nouns in *–tar* express that a subject merges into a definite act, they therefore attribute a quality to a subject with a certain emphasis. Now it becomes clear of itself that when we do not want to adjudge an action with a definite time-sequence, we desire to know it as pertaining to the present and so the nouns in *–tar* come to have the sense of the present. How the future can develop from it, can be felt from the present in German.

Comparison with the Future in *-syati.*

To understand this future in *–tar* in its limitations, it is necessary to compare it with the future in *-syati.* This one is more frequent in use and varied in meaning than the one in *–tar.* Yet on account of the great evenness of the style of the ŚB. a comparatively few cases, which I pick from about 500 cases before me, would suffice to determine the chief types of usage. In the representation of the manifold usages of a form a kind of choice is unavoidable. The arrangement will always be influenced by the idea which the investigator has formed of the oldest meaning of the form. In the present case, I believe, it will be correct to start from the use of the participle of the future. Now the participle often points out the intention of the subject, e.g., *tám índro 'bhyā́ dudrāva haniṣyán|* 'Indra ran after him in order to kill him' 1,6,3,16. Through the union of this participle with the indicative *bhavati* and the optative *syāt* threre arises a tense which is frequent in this prose, which is related to the desiderative nearly in the manner as the conjunctive to the operative in the field of moods. A few illustrations will make the use clear: In 2,3,4,10 the RV. verse 1,74,1, is explained as follows: *sá āha upaprayánto adhvarám ítyadhvaró vaí yajñá upaprayánto yajñám íty evaìtád āha mántraṁ vocemāgnáya íti mántram u hy àsmā etád vakṣyán bhavati* i.e. he says *upaprayanto adhvaraṁ,* now *yajña* is as good as *adhvara,* he, therfeore, says by it *upaprayanto yajñaṁ,* he continues *mantraṁ vocemāgnaye,* he has the intention to offer a chant to Agni. In another place 3,2,2,23. it is said of the sacrificer *átha yátra suptvā́ púnar návadrāsyán bhávati* 'when he has slept and has no intention

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to slumber any further then he shall say certain incantations. In 3,2,2,20 it is said of the sacrificer *yátra mekṣyán bhávati* 'when he has the intention to make water then he shall make a hole etc.' The optative with *syāt* one can see in the following (I have not found *bhavet*). *yáthā yéna váhanena syantsyánt syắt tát súhitaṁ kártavaí brūyắt evám* 'this is so, as if, one who intends to drive, causes to bring a chariot in order' 2,1,4,4. *tásmād yátrāgníṁ manthiṣyánt syắt tád áśvam ắnetavaí brūyāt* 'therefore let one cause to bring a horse there, where one intends to produce fire 2,1,4,19. *'utávarṣiṣyan várṣaty evá'* even when it has not the intention to rain, it rains TS. 2,4,10,3. and so in many other places.

In quite a similar manner the indicative of the future is used so that it expresses the intention of the subject of the action. The sacrificer directs to Agni the verse : *ágne tvaṁ sú jāgṛhi vayáṁ sú mandiṣīmahi,* which is explained in 3,2,2,22. as *tváṁ jāgṛhi vayáṁ svapsyāmahḥ* 'you keep awake, we wish to sleep.' Some one says *prakṣyámi* 'I will ask you something' on this is given the answer *pṛccha* 'ask' 11,5,3,8. while in a similar place i.e. Ch. Up. 3,8,3. the conjunctive *pṛcchāni* stands. An animal is called *asaú, éhi rắjā tvā pakṣyate* 'come on, the king will consume you' 5,3,5,4. So the future very often stands in offerings, for which an example has been already cited in the future *pārayiṣyāmi* 1,8,1,2. The gods attempt to win the Vāk through play and dance and promise her : *íti vaí te vayáṁ gāsyāma íti tvā prá modayiṣyāmahe* 'so we will sing to you and delight you' 3,2,4,6. *té hocuḥ: á vaí vayám agnī́ dhāsyāmahe, átha yūyáṁ kím kariṣyatha* 'we wish to place both the fires, but what will you do, what do you offer to do?' 2,2,2,12. The intention of the subject of the action, to do or to omit something, can produce in the speaker certain emotions like expectation, hope, fear and faith and it is exactly in case of such thoughts that the future is used, as the following examples show. *śarvā ha vaí devátā adhvaryúṁ havír grahīṣyántam úpa tiṣṭhante máma náma grahīṣyati máma náma grahīṣyatíti* 'all gods step to the priest, and when he is about to take the *havis,* they think at that time, he will take their name 1,1,2,18.' *etáddha vaí graháپateḥ proṣúṣa ágatād gṛháḥ samúttrastā iva bhavanti kím ayám ihá vadiṣyáti kíṁ vā kariṣyatíti* 'so the members of the house are full of fear of the house-lord who had gone on a journey and who had come back, because they think what will he now say, what will he now do? 2,4,1,14.' *yó vaí brāhmaṇáṁ vā śáṅsamāno 'nucárati kṣatríyaṁ vāyáṁ me dāsyatíti/'* 'who turns to a br. or a kṣa. with the faith that he will give me something' 2,3,4,6. The essential factor for the formation of the meanings is the imitation of the traditional type, which can be changed a little at every imitation. So it is not to be wondered when, for example, with *ā śaṅs* also

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a future of a verb is found used, which denotes an action which is deprived of the determination of the actor, as in the sentence *tásminn ā śaṅsanté 'nnam icchati jīviṣyáti'* (of a sick person who wishes food) one hopes that he asks for food, he will live 8,5,2,1. 'While other sentences were formed after these, there arose the habit to use the future in such events which from the stand-point of the speaker can occur in a possible or probable manner without one being able to say that they were present in the intention of the subject of the action. e.g. *índro ha vắ īkṣắṁ cakre mahád vắ itó 'bhvaṁ janiṣyata iti|* 'Indra thought, from it will arise a great monster 3,2,1,26.' Here belong the innumerable futures which speak out the possible effects of a mistake in the sacrifice, e.g. in 1,6,1,16. when one does so and so, so the priest shall say to him: *múkkhyām ártiṁ áriṣyasy andhó vā badhitó vā bhaviṣyasíty etá vaí múkhyā ártayas táthā haivá syāt* 'you will get a great sickness, you will become blind or deaf (then these are the main sicknesses) so can it happen. (the addition *táthā haivá syāt* which expressly expresses the possibility, runs a little more in the eleventh, twelfth and fourteenth books: *īśvaró ha táthaivá syāt* 'it is possible that it may so happen). The imitation can also cause changes in other directions. If one can use the future with *ā śaṅs* 'to have faith' as in the above sentence 8,5,2,1 so one can now also use with *vid* 'to know' e.g. *taú yádi kṛṣṇaú syắtāṁ anyataró vā kṛṣṇás tátra vidyāt : varṣiṣyáty, aiṣámaḥ parjányo vṝṣṭimān bhaviṣyatíti* 'when in a ceremony both the bulls are black or one of them is black, so can one conclude from it that it will rain, to-day Parjanya will be rich in rain 3,3,4,11.' So the future in *–syati* approaches the future in *–tar,* so in the forecast *purètithyaí mariṣyasi* 'you will die before so and so many' 11,6,3,11; and also occurs at the same time with it in the sentence *taú cén me vivakṣyáti ná vaí jātu yuṣmákam imáṁ káścid brahmó dyaṁ jetéti, táu cén me návivakṣyáti mádhāsya ví patiṣyatíti* 14,6,8,1. It is, however, very noteworthy that the exact dating which we come across with future in *–tar* so often, do not come forth with the future in *–syati.* In the great number of examples which I have gone through, I have only found a few in which *prātár* stands with the future and these are exactly characteristic of the difference between the two futures. Above I have cited the sentence which expresses the forecast of Urvaśī: *gandharvás te prātár váraṁ dātáraḥ* 'the Gandharvas will grant you a boon tomorrow' with this one can now compare 1,1,1,7 *máno ha vaí devá manuṣyàsyá jānanti, tá enam etádvratám upayántaṁ viduḥ prātár no yakṣyata íti.* In this sentence an occurrence which happens once is not predicted but a natural conclusion happening always is drawn. It is to be rendered exactly as 'the gods know the mind of men, always when he accepts this vow they know of him that

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he will offer to them tomorrow.' Similarly 2,3,1,13 and also 11,2,4,10.

It is not my intention to follow further the development of the future-idea namely not to point out how the same receives some other turn appearing in the second person and how it is recognized in diffent types of sentences. It is sufficient for me to have shown that the ŚB. possesses three tenses to which we can give the name future according to our classical terminology, namely formed of *dā: dāsyán bhavati,* with the optative *dāsyán syāt; dāsyámi; dātá;* and that these three tenses distinguish themselves from each other clearly according to use. It is without doubt that only one of them, *dāsyámi,* is an Indo-Germanic formation, the other two formations are younger than than Ṛgveda.

I hope these illustrations will suffice to show that the syntactical research can win a great deal from the Brāhmaṇas.

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SOME ASPECTS OF MUSLIM POLITY IN EARLY MEDIÆVAL INDIA (1236–46 A.D.).

By S. K. Banerji

Iltutmish died on April, 29, 1236 A.D. after a reign of twenty-five years. Though he had nominated his eldest daughter, Razia Sultānā, as his heir-apparent, the nobles disregarded his wishes and raised to the throne his eldest surviving son, Ruknuddīn Fīrūz. They probably thought that while Razia being a woman was not acceptable to the Muslims, Ruknuddīn Fīrūz on account of his experience as governor successively of Badāūn and of Lahore would be. In fact according to Minhāj. 'The people had their eyes upon him since after (the late) Malik Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, he was the eldest of the Sultān's sons.'

So they raised Ruknuddīn to the throne. But within a short time they had to regret their choice for more than one reason ;

Firstly, as Minhāj says,

'As soon as the *Maliks* returned from the court to their head-quarters, Sultān Ruknuddīn opened the doors of the treasuries and plunged himself in pleasure ; and in the distribution of the wealth of the treasuries showed improper excess ; owing to his too much greed for enjoyment and amusement, disorder crept in the affairs, the policies, and the administration of the kingdom.'

Secondly, Ruknuddīn's mother was alienating the people by her tyranny. In Iltutmish's reign, she was the head of the female establishment of the palace and bore the titles or Khudāwanda-i-jahān, Shāh-i-Turkān.[1] Now, as the Sultān's mother she began to control the affairs of the State. In Minhāj's words, 'His (the Sultān's) mother, Shāh-i-Turkān, began to control the loosening and trying (of the affairs) of the kingdom and issue the *farmāns.*'

The nobles who had refused to make Razia their sovereign now found an equally impossible situation, viz. the dictation of a woman. Things might have been allowed to drift for some time more, if Shāh-i-Turkān had been content with the mere issue of the *farmāns.*

Thirdly, the Muslims in general and the nobles in particular

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1. *T. N.* p. 181.

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held Iltutmish's memory in good esteem, and hence it was their desire that all those who had any relation with him should be allowed to enjoy peace and security. But it appears that Shāh-i-Turkān did not subscribe to this policy. She bore grudge against those women who in Iltutmish's life-time had looked down upon her in hauteur and disdain. Her treatment of them may be described in Minhāj's words, '(She) caused injury to the women inmates of the palace and by her tyranny caused the death of several of them.....In addition to these actions, she ordered the blinding of the late Sultān's son, Qutbuddīn, who was wholly unobjectionable (in his behavour) and the orders were carried out.'

The result was that the *Maliks* rose in arms all over the kingdom, e.g., the prince Ghiyāsuddīn in Oudh, Malik Izzuddīn Muhammad Salārī in Badāūn, Malik Izzuddīn Kabīr Khān in Multān, Malik Saifuddīn Kōjī in Hānsī, Malik Alāuddīn Jānī in Lahore. Even the minister, Nizāmulmulk Muhammad Junaidī, left the king and went over to the rebels :

Fourthly, Shāh-i-Turkān did not stop even here, but proceeded to destroy Razia. Probably there was some reason for her action ; for, according to Minhāj, 'Sultānā Razia began abusing Ruknuddīn's mother.' When the unpopular Shāh-i-Turkān took steps to capture and kill her, the city rose *en masse* and captured the queen mother. A little later, Ruknuddīn also who had retired to Kīlū-garhī, one of the suburbs of Delhi, was captured and put to death on November 9, 1236 A.D. after a reign of six months and seven days.

The populace and a few nobles of the city already after the queen mother's capture and in Ruknuddīn's life-time had gathered round Razia, swore allegiance, and raised her to the throne. An unprecedented wave of sympathy for Razia's distresses during the last six months had inclined the mass towards her and the few nobles who joined her also consoled themselves with the thought that after all they were correcting their mistake and respecting Iltutmish's choice.

Sultānā Razia had several regal qualifications according to the Mediæval standard. One was that she was the daughter of the chief queen, Turkān Khātūn, who resided in the chief royal palace, Kushk-i-Fīrūzī. Secondly, she was a highly accomplished lady. According to Minhāj, she was 'Sagacious, just, benevolent, patron of learning, ...the cherisher of the subjects, and slayer of the armies During her father's lifetime, she had exercised authority. Thirdly she had already acted as the governor of Gwālior and was conversant with Iltutmish's principles of government, and after Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd's death had been declared heir-apparent.

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But she had the serious disqualification of being an unmarried woman. It is true that she was probably the oldest among Iltutmish's surviving children and had reached the age of majority ; but still she was looked upon as a helpless woman who was as yet unprovided with the protection of a husband and certainly as one veiled from the public gaze, unfit to rule a kingdom.

A serious difficulty arose at the very commencement of her reign. The chief minister, Nizāmulmulk Muhammad Junaidī deserted her cause and joined the nobles who had lately combined against Ruknuddīn Fīrūz. All of them together made a demostration against the new ruler. The reason of their dissatisfaction may have been altruistic ; for they had never seen a woman actually ruling a kingdom and they might have based their objections on the Qurānic verses, قرن فی بیو تکن Stay in your houses;[2] یغضضن من البصار هن they (the women) cast down their looks;[3] 5 لار جال علیهن 'the men are a degree above them (the women)'[4] الرجال قوامون علی النساء [5] 'the men are the maintainers of the women'[6] Similarly they probably objected to her remaining single to the adult age, basing their objection on another Qurānic verse انکحوا الا یامی منکم 'marry those among you who are single'.[7] Probably they were unaware that in Central Asia the Turkī Muslim women led a freer life and Iltutmish acting on the Central Asian practice, had brought up his daughter in equality with his sons. So by relying too much on the Qurānic verses, the minister and the chief nobles opposed the Queen.

At first Razia proved equal to the occasion. She obtained help from the other quarters e.g., Qanauj and Oudh, next won over two of the hostile nobles, and with their help destroyed the remaining opposing nobles and minister, Nizāmulmulk Muhammad Junaidī For some time afterwards she had no other trouble. In Minhāj's words, 'from the territory of Lakhnawtī to Diwal[8] and Damrilah all the *maliks* and *amīrs* manifested their obedience and submission.' Thus, she was able to get over the earlier prejudices of the Muslims against her rule.

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2. See the Qurān 33 : 33. 3. 24 : 31. 4. 2 : 228.

5. 4 : 34. 6. The modern commentators give other interpretations to these restrictions. See Amīr Alī : *The Spirit of Islām,* Part II, Chapter V on *'the status of women in Islām.'*

7. 24 : 32. 8. Situated in Sindh.

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When, after some time, the people had grown used to a woman's rule, Sultān Razia took the next step she considered essential for the efficiency of her government. Let us quote Minhāj :—

"Sultān Razia discarded the woman's dress and the *pardah,* put on a long gown and a head-gear, and appeared in public, and when she rode on an elephant, all people could see her openly."

Farishta adds one or two other details about her, viz., that she revived Shamsī regulations of her father's time, and used to administer justice in person. Razia's audacity brought about a success. In putting on a long gown and a head-gear she was partly obeying the Qurānic injunctions لایبدین زینتهن ولیضربن بخمرهن علی جیوبهن "(let women) not display their ornaments and let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms.[9]

Everything went on smoothly for sometime, and the grumbling nobles held their peace. It was only when the Queen bestowed some extra favour on her Lord of the Stable, Jamāluddīn Yāqūt, by placing him near the throne, that the pent-up feeling of the grumblers found expression in rebellion. If they had been more patient in their criticisms, they would have noticed that the favour to the dark-complexioned Abyssinian might not have been prompted by any strong emotion of love. If she had so desired, she might have favoured him less openly or might have chosen a person of handsomer features and might have pursued her criminal desires in her palace, far away from the public gaze. But the prejudiced nobles were blind and their prejudices were so deep that unfounded calumnies were handed down from one generation to another until the historians of the sixteenth century repeated them. Badāūnī and Nizāmuddīn Ahmad make an Amīr-ul-Umarā (the premier nobleman) of the Abyssinian and make him lend a hand to her at the time of her mounting her horse or elephant. Minhāj, the contemporary historian, relates nothing of the kind.

The prejudices against the Queen were wide-spread and she held her head high for a time by defeating Malik Izzuddīn Khān-i-Ayāz of Lahore. But she could not cope with the other rebels. The nobles had mustered strong under the lead of Ikhtiyāruddīn Altūniyah, the governor of Bhatinda, and even some of the Delhi officials had joined the rebels, the most prominent of the officials being Malik-i-Kabīr Ikhtiyāruddīn Aitigīn. Such a wide-spread opposition boded ill for the Queen. She was defeated and captured at Bhatinda, and her

9. See the Qurān 24 : 31.

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henchman, Yāqūt, was put to death. Yāqūt's death and her own imprisonment did not finally close her political career ; for now having tasted of power, she thirsted for it, converted her jailor into a husband, and with his support made another bid for the throne. The attempt failed leading to her and her husband's death.

It will be seen from the above narration based mainly on the contemporary authorities of the period that the gravamen of the charges against her was based on her being a woman. It would have been prudence if she had realized the strength of the prejudices and had refused to occupy the throne at all. But her own confidence and administrative experience and the reflection that the sagacious Iltutmish's nomination of her as the heir-apparent could not be wrongly conceived led her to the hope of securing a revision of opinion in her favour. If she had been a mediocrity, after her accession to the throne, she might have been content to rule by a deputy, herself choosing to remain in seclusion and throwing all responsibility on the deputy. But her enthusiasm, superior intellect, and higher sense of duty, forbade her to adopt a course which would have meant so far as she was concerned resignation of the administration into the hands of the less capable minister. Hence she had chosen to govern in person and had hoped that the same set of the nobles, i.e. belonging to the Shamsī order, who had deposed Ruknuddīn for incompetence and tyranny, would approve of her assiduousness and personal supervision of the administration.

The Queen had not lessened her interest in her people. But the ignorant nobles fretted under the rule of a woman considering it to be uncanonical and so getting hold of the flimsiest excuse of her favour to Yāqūt deposed her. The unkind fate was against the conscientious Razia and for her only natural defect, viz., of being a woman, mercilessly punished her. Probably not for a day had she found ease and comfort as ruler, and slander must have dogged her incessantly. Iltutmish is to be held partly responsible for his daughter's misfortunes ; for he should have realized that India was not Central Asia and so an unmarried woman ruler would meet with insurmountable difficulties. She might have been more chaste than the more successful women rulers of Europe, Queen Elizabeth of England, Mary, Queen of Scotland, or Empress Catharine of Russia, but her rule was considerably shorter, because the east tolerated less a woman ruler than the west.

Muizuddīn Bahrām had been proclaimed ruler on April 22, 1240 A.D. On the day of his accession, there were three prominent nobles Ikhtiyāruddīn Aitigīn, the Lord Chamberlain, Ikhtiyāruddīn Altūniya, the leader of the rebel nobles who had deposed Razia and raised Bahrām to the throne, and Nizāmulmulk Muhzabuddīn Muhammad

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Jwaz, the minister. From the start Bahrām failed to act as ruler and allowed the three chiefs to quarrel among themselves for power. Soon after Bahrām's accession, Aitigīn married the king's full sister obtained the deputyship of the king, and 'assumed control over the disposal of the state-affairs' in conjunction with Nizāmulmulk. Altūniya, who had taken the largest share in dethroning Razia and had obtained no reward, now realized that he had been made a cat's paw by the other two. He sullenly retired to his *jāgīr*, meditated revenge, married Razia, and set her up again as a claimant for the throne of Delhi. But his scheme did not fructify, and both he and Razia disappeared from the scene.

Bahrām was an unworthy successor of Iltutmish. Instead of evolving a sound administrative system, he set himself up as an opponent of his own officials. On the flimsy pretext of Aitigīn's assuming royal airs[10] and Nizāmulmulk's sharing power with Aitigīn, he sent assassins to kill both of them. Aitigīn was killed but the minister escaped with a wound. Of course, henceforward Nizāmulmulk was at heart bitterly hostile to the king and patiently waited for his opportunity to do away with him.

Bahrām was living in a fool's paradise and was never aware of the full depth of the minister's hostility. He appointed Badruddīn Sunqar as his new Lord Chamberlain. Sunqar was an arrogant nobleman who created trouble as soon as he was elevated to the high office. The minister, in his own interest, chose for the moment to oppose Sunqar in the latter's struggle with the king with the result that the Lord Chamberlain was destroyed. The trouble did not end here. Sunqar had belonged to the privileged Shamsī order, and his death excited the other Shamsī nobles. They loudly protested against the king's policy of destroying his own nobles and insisted on his playing a more magnanimous role and on his concentration on administration. An opportunity soon arose to find out whether any change in the king's attitude had taken place. The Mongols had invaded the Punjāb and besieged Lahore then governed by the valiant Qarākush. Qarākush continued to hope for some time for succour reaching him from Delhi and when none reached him, at last was forced to surrender, December 22, 1241 A.D. After the fall of Lahore, the king partially woke and sent an army under the minister and some prominent nobles but committed the blunder of not accompanying it himself. The result was the failure of the expedition. Without their king,

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10. He had an elephant at the entrance of his palace. The privilege was reserved only for a king.

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neither the commanders nor the soldiers had any interest in the compaign. They regarded their king as a coward who evaded the responsibilities of a leader. But their annoyance knew no bound when they learnt that the king from Delhi had given orders to Nizāmulmulk for the death of a number of the nobles and others. This was Nizāmulmulk's doing. He had patiently waited so long and now made a move in order to accomplish the king's death. He had artfully and falsely mentioned the unruliness of several of the nobles and others and had obtained a free permission to destroy them. The list of the condemned persons he now published in the camp. The indignant nobles now found their king to be not only a coward but also a prospective murderer on a huge scale ; so leaving the Punjab in the hands of the Mongols, they retraced their steps to Delhi in order to reckon with their king.

The Sultān even now did not realize his danger. He continued to pin his faith on a local *darwesh* and his miracles and concentrated his affection on two of his slaves but neglected the discontented nobles. They had already made two unsuccessful experiments in kingship in raising Ruknuddīn and Razia to the throne. They did not want if it could be helped to make another experiment. So they were in a conciliatory mood and were prepared to guarantee Bahrām his throne if he would not molest them and if he would listen to their reasonable suggestions for the improvement of the administration. Bahrām, who had been placed on the throne, because he was Iltutmish's son, should have respected his father's Shamsī order and agreed at once to the requests of the nobles. But he delayed too long in making up his mind, and events followed in quick succession. The city and fortress of Delhi were captured by the rebels, the king was deposed on May 10, 1242 A.D., and five days later he was put to death.

TO SUM UP OUR CONCLUSIONS :

(1) Bahrām's accession was an expression of the people's unwillingness to accept a woman's rule.

(2) His measures were unworthy of a king. He acted as a partisan and conspirator and the murder of Aitigīn was the result of one of his conspiracies. He was also craven-hearted and did not dare go to the Punjāb to lead a compaign against the Mongols. He thus lowered himself in the estimation of his subjects in comparison with his late sister, Razia, who at least was not afraid of war.

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(3) Bahrām never realized his true relations with the nobles of the Shamsī order. Instead of trusting those who had raised him to the throne and utilizing their talents in the interest of the kingdom, he behaved as an enemy to them. The nobles in fact all along had desired for his continuation on the throne. He had only to respect the Shamsī order and they would in return leave him alone. There is much truth in the statement that, 'their (the nobles') compact with Bahrām at the time of his accession clearly indicated their determination to retain all authority for themselves and the king by destroying one of their number, sealed his fate.'[11]

(4) The king was blind to the frontier problems and foreign invasions and was absorbed in trivial matters of the capital. Hence the demand that he should either mend his ways or vacate the throne for some one more capable. A more promising ruler was the need of the hour.

At Bahrām's death, the succession question again came to the forefront. The deposition of the Sultān had been achieved by the nobles without the aid of any prince and some of them desired to revise the law of succession making it open to a wider circle than Iltutmish's family. The Shamsī order had supplied the chief administrators of the kingdom and hence they were called ارکان دولت 'the pillars of the kingdom.' Those who were dissatisfied with the failure of Iltutmish's children as rulers naturally thought of one of these administrators as a candidate for the throne. The chief of them, Izzuddīn Balban Kishlū Khān, Iltutmish's son-in-law, who had taken lead against Ruknuddīn and Bahrām proclaimed himself king and for a brief moment he was recognised as such by others. But then the tide turned against him and the people did not approve of his kingship. Their fear was that Izzuddīn's kingship would set up some other prominent noble against him and thus a state of civil war would continue for sometime. So the nobles in a body gathered at Iltutmish's tomb, put their heads together, and repudiated the proclamation of Izzuddīn's sovereignty. Then they deliberated who should be the successor and in this deliberation Izzuddīn, finding himself rejected, also joined. Out of respect to Iltutmish's memory they had gathered at his tomb and now because of a similar respect determined to place one of Iltutmish's descendants on the throne. They released the princes, Alāuddīn Masūd, Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd and Jalāluddīn Masūd, the first a grandson and the two latter, the sons of Iltutmish and chose the first as their new Sultān, probably because he was the oldest of the three. Nāsiruddīn and Jalāluddīn were appointed governors of

11. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 62.

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Bahraich and Qanauj respectively. The nobles were in a conciliatory mood and rewarded Izzuddīn for his support of their measures by a grant of three provinces, Ajmēr, Nagore, and Mandāwar.[12] For some time, matters went on smoothly. The king commanded in person his army against the Mongols and Izzuddīn Kishlū Khān brought his contigent to his master's aid and the expedition was a success, the Mongols retreating to their territory.

Later on troubles arose. The king neglected the administration and took to the dangerous practice of killing his *maliks*. To quote Minhāj :—

"(The worthles persons) used to influence him in the committal of unworthy acts and habits so much so that (the practice of) seizing and killing his *maliks* was gaining a place in his nature and he was steadfastly following the resolve. All his good qualities turned away from the laudable path and inclined towards sensuality, pleasures, and the chase, to such a degree of excess that disaffection began to spread through the country and the affairs of the kingdom to be neglected."

Secondly, the Mongols attacked Multān and now Izzuddīn joined them against his master. So the nobles again gathered together, decided to repalce Alāuddīn Masūd by his uncle, Nāsiruddīn, who had made a name as governor of Bahraich.[13] 'Rebellions which he lacked the strength or the energy to suppress, rendered him apprehensive and suspicious of all around him (Alāuddīn)'; so great secrecy was observed in bringing Nāsiruddīn to Delhi. Once within the city, his enthronement was easily accomplished.

TO SUM UP THE MAIN FEATURES OF ALAUDDIN MASUD'S REIGN :

(1) The nobles declined to admit the claims of any and every nobleman, be he ever so great so long as Iltutmish's descendants were alive.

(2) Izzuddīn Balban was a noted warrior, member of the

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12. Situated eight miles north of Bijnor. Izzuddīn was governing a large territory extending in patches from Ajmēr to Bijnor.

13. To quote only one passage from Raverty, 'He undertook many expeditions against the infidels in that territory and the (adjacent) mountains; and the province of Bahraich, through his auspicious arrival there, assumed a most flourishing condition.' See p. 676.

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Shamsī order, and Iltutmish's son-in-law. At first there was a proclamation of his accession to the throne but it was almost immediately after repudiated. Izzuddīn did not resent the repudiation ; instead, he joined the other nobles in the deliberations for the selection of Bahrām's successor.

(3) Alāuddīn Masūd was chosen king because he was the oldest of the princes. Nāsiruddīn born in 626 A.H. = 1229 A.D. was only a boy of thirteen and Jalāluddīn Masūd was still younger.

(4) So long as Alāuddīn Masūd ruled wisely, he was supported by the nobles including Izzuddīn. When he turned to evil ways and took to killing the *maliks,* the nobles turned against him and replaced him by Nāsiruddīn.

(5) Nāsiruddīn, a youth in his teens, was chosen, firstly, because he had proved successful as governor in Bahraich ; and, secondly, because the nobles still held to the policy of selecting a member of Iltutmish's family as their king and thus they obviated the chances of any struggle among themselves.

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ECONOMIC WEALTH AND PROSPERITY AS DEPICTED BY KĀLIDĀSA.[1]

By BHAGWAT SARAN UPADHYAYA

The reader of the works of Kālidāsa is struck by the prosperous condition of the people which is most lavishly attested by innumerable allusions of economic nature. It must be noted, however, that since he refers only to the rich section of the society his description cannot always be accepted as depicting the state of the common people.

General Prosperity

Yet from what one reads in his works one is overwhelmed with the evidence of opulence and plenty. Big mansions with their many-storeyed roofs, raised attic rooms, balconies and terraces were a common sight along both sides of streets. To many of these houses and for the general use of the people outside *(bahirupavana)* were attached luxuriously laid out gardens where flowers and plants of every season were grown in abundance in the lovely beds of the rich Indian soil. The wealth of precious stones was not only a source of income to the state but in most cases also satisfied the tastes of the luxury-loving rich who put them to different uses in life. Food was rich and wine was much in use. Trade flourished and the caravans of merchants by land and *Sārthavāhas* by sea poured forth immense wealth got in trade *(Vāṇijya)*. Trade routes were much frequented. Cities, numerous in the land, were noisy and thickly thronged by people. Shops lined both sides of the highway and rich customers moved to and fro making their purchases in the crowded bazars where articles, big and small, were heaped in piles from all lands with which India carried on her brisk trade. We shall now survey below the economic state of the people under specific heads.

National Wealth.

The following were the sources of the national wealth. Agriculture[2] was the main source of the sustenance of people as also of the land revenue for the state. Pastures[3] yielded grass for crores[4] of cows and other cattle. Ferries[5] paid were considerable ; trade and commerce brought

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1. This paper forms a chapter of the author's forthcoming book : *India as Depicted in Works of Kālidāsa.*
2. *Meghadūta, Pūrva,* 16.
3. वार्ता *Raghuvaṁśa,* XVI. 2.
4. गाः कोटिशः Ibid., II. 49.
5. *Kumārasambhava,* VIII. 34; *Raghu.,* XVI. 2.

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in much riches, and forests yielded elephants for warfare and ivory. Exhaustively worked mines[6] yielded precious stones and metals, diamonds, marbles and gold. Seas[7] were the source of pearls, conches, various shells *(Śukti)* and corals, and so were certain rivers[8] the source of pearls and their sands that of gold-dust[9] *(kaṇakasikatā)*.

Agriculture.

The wide expanse of the land which brought enormous revenue to the coffers of the state and fed the swelling masses of the country, reached the shores of the seas. Many crops[10] *(śasya)* were cultivated and grown. The following is a record of the various grains referred to by Kālidāsa as sown and harvested in the Indian soil :— Wheat, barley,[11] another kind of small sprouts of barley,[12] paddy[13] of various sorts, sugar-canes[14] and saffron.[15] The above were extensively sown and harvested in soil fitted to their cultivation. Thus the Punjab and uplands of the U.P. grew wheat and barley, while Bihar, the low-lying plains of Bengal and the southern plateau, paddy. We read of many kinds of paddy sown, namely *Śāli,*[16] *Kalamā,*[17] and *Brīhi*. A particular area of land in Kashmir produced the precious saffron.[18] Sugar-canes yielded various processes *(vikāra)* of sugar[19] *(guḍavikāra)*. We read of the pleasant aroma rising from the recently tilled fields of the province of Māla.[20]

Auxiliaries of Agriculture

There were other auxiliaries of agriculture. Oxen were utilized to till the soil; and bulls,[21] mules[22] and camels[23] were beasts of burden. Pastures[24] particularly on the low-lying hills, yielded rough grass for the sheep

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6. *Raghu.*, III. 18, XVII. 66, XVIII. 22; *Mālavikāgnimitra,* V. 18.
7. *Raghu.*, III. 9, IV. 50, X. 30, 85, XIII. 13, 17; *Ṛtusaṁhāra,* III. 4; *Māl.*, I. 6.
8. *Raghu.*, IV. 50.
9. *Meghadūta,* Uttara, 4.
10. *Raghu.*, X. 59, XVII. 66.
11. बीजाङ्कुर (यव—commentator) *Raghu.*, VII. 27.
12. यवाङ्कुर *Ibid.*, X. 43, XIII. 49; Ku., VII. 17.
13. *Raghu.*, IV. 20, 37; *Ṛtu.*, III., 1,10,16, IV. 1,7,18, V. 1,16.
14. *Raghu.*, IV. 20; *Ṛtu.*, V. 1,16; *Śākuntala,* p. 224.
15. *Raghu.*, IV. 67; *Ṛtu.*, IV. 2, V. 9, VI. 4,12.
16. *Raghu.*, IV. 20; *Ṛtu.*, III. 1,10,16, IV. 1,7, 18, V. 1,16.
17. *Raghu.*, IV. 37.
18. Ibid., IV. 67.
19. प्रचुरगुड़विकार: *Ṛtu.*, V. 16.
20. *M.P.*, 16.
21. ककुद्मन्त: *Raghu.*, IV, 22.
22. वामी *Ibid.*, V. 32.
23. [illegible] Ibid.
24. Ibid., XVI. 2.

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which supplied the nation with warm wool[25] *(patrorna)*. Cattle were fed in these pastures. *Setu*[26] has been used both by Kālidāsa[27] and Kauṭilya[28] in two senses, firstly, in the sense of irrigation, and secondly, in that of building bridges suggesting a yield in ferries. While conveying the latter sense, however, both use the term *Setubandha.*[29]

Pasture.

Vārtā[30] was the rearing of the cattle. The pastures yielded excellent fodder for the bulls, oxen and the cows. We read of crores[31] of cows forming the national wealth. Also the meadows furnished fodder for the horses, cattle, mules and the camels.

The chief occupations of the people were the following: agriculture (dealt with above); metal-working, done by goldsmiths and other artisans ;[32] weaving, which produced cotton and silk fine enough to be blown away by the breath[33] as also canvas-like cloth thick and strong enough to serve for tents ;[34] trade,[35] arms ;[36] fish-catching,[37] sailors' work[38] and other ways of living by the net,[39] government service,[40] teaching of fine arts,[41] the priesthood,[42] music and dancing,[43] gardening,[44] fowler's work,[45] masons' work[46] and the like.

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25. पत्रोर्ण *Māl.*, V. 12, ibid., p. 105 ; उर्णामयं कौतुकहस्तसूत्रम् *Ku.*, VII. 25.
26. *Raghu.*, XVI. 2.
27. Ibid., cf. ibid., IV. 38; *Ku.*, VIII. 34.
28. *Arthaśāstra,* Book III. Ch. 8; and Book VII. Ch. 14.
29. *Ku.*, viii. 34; *Raghu.*, xvi. 33; *Arthaśāstra,* Book III. Ch. 8.
30. *Raghu.*, xvi. 2. 31. Ibid., ii. 49.
32. शिल्पि *Māl.*, p. 4.
33. Ibid., v. 41,49,63,73, vii. 2. xi. 93, xiii. 79, xvi. 55, 73; *Vik.*, p. 121.
34. वणिजं *Māl.*, I. 17. 35. सांपरायिक: *Raghu.*, xvii. 62.
36. मत्स्यबन्धन *Śāk.*, p. 183. 37. धीवर Ibid.
38. जालोपजीवी Ibid.
39. The army, ministers and other employees of the Government.
40. *Māl.*, p. 17.
41. पशुमारणकर्मदारुणा *Śāk.*, p. 183.
42. Courtezans.
43. *M.P.*, 26.
44. शकुनिलब्धकै: *Śāk.*, p. 56.
45. *Raghu.*, xvi. 38.
46. Ibid., iii. 18, xvii. 66, xviii. 22; *Māl.*, V. 18.

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Mines and Minerals.

From frequent allusions to mines[47] and their yields we learn that they were exhaustively worked and produced precious stones and metals and other minerals. The following are the precious stones[48] *(maṇi)* named by the poet : *vajra*[49] (diamond), *padmarāga*,[50] *puṣparāga*,[51] *mahānīla*[52] or *indranīla*,[53] *marakata*[54] (emerald), *vaidūrya*,[55] *sphaṭika*[56] (crystals), *manaśilā*[57] (marbles), *sūryakānta*[58] (sun-glass) and *candrakānta*[59] (moon-glass). The two last named were respectively sun and moon gems resembling crystals. The latter was supposed to ooze out water in drops at the touch of the beams of the moon[60] whereas the former 'received, like a sun-glass, from the sun the flame that fell upon and destroyed wood.'[61] This refers to the well-known fact that the rays of the sun received and transmitted by the sun-glass to a piece of wood beneath it burnt it. This disc of crystal was not a fabulous stone with fabulous properties, as some[62] imagine, but was a kind of glass lens and it shows that Indians were not ignorant of the properties of this glass or crystal when Kālidāsa wrote his *Abijñāna Śakuntalā*.[63] The following metals were drawn from the mines : gold[64] *(suvarṇ, hema, hiraṇya, kanaka, kāñcana* and *draviḍa)* sand or dust of gold[65] *(kanakasikatā)*, which yielded most of the ornaments, silver[66] *(rajata)*, copper[67] *(tāmra)* and iron ore[68] *(ayas)*, from which the necessaries of war and other requirements produced by cast-iron-like hammer[69] *(ayoghana)* were cast and fashioned. We read of a certain other metal, perhaps mica, manganese or glass from which looking glasses[70] were manufactured. Other products of the mines and mountains have also beeen mentioned : *sindūra*[71] (red lead),

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47. *Raghu.*, iii. 18, xvii. 53, 59, xviii. 42, xix. 45; *Ku.*, viii. 75; *M.U.*, 4,16; *Māl.*, V. 18.
48. *Raghu.*, vi. 19. 49. Ibid., xviii. 53, 59.
50. Ibid., xviii, 32. 51. Ibid., 42.
52. Ibid., xiii. 54, xvi. 69; *M.P.*, 46, *M.U.*, 14. 53. *M.U.*, 13.
54. *Ku.*, i. 24, vii. 10; *M.U.*, 13; *Ṛtu.*, ii. 5.
55. *Raghu.*, xiii. 69; *Ku.*, vi. 42; *M.V.*, 16.
56. *Ku.*, vi. 38. 57. *Raghu.*, xi. 21; *Śak.*, II. 7.
58. *M.U.*, 7. 59. Ibid., 60. Śak., II. 7.
61. Wilson, in his edition of the work. 62. II. 7.
63. *Ku.*, vii. 50; *Raghu.*, i. 10,30, ii. 36, iv. 70, v. 2,29, vi. 79; *M.V.*, 4,16.
64. *M.V.*, 4, (perhaps also from sands of a river). 65. *Ṛtu.*, ii. 13.
66. *Ku.*, i. 44, vi. 51. 67. *Raghu.*, xiv. 33. 68. Ibid.
69. Ibid., xiv. 37, xvii. 26, xix. 28,30; *Ku.*, vii. 22,36, viii. 11; *Śak.*, VII. 32.
70. *Ṛtu.*, i. 24. 71. *Raghu.*, vi. 55, vii. 8; *Ku.*, vi 51; Ṛtu., iv. 17; *Māl.*, III. 5.

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manaḥśilā[72] (realgar) used in various cosmetic preparations, *gairika*[73] *(dhāturāga, dhāturasa, dhātureṇu),* a kind of red stone yielding colour, and *śaileya,*[74] a stone secretion (fluid) containing strong medicinal properties, much used in the preparation of *Āyurvedic* tonics, mostly used in metabolic diseases. We have no comprehensive mention of specific rocks, yet stray allusions furnish the following kinds of them, namely, *śilā*[75] meaning all simple rocks of granite and sandstone, crystalline rocks,[76] perhaps also including marble *(maṇiśilā)* and a kind of red stone,[77]—*geru (adrigairika).*

Yields of the Marine sources.

The river Tāmraparṇī of the Pāṇḍya country of the south and the Indian ocean have been noted by the poet for their precious and useful yields. Seas[78] have been considered the womb which yielded precious gems[79] *(ratna).* They yielded, besides, pearls[80] *(muktā),* conch-shells[81] *(śaṅkha-yūtham)* discovered in lots and so commonly used in peace and war, shells[82] *(śukti=* vernacular *sīpī)* and corals[83] *(vidruma).* The river Tāmraparṇī has been referred to as a prolific source of pearls.[84] It may be noted that this source continues to yield pearls even now.

Forests.

The wild extensively growing forests yielded, besides building timber and fuel, the sacred skin of the *ruru,*[85] *kṛṣṇasāra* deer, and other valuable skins[86] *(ajinaratna,* perhaps of the tiger and the leopord), musk[87] *(mṛganābhi)* obtained from the navel of the roaming deer, lac[88] *(lākṣā),* furnishing women with their various dyes, and the yak tail[89] *(camari)* so commonly used as a symbol of royalty and serving as a fly-whisk. The elephants were caught as a state monopoly[90] from the forests of Kaliṅga[91] and Kāmarūpa.[92] They have been associated also with Aṅga.[93] The

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72. *Raghu.,* xii. 80; *Ku.,* i. 55.
73. *Raghu.,* iv. 71, v. 44,72; *Ku.,* i. 7, vi. 51; *M.U.,* 42.
74. *Raghu.,* vi. 51; *Ku.,* i. 55. 75. *M.U.,* 42.
76. स्फटिक *Raghu.,* xiii. 69; *Ku.,* vi. 42; *M.U.,* 16.
77. *M.U.,* 42, *Raghu.,* v. 72. 78. *Raghu.,* iii. 9, x. 30,85.
79. ibid., vi. 14,79; *M.V.,* 5.
80. *Raghu.,* xiii. 17, xix. 45; *Ku.,* vii. 10; *Māl.,* I. 6.
81. *Raghu.,* xiii. 13; *Ṛtu.,* iii. 4. 82. *Raghu.,* xiii. 17; *Māl.,* I. 6.
83. *Raghu.,* vi. 16,31. 84. Ibid., iv. 50. 85. Ibid., iii. 31.
86. Ibid., iv. 65. 87. ibid., 74; *Ṛtu.,* vi. 12. 88. *Ṛtu.,* vi. 13.
89. *Ku.,* i. 13. 90. *Raghu.,* xvi. 2.
91. Ibid., iv. 40. 92. Ibid., 83.
93. विनीतनागः किल सूचकारैः Ibid., vi. 27.

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state monopoly of catching elephants also suggests that perhaps these forests which yielded elephants were preserved. It may be noted that Kauṭilya refers to preserved forests of elephants.[94] It may also be noted that Kālidāsa makes elephants exempt from being shot at on the spout.[95] These elephants were utilized in times of war and they formed one of the four traditional columns of an Indian army.[96] When they were dead their tusks[97] fetched high prices in the market of ivory. The forests also yielded building material for the river-canoes[98] and the coastal rowing boats[99] and the inland[100] and sea-going[101] vessels for war[102] and trade.[103] The Himalayan mountains, besides yielding mineral dusts[104] of various kinds, grew the *Śāla*[105] and *devadāru*[106] which produced raisin *(niryāsa, kṣīra)*, the source of important oil. Further the wildly growing trees of the Malaya produced spices like cardamom[107] *(elā)*, cloves[108] *(lavaṅga)*, and black pepper[109] *(marīca)*, as also betel leaves[110] *(tāmbūlavallī)*. Then there were the yields of fruit-trees in forests and orchards. The coastal countries produced cocoanuts and other palms and nuts described elsewhere.[111] Sandal was also obtained from the sandal forests[112] of the Malaya valley.

Trade and Commerce.

Trade and commerce *(vaṇijam)*[113] flourished briskly as may be gathered from references to busy trade carried on by princely merchants who flooded the country with a flow of wealth[114] *(dhārāsāraḥ)* and who were addressed by the kind with considerable deference.[115] There were two trade routes,[116] those of the land and the sea. Raghu prefers the land-

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94. *Arthaśāstra,* Book VII. Ch. 14.
95. प्रतिषिद्धम् *Raghu.,* ix. 74. अवध्यो Ibid., v. 50.
96. Ibid., iv. 30,40; vi. 54.
97. दन्त Ibid., v. 72, गजदन्तासनं शुचि Ibid., xvii. 21.
98. उडुप Ibid., i.2. 99. Ibid., iv. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 57, 68, xvii. 81.
100. Ibid., xiv. 30. 101. *Raghu.,* iv. 71.
103. *Śāk.,* p. 219. 104. *Raghu.,* iv. 71. 105. Ibid., i. 38.
106. *M.U.,* 44. 107. *Raghu.,* iv. 47.
108. *Ku.,* viii. 25; *Raghu.,* vi. 57. 109. Raghu., iv. 46.
110. Ibid., iv. 42, vi. 64, xiii. 15, 49.
111. Ibid., iv. 42, खर्जूरी 57, etc. 112. Ibid., 48, 51.
113. *Māl.,* I. 17. 114. *Vik.,* IV. 13.
115. *Śāk.,* p. 219. 116. मार्ग *Raghu.,* v. 41.

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route,[117] *(sthalavartmanā)* to sea-route. This shows that there was a sea-route, besides, to reach the Persians which he forsook from some consideration, may be religious as the commentator suggests.[118] For a conqueror who had overrun the entire country proceeding by the land, reference afresh to taking journey by land in the middle of his conquest would mean nothing unless we suppose that there was a sea-route also on the shore leading from Trikūṭa. It was here that the two routes bifurcated. Probably from here people embarked on sea voyages for Persia, and other places by ship. It may be further noted that Bhārukacca was a flourishing sea-port in the vicinity. The great land-route which ran from one end of the country to the other was variously known as *mahāpatha,*[119] *rājapatha,*[120] and *narendra-mārga*[121] (great highway or royal highway). The inland trade was very brisk as is attested by the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[122] although the highways at certain danger zones were not altogether free from danger of robbers[123] and we read of occasional cases of plunder of the caravans[124] being reported to the king. The inland trade-route of India may have been one indicated by the southward march of Raghu in course of his conquest.[125] Aja's march to the country of the Bhojas (Berar) was perhaps another route leading to south-mid-India.[126] A third was perhaps one taken by the cloud-messenger in the *Meghadūta,*[127] but this route can be accepted only with some modification. Ujjayinī must have, for example, lain on the highway to the north although in one which the cloud-messenger takes it lies off the way and the messenger has to bend his course[128] in order to reach the poet's pleasant resort. The cloud naturally should have taken a direct course to the north, the dense forests or high mountains having been no barriers to its flight overhead. But for a tradesman or a pedlar these would have proved unsurmountable barriers. The route, therefore, probably had Ujjayinī also lying on it.

The existence of the seaborne trade is attested by ample evidence. We have already shown that there was a sailing route to Persia by sea which Raghu preferred to leave perhaps because of religious considerations. The people of the Vaṅga country are said to have possessed

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117. Ibid., iv. 60.
118. Ibid. समुद्रयानस्य निषिद्धत्वादिति भावः
119. *Ku.,* vii. 3.
120. *Raghu.,* xiv. 30.
121. नरेन्द्रमार्ग Ibid., 67.
122. स चाटवन्तरे निविष्टो गताध्वा वणिग्गणः *Māl.,* p. 98, I. 17.
123. Ibid., V. 10.
124. गताध्वा वणिग्गणः Ibid. P. 98.
125. *Raghu.,* iv.
126. Ibid., v.
127. *Meghadūta.*
128. वक्रः पन्था यदपि भवतः प्रस्थितस्योत्तराशां Ibid., p. 27.

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warships.[129] Of course, this reference is to ferrying in the inland waterways. From other records we gather that India kept a commercial intercourse with Ceylon and the neighbouring islands of Burma and China, especially the islands of Java and Bali. Kālidāsa mentions canoes,[130] rowing coastal boats[131] of various kinds, one of them having a structure like a canopy[132] *(vimāna)* worthy of the state of a king. There were sea-going vessels which occasionally even sustained a wreckage.[133] In an important passage Kālidāsa refers to merchants making sea voyages for the purposes of commerce.[134] The first seventeen verses of the thirteenth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* are no doubt descriptive of a sea voyage. In his phrase a *dvīpāntara* occuring in the *Raghuvaṁśa,* VI, 57, the poet directly refers to the spice islands.[135] The China-silk[136] imported in India might have more probably come by the sea-route.

The trade of India may be described under the headings imports and exports. The articles mentioned below were those received from other countries. A kind of silk came from China and was known as *Cīnāṁśuka.*[137] The westerners[138] *(pāścātyāḥ),* both Persians[139] and Greeks,[140] have been mentioned by the poet as cavaliers *(aśvasādhanāḥ).* It is natural that fine horses were imported from the west. Kālidāsa mentions an excellent breed of *Vanāyu*[141] steeds in use in India. Kauṭilya[142] also mentions Vanāyu as celebrated for its horses. *Vanāyu* has been identified by Nundo Lal Dey with Arabia.[143] Arabia is noted for its breed of horses. Horses also came from Kamboja,[144] eastern Afghanistan. Cloves also came from other islands[145] as to-day.

Import.

We are not sure as to which were the articles of export. But it may be surmised that the surplus of the grain market, precious products of the mines and pearls, India always having been famous for her fisheries

Export.

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129. नौसाधनोद्यतान् *Raghu.,* iv. 36.
130. Ibid., i. 2.
131. Ibid., iv. 36, xiv. 30.
132. नौविमान Ibid., xvi. 68.
133. नौव्यसने विपन्नः *Śāk.,* p. 219.
134. समुद्रवावहारा Ibid.
135. द्वीपान्तरानीतलवङ्गपुष्पैः *Raghu.,* vi. 57.
136. *Ku.,* vii. 3; *Śāk.,* I. 30.
137. *Ibid.*
138. *Raghu.,* iv. 62..
139. Ibid., 60–65.
140. अश्वानीकेन पवनेन *Māl.,* p. 102.
141. *Raghu.,* v. 73.
142. *Arthaśāstra,* Book II. ch. 30.
143. *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India,* p. 22.
144. *Raghu.,* iv. 69-70.
145. Ibid., vi. 57.

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and ivory,[146] were exported to foreign lands. The famous spices[147] of India, besides, must have been a coveted delicacy in those countries which did not produce them and with which India carried on trade. Since clothes of all seasons were extensively used which were woven with the finest fibres capable of being blown away by breath, we may infer that cloth was also exported. It may be noted that Pliny refers to such import of cloth into Rome from India.

Inland Trade

We have referred to briskness of inland trade. Kālidāsa refers to mineral resources of Kāmarūpa[148] (the hilly tracts of Assam) which yielded gems in a large quantity. He has also mentioned mines[149] existing at several places. Then he refers also to the the pearl-fisheries in the Tāmraparṇī[150] and the Indian Ocean. These gems, pearls and other yields of the sea like the conch-shells, other shells *(śuktā)* and corals must have been carried and sold in distant markets of India where there was a demand for them. Elephants in the same manner might have reached other corners of India from Kaliṅga,[151] Aṅga[152] and Kāmarūpa.[153] It may be interesting to note that Kaliṅga has also been mentioned by Kauṭilya[154] as the source of elephants. In the town the market place[155] *(vipaṇi)* was crowded with people who came for making purchases. *Nikṣkraya* is the word used for purchasing.[156] Big shops line both sides of the highway.[157] As far other shops, we read of those of liquor.[158] Upon the road people passed to and fro selling their articles and making their purchases, while down on the river boats plied and ferries ran.[159] The market road was called *āpaṇamārga.*[160] Thus the inland as well as foreign trade was a busy concern of the Indian merchants. And although to the ordinary citizen crossing of the sea waves might have been forbidden as Mallinātha's gloss on a phrase[161] would prove,tradesmen always made sea voyages[162] and braved all the dangers of the ocean. We read of a great commer-

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146. Ibid, vi. 57.
147. Ibid., iv. 46,47; *Ku.,* viii. 25.
148. *Raghu.,* iv. 84.
149. Ibid., iii. 18, xvii. 66, xviii. 22; *Māl.,* V. 18.
150. *Raghu.,* iv. 50.
151. Ibid., iv. 40, vi. 54.
152. Ibid., vi. 27.
153. Ibid., iv. 83.
154. *Arthaśāstra,* Book II. Ch. 2.
155. *Raghu.,* xvi. 41; *Māl.,* pp. 33,80.
156. *Raghu.,* ii. 55, v. 22.
157. ऋद्धापणं एजपण्यं Ibid., xiv. 30.
158. शौण्डिकापणम् *Śak.,* p. 188.
159. सरयूं च नौभिः *Raghu.,* xiv. 30.
160. *Ku.,* vii. 55.
161. *Raghu.,* iv. 60. नतु निर्दिष्टेनापि जलपथेन। समुद्रयानस्य निषिद्धत्वादितिभावः।
162. *Śak.,* p. 219.

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cial magnate of Hastināpura suffering a great shipwreck in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala.*[163] The trade routes had been ordinarily made so secure on land from robbers and on sea from pirates that the poet applauds: "Caravans wandered at ease over mountains as if their own houses, over rivers as if wells, and over forests as though gardens."[164] Thus the inland trade as well as the shipping and maritime activities added a fair harvest of wealth to the national income.

Such a high state of trade presupposes the existence of money transactions. Coins in this regard become indispensable and we know that they were received and counted.[165] In their absence the counting of wealth to the extent of fourteen crores could not have possibly conveyed any sense. It is in their light and terms that wealth to the extent of fourteen crores[166] were carried on hundreds of mules and camels.[167] *Suvarṇa*[168] and *Niṣka*[169] *(dināra=dinarius* of the Roman Emperors) were the current coins of the country and we have reference to a hundred gold coins[170] called *suvarṇas.* There must have been other lesser coins of silver and alloy copper current in the country to which, however, Kālidāsa does not make a specific reference. He mentions weighing balances[171] *(tulā)* at several places. A measuring rod[172] *(mānadaṇḍaḥ)* has also been alluded to. Thus prices in a market were paid in terms of money and sale-goods, liquid or otherwise, were sold in weighed quantity and articles like cloth with measureable length were measured out with a measuring rod when sold.

Coins, Weights and Measures.

Useful arts and crafts were pursued and skilful artisans followed their respective specialized callings. Metals were worked and articles of the finest designs finished by master goldsmiths. Gold was tested in fire.[173] Ornaments were worn in abundance and so their making also must necessarily have occupied artisans[174] *(śilpin).* The use of ornaments

Arts and Crafts.

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163. Ibid., p. 219.

164. वापीष्विव स्रवन्तीषु वनेषु पवनेष्विव ।
सार्था: खे रं स्वकीयेषु चेरुर्वेश्मस्विवाद्रिषु ॥ *Raghu.,* xvii. 64.

165. स्पर्शजातस्य गणना *Śak.,* p. 219.

166. परिसंख्यमा···कोटिश्चतस्रोदश *Raghu.,* v. 21.

167. Ibid., 32. 168. *Māl.,* p. 88.

169. Ibid., *Ku.,* ii. 49. 170. शतसुवर्णपरिमाणा *Māl.,* p. 88.

171. तुला *Raghu.,* viii. 15, xix. 8,50; *Ku.,* v. 34.

172. मानदण्ड: *Ku.,* i. 1. 173. हेम्न: संलक्ष्यते ह्यग्नौ *Raghu.,* i. 10.

174. *Māl.,* p. 4.

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as decorative embellishments have been extensively made in contemporaneous and earlier sculptures of Muttra and other places and paintings of Ajanta. Ornaments of gold and precious stones of various designs, as warranted elsewhere,[175] are a conclusive proof of the fact that much fine work of jewellery was successfully executed. Of ornaments requiring uncommon skill were the girdle *(mekhalā),*[176] of which an endless variety in designs is mentioned by Kālidāsa and of which scores of excellent patterns we see exhibited in the Muttra Museum, and the armlets[177] *(keyūra, aṅgada)* of which again the poet has mentioned several varieties the likes of which are exhibited in sculpture at Muttra.[178] Ear-ornaments for earlobes were sometimes designed after lotuses.[179] Varnished gold[180] was hammered out into the shape of several beautiful jewels. Rings of various designs were made of which one bore the impression of a serpent.[181] Sometimes the same had the name of its owner engraved[182] on it. Then there was the setting of jewels in ornaments of gold.[183] The long handle of a flywhisk was set with jewels.[184] There were those skilled artisans who worked in precious stones, made holes in diamonds,[185] cut[186] and gave them and other gems[187] new lustre.[188] It seems that in order to render the gems more shining new deep lines were drawn[189] *(ullikhita)* on them which work was that of actual engraving or cutting. When precious stones like diamond were first dug out of mines they were

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175. Social India as Depicted by Kālidāsa (by the author), *J.B.H.U.*, vol. II. 3, pp. 489 ff.

176. *Māl.*, p. 59, etc.

177. Vide author's Social India as Depicted by Kālidāsa in J.B.H.U., vol. II. 3, pp. 489 ff.

178. Muttra Museum.

179. *M.U.* 9.

180. नम्रचामीकराङ्गद: *Vik.*, I. 15.

181. नागमुद्रासनात्यमङ्गुलीयकम् *Māl.*, pp. 4,69.

182. मणिवन्धनोत्कीर्णनामधेयं राजकीयमङ्गुलीयकम् *Śak.*, p. 182.

183. *Māl.*, V. 18.

184. रत्नच्छायाखचितवलिभिश्चामरे: *M.P.*, 35. जातरूपेण···मणि: संयोगमर्हति *Māl.*, V. 18.

185. *Raghu.*, vi. 19; मणौ Ibid., i. 4, रत्नावुविद्धं Ibid., vi. 14; प्राविद्धं रत्नं *Śak.*, II. 10.

186. संस्कारोल्लिखित *Śak.*, vi. 6; *Raghu.*, iii. 18.

188. *Raghu.*, iii. 18, Śak., vi, 6.

189. *Raghu.*, xvi. 38.

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cleaned and cut, which was endowing them with a *saṁskāra*[190] and making them *saṁskṛta*. There were masons or workers in stone.[191] There were, besides, black-smiths working in iron, heating[192] and melting it and turning it into steel[193] with the help of a steel hammer[194] *(ayoghana)*. There again, were weavers who prepared cloth fine enough to be blown away with the breath.[195] Sculptors carving images[196] and potters making terracotta toys[197] were excellent masters of their art. Besides there were those artisans who made instruments of music which was a commonly cultivated art. The guild system seems to have prevailed in the field of various trades *(śilpisaṅghāḥ)*. The guild was a corporation of artisans practising the same trade. We read of a guild of architects in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[198] and of the chief of a guild in the *Abhijñāna Śākuntala*.[199] We also read of the *Naigamās*[200] and the Śreṣṭhī,[201] technical terms used to denote respectively representatives of various trade guilds and the chief of the guild of city merchants. The guild was called a *saṅgha* and its chief a *śreṣṭhin*.

Guild of Artisans.

We have a reference to the banking and deposit in the works of Kālidāsa. He speaks of *nikṣepa*[202] and *nīvī*. *Nikṣepa* is what is deposited with another in trust, and with the object of taking it back. *Nīvī* is what remains after deducting all the expenditure already incurred and excluding all revenue to be realized. It is thus the net balance. We learn from inscriptions that guilds served in ancient India as banks receiving deposits and advancing loans of money.[203]

Banking and Deposit.

The population of India was mainly composed of the Aryan descendants living peacefully and pursuing their respective callings. Foreigners like Persians[204] and Greeks[205] also lived on the north-west frontiers.[206]

Population.

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190. Ibid., xiv. 33.
191. प्रयोघन *(etymology)* ibid.
192. Ibid.
193. निःखासहार्यांगुकम् Ibid., xvi. 43.
194. Ibid., xvi. 39, xvii. 36; *M.P.*, 33,34.
195. *Śak.*, p. 247.
196. शिल्पिसंघाः xvi. 38.
197. मेष्ठिनो*Śak.*, p. 219.
198. *Vik.*, IV. 13.
199. *Śak.*, p. 219.
200. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindi Polity*, Part II, p. 105.
201. Ibid., p. 71.
202. निक्षेप इवार्पितं द्वयम्
203. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 94-98.
204. *Raghu.*, iv. 60.
205. *Māl.*, p. 102.
206. *Raghu.*, iv. 60. (ff); *Māl.*, p. 102

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Hūṇas[207] and Kāmbojas[208] were also residents of the same quarters. Then there were the mountaineer tribes of the *Pulindas*[209] and the semi-civilized *Kirātas*[210] and *Utsavasaṅketas*[211] of the Himalayan forests. Besides these there were other foresters[212] also. It was mainly a class of this forest population that lived on free booting and waylaying the travellers. Such an instance of robbery is furnished by the *Mālavikāgnimitra*[213] The Hindu population lived in the provinces or kingdoms named in the 4th and the 6th cantos of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. They may be mentioned below : the eastern provinces[214] *(paurastyān janapadān)* inhabited by the Suhmas,[215] Vaṅgas,[216] Utkalas[217] and Kaliṅgas;[218] the southern dwellers of the Malava valley[219] and the Pāṇḍyas;[220] the westerners of the Aparānta[221] and the Keralas ; and the inhabitants of Magadha,[223] Aṅga,[224] Avanti,[225] Anūpa,[226] Śūrasena,[227] Vidarbha,[228] Kosala[229] and Laṅkā[230] (Ceylon ?). (The above provinces and peoples have already been identified.[231]) Besides the above, Kālidāsa refers to the imaginary dwellers of the heights of the Himalayas called the Yakṣas[232] or Guhyakas,[233] Kinnaras,[234] or Kiṁpuruṣas,[235] Aśvamukhyas[236] and the Gandharvas.[237] These were the reflections in literature of the popular belief and naturally physically non-existent. Surplus population was settled in newly formed villages[238] to which people migrated from over-populated areas.

Wealth and Luxury

We have thus seen above that the age of the poet was one of affluence, plenty and luxury. The economic prosperity may be well instanced in the description given of Ayodhyā and Kuṇḍinapura in the *Raghuvaṁśa*[239] and of Alakā in the *Meghadūta*.[240] In Ayodhyā there were streets lined with rich shops and the Sarayū was filled with rowing boats.

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207. *Raghu.*, iv. 68. 208. Ibid., 69. 209. Ibid., xvi. 19,32.
210. Ibid., iv. 76; *Ku.*, i. 6,15. 211. *Raghu.*, iv. 78.
212. *Ku.*, i. 10. 213 V. 10. 214. *Raghu.*, iv. 34.
215. Ibid., 35. 216. Ibid., 36. 217. Ibid., 38.
218. Ibid., 219. Ibid., 46. 220. Ibid., 49.
221. Ibid., 53. 222. Ibid., 54. 223. Ibid., 20,21.
224. Ibid., 27. 225. Ibid., vi. 32. 226. Ibid., 37.
227. Ibid., 45. 228. Ibid., V. 40; *Māl.*, pp. 11,1000.
229. *Raghu.*, ix. 22. 230. Ibid., xii. 66, xiii. 2.
231. Chapter on Geographical Data. 232. *Ku.*, vi. 39, *M.P.*, 1.
233. *M.P.*, 5,7, *V.*, 3. 234. *Ku.*, viii. 85; *M.V.*, 8.
235. *Ku.*, vi. 39. 236. Ibid., i. 11.
237. *Raghu.*, 53. 238. स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं क्लृप्तं विपनिवेशितम् *Ku.*, vi. 37.
239. xiv. 30, xvi. 11-38. 240. *Uttaramegha.*

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The Household

We have already spoken of the household elsewhere.[241] It will be worth while to recapitualate the same here below. Places of kings were enormous establishments thronged[242] with people coming in and going out. They were richly built, highly decorated with auspicious and beautiful paintings and were fitted with several inner and outer apartments. Houses of the rich were many-storeyed buildings to which were attached pleasure gardens and tanks. These houses, particularly the tanks, had beautiful, and sometimes even crystalline, flights of steps. The courtyards of palaces and rich mansions were paved with crystalline slabs of stone. Mansions had also attic rooms, balconies and terraces. Luxury-loving kings had summer-houses to shelter from the summer heat called *samudragṛha*. Houses were further furnished with water-fountains and pipes and in the hot weather rich people passed the hours of heat in cool rooms fitted with benches of costly stones. They used the sandal paste in summer in profusion which gave them a cooling effect.

Within the house there moved to and fro people wearing loose flying garments of the most artistic patterns, sometimes having the forms of flamingoes woven in their texture. The fine-fibred clothes capable of being blown away with the breath were those naturally used in summer and the heavy warm woollen ones during the winter season. People had dresses suitable for both day and night. Several oils[243] were used. The oil of *Ingudi* was used both for head[244] as well as for the purposes of burning lamps.[245]

The utensils of the household of kings and nobles were made of gold[246] and precious stones. We have already given a complete list elsewhere[247] of the items of furniture used in an Indian house.

The domestic cattle were well looked after. The cow was venerated. She yielded the nourishing milk, curds, butter and clarified butter. The items of food have already been dicussed at length elsewhere.[248]

Thus we find that Kālidāsa gives a vivid picture of the wealth and prosperity of the people of India of the time when he lived and wrote, and when wealth reckoned in hundreds of millions coins and sterling was borne on hundreds of mules and camels.

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241. Author's Social India as Depicted by Kālidāsa, *J.B.H.U.*, Vol. II, 3.

242. जनाकीर्ण *Vik.*, p. 26; अविरलजलसंपात Ibid.

243. तै *Raghu.*, xiv. 38. 244. *Śak.*, p. 73.

245. *Raghu.*, xiv. 81; *Śak.*, IV. 13. 246. हेमकुम्भ *Raghu.*, ii. 36.

247. Vide author's Social India as Depicted by Kālidāsa, *J.B.H.U.*, Vol. II, 3.

248. Ibid.

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A NOTE ON *SANTHATA*

By I. B. HORNER

There are several words in the *Vinaya* the exact meaning of which is hard to determine, but, because they refer to things or practices allowable or not allowable to monks, they merit some discussion. For, any approach to precision in translating Pali words is an approach to a better understanding of the daily life of the monks, and thus to a greater comprehension of the significance of the rules which were designed or evolved to control their behaviour in daily life. Such a word is *santhata.*

As the past participle of *santharati* (=*saṁ*+*stṛ*), which is usually taken to mean "to spread, to strew," *santhata* occurs at e.g. *D.* ii. 160, of flowers, and *Sn.* 401, 668, of a bed ; and also in the stock phrase, *dhamani-santhata-gatta,* having the limbs strewn with veins (e.g. *Vin.* iii. 88, 147), said of an emaciated person who has the veins showing all over the body.

But as a noun (neuter), *santhata* appears, with the exception of a passage at *Vv.* 63. 5, the commentary on which describes it as a *tiṇa-santharaka,* mat or couch, made of grass, to be peculiar not only to the Vinaya, but to a particular portion of it, namely, to Nissaggiyas XI–XV. The Nissaggiya rules are those which have as the penalty for infringement, confession or expiation of the offence, *pācittiya,* and forfeiture, *nissaggiya,* of the article in respect of which the offence was committed. In Nissaggiyas XI – XV the forfeiture required was that of a *santhata.*

The word, as used in the *Vinaya,* means a rug or a mat or a sheet. The *P.E.D.,* which gives "rug or mat," says that Kern considers the spelling to be *santata.* So does B. C. Law, *History of Pali Literature,* i. 53, n., where he says that it means "a rug or mat." E. J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought,* p. 19 has "rug." *Vinaya Texts* i. 24 translates the one word as though it stood for a choice of two, "rug or mat," and also as "rug." Huber translates the *saṁstara* of the Pātimokkha of the Sarvāstivādins (*J. As.* 1913, p. 497) as "couverture." Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana translates by "mat" (So-sor-thar-pa, p. 20). Childers only gives *santhata* as the past participle of *santharati.*

In view of the fact that there are other words for rug, mat, sheet, carpet and so on, the problem before us is to find some differentiating feature peculiar to the kind of rug or mat called *santhata,* the parti-

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cular characteristic in virtue of which it was so named. It will be necessary, in trying to solve this problem, to discover the true implication of the verb *santharati*, especially as this is used in the Suttavibhaṅga's Old Commentary on the Pātimokkha rules in defining the noun *santhata*.

Let us first, however, look at Nissaggiyas XI – XV themselves and see what the internal evidence suggests. In Nissaggiya XI, it is an offence for a monk to have a *santhata* made mixed with silk. A sheet, rug or mat could all be made mixed with silk. Offences of expiation involving forfeiture are also committed by a monk if he has a *santhata* made of nothing but black sheep's wool (Nissag. XII), which suggests a rug rather than a sheet, and was a practice apparently indulged in by the laity ; if he has a *santhata* made of colours not in the right and prescribed proportions (Nissag. XIII), which again supports the "rug" hypothesis ; or if he does not make a *santhata* last for six years at least (Nissag. XIV), after having asked, as stated in the story, for sheep's wool for making it. Although the material of which a *santhata* was made is not mentioned in the rule of Nissag. XIV, it may be deduced from the story that the reference here is to one made of wool. And this points to "rug" rather than to "sheet." In any case, it would be hazardous to predict whether a sheet or a rug were the more likely to last for six years in the tropics.

The evidence from these Nissaggiyas appears to be on the side of rug or mat. The *santhatas* were made of wool (XII – XIV), of a mixture of colours and were to last for six years. Only from Nissaggiya XI do we learn that the monks had the idea of making *santhatas* mixed with silk ; and a sheet made mixed with silk is as possible as a rug or mat made mixed with silk. Yet it is not said that the laity made their *santhatas* of this material. Had they been said to have done so, the evidence for sheet would have been stronger, for many of them were wealthy and luxurious, and would doubtless have had sheets of the finest materials. What is said is that the laity had their *santhatas* made of pure black sheep's wool (*Vin.* iii. 225), and they claim to have made them last for five or six years. Besides, there is the word *paccattharaṇa=paṭi,° pacc,°* on, against, with the sense of protecting against[1]+*attharaṇa*, a covering, sheet or bed-clothing. And there is also *uttarattharaṇa* (e.g. *Vin.* iii. 212) which the Vinaya Com-

1. At *Vin.* i. 295 the use of a *nisīdana* is allowed to protect the body, robes and lodgings against being soiled. But it turned out to be too small to protect the whole lodging, and a *paccattharaṇa* was allowed, and might be made as large as required.

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mentary *(VA.* 666, 776) describes as a *paccattharaṇa* and as a thing that may be spread, *attharitabbaka,* upon a couch or chair. Had "sheet" been intended, one or other of these two words would have been used instead of *santhata,* for they were at hand and occur in the *Vinaya* itself and not merely in Buddhaghosa's commentary. Thus, such evidence as the Vinaya provides in the *santhata* Nissaggiyas, and elsewhere, points in the direction of "rug" rather than of sheet. But as yet we are not in a position to ascribe any characteristic feature to *santhata.*

Nissaggiya XV introduces a further complication. Its "rule" states that if a monk is having a new *nisīdana-santhata* made, he must take a piece from all round an old *santhata* in order to disfigure the new *nisīdanasanthata.* Nisīdana is a piece of cloth for sitting on, and it is so called if it has a border *(Vin.* iii. 232, iv. 123, 171). The exact purport of the compound *nisīdanasanthata* cannot be so well gauged from speculations as to the nature of the compound : whether it is Dvanda, Tatpuruṣa, Karmadhāraya or Bahuvrīhi, as from a consideration of the story of Nissaggiya XV which leads up to the formulation of this intricate rule.

It is possible that the point, in the rule of Nissag. XV, of speaking of a *nisīdanasanthata,* was to show that here the *nisīdana* was of a special nature, not what is merely and ordinarily called a *nisīdana,* but a variety of this, dependent on the addition to it of a *santhata,* or part of one. The story tells that monks had discarded their *santhatas,* not because these were more than six years old, but because the monks wanted to profit by the privilege, granted by the lord to his more ascetic followers : jungle-dwellers, almsmen, wearers of rag-robes, of seeing him while he was in retreat for meditation. But then when the lord was touring the lodgings, so it is said, he saw the rugs discarded here and there, and asked how this had come about.

Not a word is said in the story about *nisīdana ;*[2] it appears for the first time in the compound word of the "rule." And here apparently the penalty for having discarded their *santhatas* was that, when monks were having a new article, a *nisīdanasanthata,* made, they had to use for this a span's breadth of material taken from all round an

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2. I think that Miss D. N. Bhagvat is in error when she states, *Early Buddhist Jurisprudence,* p. 48, that "the episode connected with Nissaggiya XV has no bearing upon the rule." Monks, not of the ascetic type who could manage without something to sit upon, had discarded their *santhatas* before these were six years old ; they therefore could not have new ones made, but allowed to use part of the old ones combined with a *nisīdana.*

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old *santhata*. In future, for this is the force of the rule, all *nisīdana-santhatas* were to be made in this style. A *nisīdanasanthata* thus appears to be a *nisīdana* that is partly *santhata*, hence a piece of cloth to sit upon made with the addition of part of a *santhata*. In this way will *nisīdanasanthata* be distinguished from a *nisīdana*, that object which, probably because it was in greater use than a *nisīdanasanthata*, is more frequently mentioned in the texts.

I think that Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana gets nearer the essence of what it is intended that *nisīdanasanthata* should convey by translating it as "piece of carpet made into a seat" (*So-sar-thar-pa*, p. 21), than does *Vinaya Texts*, i. 25, 26 which translates it as "rug to sit upon" and "seat-rug," or Huber, *J.As.* 1913, p. 497, who gives no more than "tapis." The *santhata*, it may be remarked, was not expected to furnish the border prescribed for a *nisīdana*. The reason why a border came to be allowed, together with its correct measurements, is given at *Vin.* iv 170 f., and has nothing to do with the need for adding part of a *santhata* to a *nisīdana*.

Now we know that *nisīdana* is something to sit upon, probably a piece of cloth. It is not the act of sitting, as *Vinaya Texts*, i. 25 suggests in translating *nisīdanasanthata* as "rug to sit upon." That *nisīdana* is an article for use and not a bodily act is clear from various *Vinaya* passages, e.g. from *Vin.* i. 295 where the use of a *nisīdana* is allowed to protect the body, robes and lodgings from being soiled; from *Vin.* iv. 41 where it occurs in the definition of *seyyā*, sleeping-place; and from *Vin.* i. 296, 297 where it is opposed to *paccattharaṇa* thus, *nisīdana vā paccattharaṇa vā*,[3] a piece of cloth to sit upon or a sheet.

We cannot, therefore, relying on Nissaggiya XV alone, since in it *santhata* is closely combined with a word meaning something to sit on, rule out the possibility that it means a sheet. For this can be lain on, sat on, as much as can a rug. All that can be said is that other contexts provide more reason for translating *santhata* by "rug" than by "sheet." Part of the difficulty in translating the noun *santhata* is that hitherto no precise significance has been ascribed to the verb *santharati*. If we could determine more closely what this verb means, we should be the better able, bearing its implications in mind, to translate the past participle, although I think that the meaning of this, used as a noun, must be deduced, to a large extent, from the contexts in which it occurs, and which I have briefly recapitulated.

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3. At *Vin.* i. 47, ii. 209, 218 the compound *nisīdana-paccattharaṇa* is found.

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Nevertheless, something of the nature of the article called *santhata* can be learnt from an investigation of the verb *santharati* and its various parts.

From Childer's definition of *santhăra* as "layer, stratum," there emerges a valuable clue pointing to *santharati* (=*saṁ*+*stṛ*) as possibly meaning to spread, to strew *in layers*. The cognate verb *attharati* (=*ā*+*stṛ*) would then denote the simpler act of spreading, covering, spreading out, stretching out, laying out, but not in layers, and at is were only once, or only one thing, as at *Vin.* i. 254ff., cloth, and *Jā.* i. 199, a bridge. At the same time, the gerunds, *santharitvā* and *santharāpetvā* are also used in reference to having spread and having got others to spread, in the open air, a couch or chair or mattress or stool (*Vin.* iv. 39).

Yet it is possible that *santharati,* used in such connections, does not so much mean the act of putting out the bed or chair unfurnished, but rather, for example, spreading on it and under it the sheet, *paccattharaṇa,* and the ground-covering, *bhummattharaṇa,*[4] thus spreading it out with layers of different things, converting it from a mere bed or chair into something that has coverings, *attharaṇa,* and so is fit to lie on or sit on. The Vinaya Commentary, *VA.* 776, speaks of sheet and ground covering, as things that may be spread out, *attharitabba,* although that is, if our hypothesis is correct, not in layers, it being possible to spread out either without spreading others or anything else. The point is that when there are two distinct, even though connected words in Pali, two discernible meanings must be intended and should be capable of translation. For the compilers of Pali "texts" did not use words loosely.

There are, moreover, passages both in the *Vinaya* and the Suttas where *santharati* must mean to spread or to strew, and in layers, by a spreading method of layering. For example, *Vin.* i. 227=*D.* ii. 84, *D.* iii. 208=*Ud.* VIII. 6 and *M.* i. 354 all speak of making ready a council hall by "spreading" it (*santharati*). From the commentaries on the *Udāna* and *Majjhima* (*UdA.* 409. iii. 18) it appears that the method of "spreading" that the commentator had in mind was one of layering, of spreading out different things in layers, in stratums, one on top of the others. For they say, "covering the ground with cow-dung ... smearing that with four kinds of scents, above that

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4. That *bhummattharaṇa* is regarded as distinct from *santhata* is made clear by the *anāpatti* (no offence) clauses of Nissag. XI-XV, where it is said that there is no offence if a monk makes a *bhummattharaṇa* (i.e. of materials and in ways not allowed in making a *santhata*).

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having spread *(santharitvā)* various coloured mats, above these using a fleecy rug, they got the whole place "spread in layers" *(santharāpesuṁ),* determined that it should be "spread in layers," with coverings *(attharaka)* of various colours : with skins *(attharaka,* lit. coverings) of elephants, horses, lions, tigers, and so on." As is sometimes the way with the commentary, the word to be defined is defined partly by itself. But here there is also a description, as well as a mere definition, which is of inestimable help in getting at a fuller understanding of what *santharati* implies.

At *A.* iii. 295 we get *ghārāvasaṁ santharituṁ,* with the v. ll. *saṇṭh,*° *sandhar,*°*sant,*° while *AA.* reads *nicchiddaṁ kātuṁ santhapetuṁ Pavattetun ti attho,* "the meaning is to make it *nicchidda* (perhaps 'without holes or defects,' word not in *P.E.D.),* to establish it, to keep it going." E. M. Hare renders *ghārāvasaṁ santharituṁ* as "to keep the household together" *(G.S.* iii. 212). Likewise, in conection with making *santhata,* the verb *santharati* undoubtedly indicates some process of manufacture, in which the material used in making the article is kept together, although this is not done by weaving the material. Thus *santhata* would be a finished product made, not by weaving, but by this other method called *santharati.*

For the Old Commentary on the Pātimokkha always defines *santhata* as *santharitvā kataṁ hoti avāyimaṁ,* what comes to be made having spread, not woven. Thus "having spread" is deliberately and purposefully put in opposition to "not woven." Both verbs refer, not so much to the finished article, as to the method of making it. Thus *santharitvā,* in this definition, needs some word to be supplied as its object, such as one representing the material used in making the article by this process known as *santharati.* The Vinaya Commentary, at *VA.* 684, describes the technique of what is called *santharitvā,* by saying that "it is made, having spread, *santharitvā,* silk[5] filaments one upon another on a level piece of ground, having poured boiled rice (or corn), etc., over the silk filaments."

This then is the kind of process meant by *santhata,* and it is the only one described. It seems that things, here silk filicules, are spread out in layers, and not cross-wise so as to be woven. Here I think the notion that *santhata* might mean a sheet, gained from Nissaggiya XI, must be abandoned. For sheets are not usually made by laying out filicules or threads on the ground. So if we follow the commentator, we should have to say "rug" or "mat."

On the other hand, the Old Commentary on Nissaggiya XV *(Vin.*

5. "Silk" is not necessary to the argument. Bu. is here commenting on Nissag. XI.

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iii. 232) again raises the doubt as to whether sheet or rug is meant. For it defines *purāṇa-santhata,* an old (soiled or used) *santhata* in exactly the same terms as it defines *purāṇacīvara,* an old, soiled or used robe, at Nissaggiya IV, thus : "dressed in it once, put on once," as though it were referring to something that could be worn. For the words "dressed in," *nivattha* (past participle of *nivāseti)* and "put on," *pāruta* (past participle of *pārupati)* usually refer to dressing in the inner robe and to putting on the upper robe and the outer cloak, which together constitute the three robes of a monk. A rug, equally a sheet, but hardly a mat, could be put on over the body.

Buddhaghosa only apparently, I think, gets away from the traditional meaning of these two words, *nivāseti* and *pārupati,* when, in the Vinaya Commentary on Nissaggiya XV *(VA.* 687), he defines *nivattha,* dressed in, and *pāruta,* put on, by *nisinna,* sat on, and *nipanna,* lain on, respectively, although in this context he does not appear to consider the possibility that *santhata* might mean a sheet or covering cloth. Yet hard on the heels of this explanation, he speaks of a *santhata* "counting as a fourth robe" *(VA.* 687), an explanation not impossible however to reconcile with that which makes of *santhata,* in a definition of a definition, something that can be sat on, lain on. For in his exegesis on Nissaggiya IV *(VA.* 660), Buddhaghosa says that a robe is called old, that is, "dressed in it once, put on once," if a monk comes to lie on it, using it as a pillow, and he implies that it may also be used under a person as a *paccattharaṇa* (sheet). Thus a thing, like a robe ,that was meant to be worn might also on occasion be lain on or sat on.

With *santhata* we appear to have a word the meaning of which was flexible or which was undergoing a change or evolution, and this because the article denoted by the word, could be used for different purposes as need arose. For evidently *santhata,* by the time that the commentary was compiled, had come to mean something that might be sat upon as well as something that might be worn.

Without more definite evidence that it means a sheet, a thing that can appropriately be made of silk (text), something that can be put on (Old Commentary), something that can be counted as a fourth robe (Bu.'s commentary); or that it means a rug, a thing that can appropriately be made of wool, of a mixture of colours, and that must last at least six years (text), something that can be put on (Old Commentary), something that can be sat on or lain on (Bu.'s Commentary), it is better to choose "rug" as the most suitable translation for *santhata.* While a sheet could either be worn, wrapped round the body or sat on, and we must remember that there are the words *paccattharaṇa* and *uttarattharaṇa,* the very fact that a *santhata* seems ordinarily to

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have been made of wool, to my mind disposes of the claims of "sheet," establishing those of "rug." And this, too, is something that could either be worn, wrapped round the body or used to sit on.

To whatever use a *santhata* was put, or for whatever purpose it was intended, it was not an article made by weaving, but one made by the method called *santharati*. This seems to have been a kind of welding together of the basic materials needed for the making of the article, having spread them out in layers, one on top of the other, in strata all running the same way, and having poured boiling rice-gruel or conjey over them. The result of this operation was a *santhata*, a thing made by this process.

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THE LITERATURE OF THE AGE OF DHARMAPĀLA

By NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA

The greatness and stability of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal was in main due to the efforts of Dharmapāla, with whom a fitting comparison may, in this respect, be instituted with Samudragupta, also the second representative of the dynasty he belonged to. The Gupta potentate wielded suzerain power over a much greater territory, but unlike him, Dharmapāla had to face the rivalry and hostilities of two formidable powers, viz., the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. Nevertheless, Dharmapāla enabled himself not only to get over the difficulties but to cosolidate his monarchy. Great indeed a king he was. The internal peace and tranquility that he gave his subjects to enjoy, who were only a generation ago plagued with the scourge of *Mātsyanyāya,* bore fruitful results. A new, but vigorious school of art, with which are traditionally associated the names of Dhīmān and Vītapāla, had its genesis either in Varendra or in Nālandā in his time. Further we know that for the edification of the Buddhists of his time he founded no fewer than three great Vihāras, viz. Vikramaśīla, Somapurī and Vikramapurī, in three different parts of his kingdom,[1] and these continued along with some other Vihāras to serve as prominent seats of Buddhist learning and culture for a long time to come. The cause of literature also did not lag behind. It is, however, not known if Dharmapāla betook himself to any sort of literary enterprise ; in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa, we have verses of one Dharmapāla,[2] who, if a king, seems to be the Dharmapāla of Kāmarūpa rather than the Dharmapāla of Bengal.[3] But he must have had the distinction of being a patron of the literati, which is fully borne out by the literary wealth brought into being in his age, of which have scattered evidences here and there.

Probably the most outstanding work composed under his patronage is the *Abhisamayālaṁkārāvaloka* of Haribhadra, which is a commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā,* embodying the ideas of both Nāgārjuna and Maitreyanātha, with a view to put a stop to the

1. *Ind. Cult.,* I, pp. 228-30; *Bhāratavarṣa,* 1341 B.S., pp. 967-69.

2. *Saduktikarṇāmṛta,* published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot., Lahore, 1933, Introduction, p. 63.

3. *Jour. Assam Res. Soc.,* Vol. IV, pp. 56-57.

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contention raging between the Madhyamaka and Yogācāra schools of Buddhism.[4] Haribhadra wrote his commentary in the Trikūṭaka Vihāra,[5] the location of which has not yet been determined. A copy of the commentary has been recovered from Nepal. It was translated into Tibetan by Subhāṣita of India and Ratnabhadra of Tibet (958-1055 A.D.), and the translation was executed by the order of the Tibetan king, Khri-bkra-śis-ḥod-lde-btsan.[6] Bu-ston in the 13th century, while referring to some legendary traditions about Haribhadra, gives a list of his works, viz. a summary of the Pañcaviṁśati *Sāhasrikā* in 8 chapters, the Great Commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā (Abhisamayālaṁkārāloka),* the Commentary called *Sphuṭārtha,* the Commentary on the *Saṁcaya* called *Subodhinī,* the *Prajñāpāramitā-bhāvanā,* etc.[7] He borrowed, we are told, the material for his works from four great Commentaries, and especially has based upon the treatises of the two Saints (i.e. Asaṅga and Vimuktasena).[8]

The evidence of the *Tangyur* shows that the *Abhidharmasamuccaya-vyākhyā* of Jinaputra was translated by Jinamitra and the Tibetan Jñānasena (Ye-śes-sde) under the auspices of Dharmapāla-nareśvara.[9] Jinamitra, again, translated in collaboration with Dānaśīla and Śīlendrabodhi of India the *Pratītyasamutpāda-hṛdaya-kārikā* of Nāgārjuna.[10] Still again we find that a Sanskrit-Tibetan vocabulary was prepared under the order of Khri-ḷde-sron-bstan by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Śīlendrabodhi amongst others.[11] These evidences not only prove that Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Śīlendrabodhi were reputed authors of the age of Dharmapāla, but also the contemporaneity of Dharmapāla and Khri-ḷdle-sron-btsan, a fact recorded also by Tāranātha. In the present state of our knowledge, Dharmapāla's reign has to be placed

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4. *Catalogue Du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* par P. Cordier, Part III, pp. 276-77; *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal,* III, Introduction, p. 5; *J.B.O.R.S.,* V, pp. 176-77.

5. *Tasmin sarvaguṇākare Trikuṭaka-śrīmad vihāre śubhe | dānālabdha-mahodayasya Karṇād devasya dharmātmanaḥ ..... Śrī-Dharmapālasya vai ||*

6. Cordier, *op. cit,* III, 276-77.

7. *History of Buddhism,* Part II, tr. by E. Obermiller, 1932, pp. 156-59.

8. *Ibid,* p. 159.

9. Cordier, *op. cit.,* III, p. 384.

10. *Ibid,* p. 294. This Dānaśīla must not be confounded with Dānaśīla of the Jagaddal-*Mahāvihāra,* built by Rāmapāla : Cf. *Ind. Cult.,* Vol. I, pp. 232-33; *Vicitrā,* 1345 B.S., p. 294.

11. Cordier, *op. cit,* III, p. 487.

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between 760 and 810 A.D. Of all dates preserved to us for his contemporary Tibetan monarch, that in the *Chronicles of Ladakh (Ladvags rGyalrabs)* according to Schlagintweit's MS., is the nearest approximate date, ascribing as it does Khri-lde-sron-btsan to 755-797 A.D.[12]

Another author of the age of Dharmapāla was the *Mahāsiddhācārya* Ṭaṅkadāsa (or Daṁgadāsa), who wrote a commentary, entitled *Suvidasaṁputa,* on the *Hevajra-tantra,* and also a sub-commentary on it.[13] He is styled *Vṛddha-kāyastha,* which means a senior writer, and probably he was in the employ of Dharmapāla.[14]

Writing as late as in 1493 A.D., Caturbhuja, the poet of the *Haricarita Kāvya,* speaks of his forefather, Svarṇarekha, that he was as qualified at Prajāpati, and that he had received the excellent village of Karañja in Varendra as a grant from King Dharmapāla.[15] Several villages bearing the name of Karañja that are in the various districts of North Bengal render the identification of this particular Karañja extremely difficult, but the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (IV. 8.5) and the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (No. 164) indeed quote two verses of one Suvarṇarekha, who may not unlikely be the Svarṇarekha of Caturbhuja's description. We have a verse of the poet of the *Lopāmudrā (Lopāmudrā-kavi)* in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (IV. 9. 5), but R. L. Mitra gives out, on the basis of a MS. of that anthology dated in Śaka 1500, that the author of the *Lopāmudrā* is Suvarṇarekha.[16] It is difficult to corroborate the piece of information, but the *Lopāmudrā* might have been a poem or a drama based on the Paurāṇic story of Lopāmudrā, the wife of the sage, Agastya, who being asked by her of riches, slew the demon Ilvala and brought her a vast treasure. Ujjvaladatta in his *Uṇādisūtra* quotes Suvarṇarekha, who might also have been, as Prof. F. W. Thomas suggests, a lexicographer.[17]

The next author we may pass to is Abhinanda,[18] alias Ārya

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12. *Antiquities of Indian Tibet,* A. H. Francke, Vol. II, p. 86.

13. Cordier, *op. cit,* II, p. 67 and p. 69.

14. Cf. on this point also *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang,* Index, p. v.

15. *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal,* by H. P. Śāstrī, Vol. I, p. 134. Several *Kula-pañjikās* of Bengal record that Dharmapāla granted Dhāmasāra, a village on the bank of the Ganges, to Adigāiñ Ojhā, son of Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa! See *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa,* by N. Vasu, *Rājanyakāṇḍa,* p. 156, footnote 41.

16. R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.,* Vol. III, p. 139.

17. *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya,* Introduction, p. 164.

18. Cf. Mr. S. K. Saraswati's learned paper on *Gauḍakavi Abhinanda* in *Bhāratavarṣa,* 1342 B.S., Jyaiṣṭha, pp. 392-96.

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Vilāsa, who wrote the *Rāmacarita,* which is the earliest extant *Mahākāvya* produced in Bengal. It contains, as preserved, forty cantos, whereof the last four are suspected to be interpolations.[19] In a 'simple, charming and bold style,' it recounts the story of Rāma, but unlike the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, it confines itself only to a part of the later career of Rāma following the rape of Sītā by Rāvaṇa. With a description at the outset of the rainy season, when Rāma had been on the Mount Mālyavana bewailing the enticement of his spouse, it brings the narrative to a close with the death of the two demons, Kumbha and Nikumbha.

Abhinanda's patron was Yuvarāja Hāravarṣa, who is distinctly called Vikramaśīla-nandana and Vikramaśīla-janmā.[20] We can have no doubt about the identification of Vikramaśīla with Dharmapāla, the real founder of the Vikramaśīla-*Mahāvihāra.*[21] Since Hāravarṣa, the son of Vikramaśīla (-Dharmapāla) is given the epithet *Yuvarāja* (heir-apparent), Abhinanda must have composed his poem before Dharmapāla had ceased to rule. Dharmapāla had, however, a pretty long reign, and in order to explain such terms as *Nṛpa, Nṛpati, Lokapati* etc, as are applied to the *Yuvarāja* Hāravarṣa by Abhinanda,[22] we have got to presume that Hāravarṣa used, before he was crowned, to discharge the kingly duties on behalf of his old father. Even as late as in the thirty-second regnal year of Dharmapāla, the date of his Khālimpur inscription, Tribhuvanapāla was the *Yuvarāja,* and normally he has to be taken as the Hāravarṣa of Abhinanda.[23] But the question is, if he is self-same with Devapāla, who figures in history as the actual successor of Dharmapāla. If not, Tribhuvanapāla must have predeceased his father, and must be supposed, in view of his appellation ending with *varṣa* (i.e. Hāravarṣa), to have been born, like Devapāla, of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa mother, viz. Raṇṇādevī. But of these we have no direct testimony. Nevertheless, the whole problem admits of an easy and simple solution if Devapāla is regarded as identical with Tribhuvanapāla, which is *not* at all running the risk of a gross misrepresentation.

Abhinanda is referred to by many later writers of different parts

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19. *Rāmacarita,* ed. K. S. Rāmaswāmī Śāstri, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLVI, 1930, Introduction, p. xxviii.

20. *Rāmacarita,* pp. 39, 63, 80, 262 and Intro. p. xxii.

21. *Ind. Cult.,* Vol. I, pp. 228-29; *Bhāratavarṣa,* 1341 B.S., p. 967-68; *Rāmacarita,* Introduction, p. xxii.

22. *Rāmacarita,* Introduction, p. xix; *Bhāratavarṣa,* 1341 B.S., p. 968.

23. *Bhāratavarṣa,* 1341 B.S., p. 968.

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of India. "By these references in later works it is obvious that Abhinanda commanded wide popularity in the five centuries from the 11th, to the 15th, during which the *Rāmacarita* was regarded as a repository of excellent sayings which were quoted profusely by later writers."[24] He rose so high in popular esteem that according to an anonymous verse, reproduced in the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* as well as in the *Sūktimuktāvalī*, Abhinanda shares with only three other poets, viz. Acala, Amara and Kālidāsa, the credit of being real poets.[25] A few anthologies cite such verses of Abhinanda as are not detectable in the *Rāmacarita*, and hence the supposition is that he composed some other works.[26]

Abhinanda was the son of Śatānanda, and we have a number of verses of a Śatānanda not only in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* but also in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* and the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*.[27] If this Śatānanda was the father of Abhinanda, he also must have been more or less a contemporary of Dharmapāla.

Abhinanda informs us in several passages of the *Rāmacarita* that Hāravarṣa compiled, after Hāla, the author of the *Gāthākoṣa (Saptaśatī)*, an anthology.[28] "Praise to the illustrious Hāravarṣa," says Abhinanda, "who after Hāla collected his own *Koṣa* in order to make known the treasures of poets."[29] Hāravarṣa's anthology seems to have been lost, but were it preserved, it would be ranked as one of the earliest collections made in Prākṛta.

We have still another name to add to the list of the literati of the age of Dharmapāla. Tāranātha, the Tibetan chronicler, gives us to understand that "after Dharmapāla his son-in-law, Basurakṣita, became king; but eight years later Vanapāla, Dharmapāla's son, was

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24. *Rāmacarita,* Introduction, p. X.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid,* p. viii.
27. *Saduktikarṇāmṛta,* Introduction, p. 123-24.
28. *Rāmacarita,* pp. 39, 81, 111 :
    Namaḥ Śrī-Hāravarṣāya yena Hālād=anantaraṁ |
    svakoṣaḥ kavikoṣānām=āvirbhāvāya saṁbhṛta ||
29. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. II, p. 103, Bühler.

It may be added here that Hāla is popularly identified with Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna, and in the Bhāgalpur copper-plate inscription of Nārāyaṇapāla *(Ind. Ant.,* 1886, p. 305, V. 12). we are told of him that, "By fine sentences which won the hearts of good men he confirmed *(the tradition of)* Sātivāhana *(Svīkṛta-sujanamanobhiḥ satyāpita Śātivāhanaḥ suktaiḥ).* This implies that Nārāyaṇapāla, too, practised, at whiles, composing verses.

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raised to the throne."[30] The *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*[31] also records that Masurakṣita (or Masurakṣi), a son-in-law of King Dharmapāla, was regent of the kingdom of Magadha for eight years during his son's minority, and was a master of Political Economy and Ethics *(Rājaṇīti)*. The details are, of course, unhistorical, but both the sources of information knew a Masurakṣita to have been the son-in-law of Dharmapāla, and it is not at all unlikely that one Masurakṣi was at any rate a contemporary of Dharmapāla. If so, with him we may identify the Masurakṣi, who composed a *Nīti-śāstra* in seven *parivartas* (chapters), preserved in translation in the *Tangyur*.[32]

A more careful and searching study may, let it be hoped, reveal the names of some other authors belonging to the age of the Mahārājādhirāja Dharmapāladeva.

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30. *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 366.
31. Index, p. lxxxiii.
32. Cordier, *op. cit*, III, p. 483.

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THE CONCEPT OF DEFINITION IN MĀDHVA VEDĀNTA

By P. NAGARAJA RAO

According to Jayatīrtha, Definition "is what is invariably present in the defined objects and absent in objects other than the defined."[1] The term 'invariably' brings out that the distinguishing trait should be found in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined.

If we take one of the two factors to constitute a definition, it lands us in the fallacy of overpervation : (1) A cow is a "horned animal." This definition includes all other 'horned animals' such as buffaloes, stags, etc. (2) "Dewlap" is 'what is not found in animals other than cows.' This definition of dewlap namely 'what is not found in animals other than cows' is found in 'tawny colour.' 'Tawny colour' is not found in animals other than cows. Hence the definition is overpervasive.

So both the factors, (1) invariable presence of the distinguishing trait in all the objects belonging to the same class and (2) its non-existence in objects other than the defined, constitute together the definition.'

The first purpose of a definition is to facilitate our understanding of objects in their distinctive individuality and independence. The second is to mark off one class from another, each retaining its independence. To differentiate one individual from another within the limits of the given class is the third use of a definition. It is immaterial whether these purposes are stated separately or otherwise. Some hold that the one purpose of definition is individualisation of material entities. A definition synthesises the features belonging to a general class, and the distinctive characteristics of the individuals coming under that class.

In Western Logic, Definition proceeds *'per genus et differentiam.'* A definition should state the proximate genus. This fact points out that the defined is a species coming under the genus stated. The differentia consists of quality or qualities which distinguish the defined from the species that are co-ordinate with it. The purpose of a definition according to the Indian logicians also is to differentiate the defined object from other members of its own class, and from the members of other classes. Definition helps us to denote the import of words.

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1. Sakala-lakṣya-vṛttitve sati lakṣyetara-avṛttitvam'
Pramāṇa-paddhati, Section 3, p. 10.

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According to the Nyāya school, definition proceeds on the basis of the presence of the generic attribute in all the objects belonging to the same class as the defined. There are two jātis according to the Nyāya school. The one is 'sattā' that is the highest universal or 'summum genus' (parā jāti). This brings all existents together and emphasises their community of nature. The other is called aparā-jātī. It is many in number. The 'potness' jāti is different from the clothness jāti. The 'universals' are not ubiquitous like space and soul. They exist in particular individuals. Jāti is defined as 'one, eternal, and inheres in many things.' It is found in substance, quality, and action only. It is this common element which is found in objects belonging to the same class as the defined.

If jāti is assumed as one and eternal, what happens exactly to the jāti 'potness' when the pot is broken? The jāti does not get destroyed, because it is eternal. Nor can it be said that a part of it is lost, for it is impartite. The resourceful logician tells us that it abides in 'Time.' The question now arises whether it was not in Time when the pot was existent. Madhva is not the first to criticise the Nyāya view of 'sāmānya' in the above manner.[2] The jāti of the Nyāya school is only a dharma. There is no pramāṇa for the conception of such a common attribute.[3] The manness in each man is different. On the cremation of an individual the 'manness' in him is destroyed, so the manness in each individual is different. Madhva repudiates the Nyāya conception of jāti, and admits a number of dharmas in its place. So 'potness and clothness' are dharmas and not jāti.

Madhva holds that there are two types of relations between an attribute and a substrate.[4] Some dharmas exist in the dharmī till the

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2. See *Mānameyodaya* pp. 229, 230, and *Indian Culture* Vol. I. article *on Buddhist Estimate of the Universals* pp. 359-374.

3. Ekatve nāsti mānam.
Naratvādikam apy evaṁ tattaddharmatayeyate.
Na sarva-dharma eko sti.
Kuto bhasmatvam āptasya naratvam punar iṣyate.
Madhva's Anuvyākhyāna.

4. Guṇa-kriyā-jāti-pūrva-dharmāḥ sarvepi vastunaḥ |
Rūpameva, dvidhā tac ca yāvad vastu ca khaṇḍitam ||
Khaṇḍite bheda aikyaṁ ca yāvad vastu na bhedavat |
Khaṇḍitaṁ rūpam evā'tra vikāro'pi vikāriṇaḥ ||
Kārya-kāraṇayoścaiva tathaiva guṇa-tadvatoḥ |
Kriya-kriyāvatoḥ tadvat tathā jāti-viśeṣayoḥ ||
Madhva's *Tattvaviveka*, p. 5.

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destruction of the dharmī. For example 'potness,' the 'jātiness,' exists in pot till the destruction of the pot. Qualities, action, and jāti are of the very nature of the dharmī itself in the above case. They are technically called 'yāvaddravya-bhāvī.' The relation of above-mentioned objects to their attribute is identity. The second type of relation that exists between a substance and its attribute is called ayāvad-dravya-bhāvī' or 'khaṇḍitaṁ,' e.g. the relation between the (1) vikāra and the vikārin, (2) cause and effect, and (3) movement and its object. The dharmas in the above example get destroyed prior to the destruction of the dharmīs. The relation between such dharmas and their dharmīs is a relation of *identity and difference.* It is not identity in difference. The relation exists only when the cloth is existent. Supposing we take away the threads which go to make up a cloth, what exactly would be the relation of the thread and cloth. The relation now is not identity because we see the threads, but not the cloth. The cloth belongs to the past (atīta) and threads are seen in the present (vidyamāna). So their relation is not identity but difference. Madhva is of opinion that at one particular time the relation of the cloth to the threads was identity but now it is difference. When the cloth and the threads were one, the relation was identity, when the threads are taken away the relation is difference. In two different moments the substrate and the attribute are related in two different ways, (1) identity and (2) difference. Madhva never says that at the same moment an attribute and a substrate are in a relation of *identity and difference.*

The objects of the world are entirely different from one another and their attributes are also different.[5] A further question crops up at this stage as to how to distinguish the various attributes which are identical with the objcets. It is to explain this fact that Madhva brings in his 'viśeṣas.' They are many in number. They exist in every object unlike the viśeṣa[6] of the Nyāya school which is present only in the eternal substances. The viśeṣas are 'svato-vyāvartaka.' It is a dharma of every padārtha. Though there is no difference between

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5. 'Bhinnāś ca bhinna-dharmāś ca padārthā nikhilāpi'
Madhva quotes this śruti in Anuvyākhyāna p. 186.
This is an untraceable śruti.

6. Bhedahīne tv apaṛyāye śabdāntaraniyāmakaḥ |
viśeṣo nāma kathitaḥ so'sti vastusvaśeṣataḥ ||
viśeṣāste'py anantāś ca paraspara-viśeṣataḥ |
Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna.*

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the dharmī and the attribute, it is this viśeṣa that helps us to cognise the attributes which though in relation of identity are yet different.

What exactly is the need for the assumption of viśeṣa? Why not say that the substance itself does the function of viśeṣa?

A substance is an object of cognition (jñānaviṣaya). Let us take, for example, a pot. We cognise it as a pot. In this cognition 'This is a pot' (ayaṁ ghaṭaḥ), there are three factors : (1) this aspect (idaṁ-padārtha), (2) ghaṭatva, i.e., the prakāra and (3) the relation between them, i.e., 'saṁsarga.' If our cognition can give us an apprehension of all these objects, where is then the need for viśeṣa? Our cognition or perception of a pot can only tell us the fact that the pot has colour. The perception cannot tell us anything about the substrate being either different or otherwise from the attribute. Perception gives us the cognition 'rūpavān ghaṭaḥ.' It never gives us the cognition of 'ghatāt rūpam bhinnam.' So perception can never give us the knowledge of the exact nature of the relation fixing one relation as the substrate and the other as the attribute. When we say that perception cognises the relation between the substrate and the attribute it may be thought that the two relata are different. Relation obtains not only between the two differents but between two identities also.[7] For example, take the question 'Does time exist now? The answer is that it exists. The relations of 'Time' as existent now and 'Time' eternal is identity. Perception does not help us in cognising the nature of the relation. That can be cognised on the basis of eternality and non-eternality. Certain substrates are eternal and their attributes are also eternal. Substrate and attribute are identical. In such cases we do not have any bias of distinction to call one the substrate, and another the attribute. We cannot here say that the substance itself gives us the cognition. To say so would be to beg the question, because we do not know which is the substrate and which the attribute. In order to explain such facts, Madhva posits a special potency called viśeṣa which helps us to cognise the substrate and the attribute.[8]

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7. The term 'relation' involved difference of some kind or degree. Without such difference the concept is unintelligible. Madhva's argument to establish a relation between two identicals appears to be specious. If it be true that our perception is of the form 'rūpavān ghaṭaḥ' the cognition of difference is already involved in what leads to the use of the possessive suffix.

8. The potency which Madhva ascribes to viśeṣa can be ascribed to the 'thing' itself though we may not know which the thing is. The policy does not depend on our cognition of itself or its possessor for its efficacy. The charge,

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Madhva is of opinion that definition proceeds on the basis of similarity (sādṛśya). When we define a cow as an animal which has a dewlap, the definition through this distinguishing quality, namely, possession of a dewlap, helps us to cognise all the cows. This cognition based on the perception of the similarity is an independent category. It is defined 'eka-nirupita-apara-vṛtti,' i.e., while being determined by one, it is present in many ; though its determinant is one, it is not one and the same in all. Its main function is indication of difference. It always expresses itself in a relational form. It is always expressed in the form of a quality. There is no bare similarity. Madhva holds that though it is prolix to admit a plurality of similarities, yet the concept of similarity is unintelligible otherwise.

If A and B are similar, A's similarity to B is different from B's similarity to A. Those who argue that it is one and the same similarity that abides in both are not in the right. Let us illustrate it : 'The face is similar to the moon.' Here face is qualified by the similarity determined by the moon. The moon is the 'determinant.' The locus is the face. Now let us reverse the position in the analogy : 'the moon is similar to the face.' The face is now the 'nirupaka.' Owing to the difference in the determinants and their respective loci we have to grant that the two similarities are different.

Let us now examine the axiom 'things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another.' Similarity and equality are not different. They are one and the same. A is equal to C, B is equal to C, so A is equal to B. When we speak of similarity we speak of it only with reference to some quality (abhivyañjaka dharma). The similarity may be with reference to wealth or power. When A is said to be similar to C with reference to wealth or power, B is similar to C with reference to same. It is this property indicating similar similarity that gives us the cognition that A and B are similar. This can be put in the form of an inference :

A is similar to B
Because A and B are both similar to C
Like another instance.[9]

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therefore, that in the case of eternal substances, we do not know beforehand which the substrate is, is ineffective. The substance possessed of potency is said to be effective though itself uncognised. The ascription of potency to substance, which is concrete, is more intelligible than the ascription of it to an assumptive viśeṣa.

9. This argument which is in the form of an inference would appear to involve the fallacy of *petitio principii*, because the hetu assumed is the thing to be proved.

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The function of similarity is the differentiation of the defined object from other members of its own class and from the members of other classses. This can be put in the form of an inference :

The cow is different from other members of its own class and from the members of other classes,

Because it has a quality similar to the dewlap like another cow.

The relation of 'word' and 'word-sense' too is known only through similarity. The 'world-sense' of jāti and vyakti cannot be explained through the help of the generic attributes.[10] According to the Nyāya school there is no jāti in jāti, and no particularity in particularity. Further definition on the basis of the generic attribute is possible only for the first three padārthas according to the Nyāya school. The padārthas that have no jāti cannot be defined in the same manner. This leads the Nyāya school to adopt two separate methods to explain definition. In doing so they fall a victim to the defect of prolixity.

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10. Vyutpattir api hi sādṛśyenaiva gamyate.
Sarveṣu yugapac chabdaḥ sadṛśeṣu pravartate |
Jātitaś cet kathaṁ tāsu tatra ced anavasthitiḥ
Madhva's *Anuvyākhyāna,* pp. 186 and 187.

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MISCELLANEA

(1)

VATSABHAṬṬI'S PRAŚASTI

In his short note on Vatsabhaṭṭi's *Praśasti,* published in the Vol. VI. No. 1. of the *Indian Culture,* Mr. Sharma says that our dating of this record can be easily rejected on the basis of the palæographical peculiarities, cited by Mr. Fleet ; and, therefore, concludes that the Sun temple must have been renovated in 529 M.E., presuming also that it must have been destroyed *most probably* by the Huns. We must, however, confess that when it comes to a question of choice, we would rather put our faith in the *words of the record* itself than in the *speculations of historians and epigraphists,* distinguished though they are ; and, therefore, refuse to accept the date, which is based upon the palæographical peculiarities furnished by Mr. Fleet and the assumptions advanced by Mr. Sharma.

We have discussed in full our basis for ascribing the record to 493 *plus* 529, i.e. 1022 M.E., in the paper contributed to the *Dr. S.K.A. Commemoration Volume.* And since Mr. Sharma does not seem to be convinced even after reading through our paper on the subject — we sent him a copy of the paper — we wish to advert once again, as briefly as we can, to the main crux of our argument. What led to the renovation of the temple is the first question that has to be asked. Mr. Sharma believes that the temple must have been destroyed *most probably by the Huns.* This is a gratuitous assumption, not warranted by the text of the record ; and it appears to us to be strange that Vatsabhaṭṭi should not have mentioned it, if it was so. As a matter of fact, Vatsabhaṭṭi himself has given an answer to this question in his text : compare for instance the following verse :

bahunā samatītena kālenānyaiś ca pārthivaiḥ/
vyaśīryataikadeśo'sya bhavanasya tato'dhunā/

Through a *long* period of time and in the hands of *many* kings, a part of the temple fell into disrepair. The idea is very clear : seasonal repairs were not attended to at the proper time, and the kings of the place continued to neglect the temple through a long period, with the result that the temple fell into disrepair. The term *vyaśīryata* cannot and does not mean destruction at the hands of human

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enemy ; nor could the period of time expressed by the phrase *bahunā samatītena kālena,* interpreted in terms of *thirty-six years.* One would, therefore, naturally conclude that if the temple stood in need of repair, it was the result of *natural decay* aided by *human neglect,* extending through a *long period of time.* This is the explicit idea that the text of the record yields us, and in the face of this, speculation regarding the causes of the temple falling into disrepair is certainly out of place. On this subject Vatsabhaṭṭi's statement is necessarily more authoritative than our own speculations. We have, therefore, to conclude that it is not *destruction* by the Huns or anybody else, but *neglect by many kings through a long period of time,* which necessitated the renovation of the temple.

The next question that we may ask is this : when did the renovation take place ? Following the view of epigraphists, Mr. Sharma believes that it was renovated thirty-six years after it was originally built. If neglect by *many* kings through a *long* period of time is what led to the temple falling into disrepair, then this view is certainly wrong. For, *thirty-six years* do not constitute a *long* period in the usual sense of the term, and during this period, there could not have been *many kings* and such a *stately structure* could not have fallen into disrepair. Thus, the textual statement, regarding the cause of the temple falling into disrepair, is against the dating advanced by Mr. Sharma. Now let us see what the text itself says on the subject ; compare what Vatsabhaṭṭi says :

saṁskāritam idaṁ bhūyaḥ .....
vatsaraśateṣu pañcasu viṁśatyadhikeṣu cābdeṣu
yāteṣu .....

This text would have it that the temple was renovated after the lapse of five hundred and twenty-nine years. The question now arises : since what ? Is it after the *original construction* or after the *origin of the Mālava Era ?* Mr. Sharma takes it as the latter, and in so doing he is completely ignoring the significance of the term *yāteṣu.* The idea that he would read into the text could be got even in the absence of the term *yāteṣu,* and the same idea would be there, if the text ran as follows : *viṁśatyadhikeṣu cābdeṣu yāteṣu.* So far then as his interpretation of the text is concerned, it must certainly be conceded to be not *normal.* And, for this distortion of the textual sense, his only basis is his preconceived correctness of the speculations of Mr. Fleet, regarding the palæographical peculiarities of the record. We refuse to be inveigled into a date for the sake of a theory, even when it is propounded by a distinguished savant, Regarding palæography, it

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is conceded by all writers that it is by itself neither the first nor the last word, so far as the dating of a record is concerned. Mr. Sharma would have done better if he had shown that the renovation of the temple was something impossible in 1022 M.E. and this he has not done. We are, therefore, constrained to characterise Mr. Sharma's dating of the record as unacceptable. And it is particularly so, when textual evidence controverts this dating.

We conclude, therefore, by stating that while Messrs. Fleet and Sharma are perfectly entitled to have their opinion regarding the date of the record, we refuse to believe that our dating is *easily rejected* on the basis of the palæographical peculiarities, noticed by Mr. Fleet, even when it is supported by the speculations of Mr. Sharma. We, therefore, stick to our own dating of the record, as set forth in our paper contributed to the *Dr. S.K.A. Commemoration Volume,* namely 493 plus 529, i.e. 1022 M.E., a date which is based, not on speculations, but upon such textual expressions as *bahunā samatītena kālena, anyaiś ca pārthivaiḥ vyaśīryata* and *abdeṣu yāteṣu.*

K. R. PISHAROTI.

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(2)

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KĀMARŪPA KINGS

It is a pity that the history of Prāgjyotiṣa still lies enshrouded in Cimmerian darkness. To late MM. Vidyavinode goes the honour of being a pioneer. But as to the chronological tables[1] he has given dates in centuries. Those given by Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua[2] are also tentative. So Mr. D. N. Mukerji's article in the Indian Culture (April '39) has been a welcome one. Unfortunately, I am afraid, some conclusions hastily arrived at have made the confusion worse confounded.

1. Kāmarūpa Rājābali, pp. 13, 20-21, 24.
2. Early History of Kāmarūpa, pp. 53-4, 133-4, 149.

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Mr. Mukerji has first of all tried to identify Kāmarūpanṛpati Jayapāla of Silimpur Inscription[3] with Prince Jayapāla of Gauḍa of Bhāgalpur Inscription.[4] His three arguments are :—

(a) The name in the Silipur Inscription is given as Jayapāladeva and not Jayapālavarmadeva as the Pālas of Kāmarūpa are mentioned in their inscriptions.

(b) The name of the Gauḍa Prince agrees with the name of the Kāmarūpanṛpati and the first is definitely mentioned to have conquered Kāmarūpa ; so they must be identical.

(c) "As Bhāskara to Vallabhadeva were ruling in Kāmarūpa in the twelfth century Jayapāla has no place in Kāmarūpa even then. Jayapāla is thus evidently the brother of Mahārājādhirāja Devapāladeva of Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa and flourished in c. A.D. 830–65"

As to the first contention it may be pointed out that the Silimpur Inscription is not an official grant of the Pālas. Further down the article Mr. Mukerji has tried to identify Harṣapālavarmadeva of the same dynasty with the king mentioned in the Paśupatināth Temple Inscription.[5] But there the name given is simply Harṣadeva. Even if it be admitted that Kāmarūpanṛpati Jayapāla did not belong to the house of Bhagadatta, that does not mean that he was none but Jayapāla of Bhāgalpur Inscription. The second contention might have been quite tenable but for the palæographic evidence against it. Jayapāla of Gauḍa belonged to early ninth century. But the Silimpur Inscription has been dated in the eleventh century.[6] Mr. Mukerji has not taken this into consideration. I am afraid, that has been a dangerous omission. Now to the third argument. The learned author evidently forgets that it is not quite strange in Ancient Indian history that of two kings ruling in different parts of the country at the same time each claimed the honour of being the lord of the land. Let us cite a similar case from Mr. Mukerji's own writings. As he has shown on the strength of Assām plates of Vallabhadeva, his family was ruling over a part of the country in the twelfth century. But Vaidyadeva of Kamauli Inscription[7] donated lands in Kāmarūpa Maṇḍala during that period. If that be so, it is not at all unreasonable to hold that while a part (perhaps, the western part) of Kāmarūpa was

3. E.I. Vol. XIII, pp. 283-95.
4. Gauḍa Lekha Mālā.
5. I.A. Vol. IX. p. 181.
6. E.I. Vol. XIII. p. 284.
7 Gauḍa Lekha Mālā.

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under Jayapāla, the kings of the House of Bhagadatta ruled over the other (perhaps the eastern). So we do not stand on a very secure ground when we contend "As Jayapāla, king of Kāmarūpa, has no place there on Fleet's epoch between A.D. 829 (G.E. 510) and A.D. 1185 (Śaka 1107) it shows as clearly as possible that the same is in error by more than three centuries and a half."

Mr. Mukerji's next important theory is that all the kings of Puṣyavarman, Śālastambha and Pāla dynasties reigned before the ninth century, that is, before the invasion of Jayapāla, brother of Devapāladeva of Gauḍa. In doing this, he has placed all the kings of Śālastambha line before Bhāskaravarman. Here his main stay is a quotation in Ācārya Śaṅkara's Śārīraka Bhāṣya of the Vedānta Darśana containing the names of Balavarman, Jayasiṁha and Kṛṣṇagupta. He has identified Balavarman with Mahārājādhirāja Balavarman, great-grandson of Harjara, "as Balavarman of the Puṣyavarman dynasty flourished long before Ācārya Śaṅkara." But Jayasiṁha (Jayasiṁha I) flourished in c. A.D. 500 and Kṛṣṇagupta in c. A.D. 430, and Balavarman (of Puṣyavarman dynasty) has been assigned to c. 420–440 A.D.[8] So the verse in the Bhāṣya might have as well referred to this Balavarman.

The learned author again treads into uncertainty when he says: "Bhāskaravarman and Harjaravarman belonged to two collateral dynasties. ..... At one time Vajradatta's descendants (Śālastambha etc.) usurped the throne of Prāgjyotiṣa and thus Bhagadatta's descendants became subordinate to them and at another Bhagadatta's descendants conquered Eastern and Northern Assam and made Śālastambha's descendants subordinate to them. This explains why no mention of Śālastambha and his descendants is to be found in Bhāskaravarman's inscription or vice versa." According to the suggested chronology, Tyāgasiṁha reigned long before Bhāskaravarman. The latter was a mighty conquerer.[9] If we are to accept Mr. Mukerji's theory, he or his father must have usurped the power from that Śālastambha prince. But how is it that there is no mention of it in the copper plate? We have three inscriptions of Śālastambha kings (Harjara, Vanamāla and Balavarman III). According to Nidhanpur Inscription, Bhāskara's ancestors were reigning at that time. Even if we accept Mr. Mukerji's suggestion and hold that they were subordinate to the Śālastambha kings, how is it that no copper plate pays any eulogy to one of these three kings or to any of their ancestors for subjugating

8. Early History of Kāmarūpa, p. 54.
9. E.I. Vol. XIX, pp. 116-22.

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the Bhagadatta family and extending his sway over Eastern and Northern Assam? Are we to believe that these kings were all subordinate or were afraid to speak of a victory over their formidable kinsmen? This is surely untenable.

The Śālastambha kings were always designed 'Mlecchādhinātha." In Tejpur Inscription[10] of Vanamāla an attempt has been made to link the family with Bhagadatta. But it should be remembered that, it was two centuries after the usurpation of the throne by Śālastambha. The fame and honour assigned by tradition to the dynasty of Naraka might have prompted this prince to heighten the prestige of his family by connecting it with the Naraka legend.

Both Bhagadatta and Vajradatta were descendants of Naraka. Ratnapālavarmadeva has made glorious reference of Vajradatta. But verse 9 of his Baḍgāon inscription[11] records: evaṁ vaṁśakrameṇa kṣitim atha nikhilāṁ bhuñjātāṁ narakāṇāṁ rājñāṁ mlecchādhināṭho vidhicalanavaśād eva jagrāha rājyaṁ." Nowgāon Inscription of Balavarman III (a Śālastambha king) records: "astaṁgateṣu rājasu Śālastambho'bhavan nṛpatiḥ."[12] These perhaps definitely prove that the Śālastambha kings gained power after the Puṣyavarman dynasty.

Palæographic evidence also goes against Mr. Mukerji's theory. A comparison of the scripts in Nidhanpur, Haiyuṅgthal and Nowgāon plates will show that the first is the oldest. Even a cursory glance will reveal the truth.[14]

Let us now turn our attention to another theory of Mr. Mukerji. He has identified Harṣadeva of Paśupatināth Inscription with Harṣapālavarmadeva, father of Dharmapālavarmadeva of Kāmarūpa. He has ignored the fact that the inscriptions of his son do not credit him with the sovereignty over a vast empire. It is to be noted that if we include Kāmarūpa in the list of kingdoms mentioned in Paśupatināth Inscription, Harṣadeva had the unique distinction of ruling over the widest empire ever governed by a king of Prāgjyotiṣa. Why then are the Praśastikāras, waxing eloquent on his wisdom and bravery, quite silent about this glorious event? This should have attracted the attention of the learned author. His two chief arguments are :—

(a) Samangaḍ Inscription of Dantidurga[14] mentions the defeat of Karṇāṭaka army which had defeated Śrī Harṣa.

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10. Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvali, pp. 54-70.
11. Ibid. p. 94.
12. Ibid. p. 74.
13. It will be fully discussed in a forthcoming article.
14. I.A. Vol. XI.

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(b) "From Harṣapāla's predecessor Mahārājādhirāja Ratnapāla's Inscription[15] we learn that the kings of Gurjara, Gauḍa, Kerala etc. and the Tāyikas or Tājiks (the Arabs) were in constant dread of him ..... This shows that the date of Ratnapāla was towards the end of the seventh century A.D. when the Tājiks or the Arabs appeared in India."

As to the first point it may be said that Harṣadeva of Paśupatināth Inscription had never attained such a fame. There is nothing to negative Fleet's suggestion[16] that the king referred to was Śrī Harṣavardhana of Kānyakubja. In this connection mention may be made of an humble article of the present writer published elsewhere.[17] In reference to the second argument we would like to point out that the verse refers to the wall of the newly established capital Durjaya. All admit that the supremacy of Kāmarūpa was then on the decline and the verses seem to have been only false eulogies. Similar cases may be cited from Bengal history.[18] Even if it be admitted that the Tājiks (Arabs) were in dread of his army, that does not prove that Ratnapāla reigned at a time when they first came to this country. We do not also see why Mr. Mukerji cannot accept late MM. Vidyavinode's suggestion.[19]

From a consideration of the above, it will be seen that Mr. Mukerji's theory that "Fleet's epoch is in error by more than three centuries and a half" fails to get any unquestionable support from Assam history, nor are his suggestions about the chronology of the Kāmarūpa kings quite convincing.

BISWESWAR CHAKRAVARTI.

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15. Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvali, pp. 88-115.
16. I.A. Vol. XI.
17. I.H.Q. Vol. XIV, pp. 841-3.
18. Ibid. Vol. XI, pp. 769-70.
19. Kāmarūpa Rājāvali.

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(3)

A VOTIVE INSCRIPTION FROM GHAṆṬAŚĀLA

While visiting the Exhibition Hall of the tenth All-India Oriental Conference held last March at Tirupati, my attention was drawn to an estampage of a very short inscription. The label read :

"Owner — V. Prabhākara Śāstri.

No. 3. Brāhmī Inscription.

Ghaṇṭaśāla Stūpa, Kistna District."

The record was apparently undeciphered. I had barely three minutes' time to study the inscription and to prepare a transcript. I publish here my reading of the record which may palæographically be assigned to the first century B.C.

Text

थेर-सतयञयगस (or, थेरस तयञयगस) अतेवासिनया यगायाय च महदेवाय च पजे दान

Translation

The flight of steps, the gift of Yagāyā and Mahadevā, female pupils of the Thera Satayañayaga (or, Tayañayaga).

The word *paje* evidently stands for *pajjā* which according to Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā* (VI, 1) means the same thing as *adhirohiṇī*, "a ladder, flight of steps." The word appears to be connected with Pāli *pajjo* and Sanskrit *padyā*, "a foot-path, wty."

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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(4)

NAGNAJIT AND THE ANTIQUITY OF THE INDIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE

Nagnajit seems to have been an outstanding figure of his time. His name occurs in the Vedic, Epic, Pauranic and Pāli literature.

In connection with the fire-altar-building, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 1.4.10) quotes the view of Nagnajit of Gandhāra, but only to reject it, on the ground that he belonged to the kingly class.

In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 34.9), the sages Parvata and Nārada are said to have instructed, regarding the substitute for the soma-juice, the kings Somaka Sāhadevya, Sahadeva Sārñjaya, Babhru Daivāvṛdha, Bhīma Vaidarbha and Nagnajit Gāndhāra.[1]

From the *Mahābhārata,* Ādiparva, we learn that Nagnajit-Suvala, the king of Gandhāra and disciple of Prahlāda, had a son named Śakuni, and a daughter named Gāndhārī, the mother of Duryodhana (ch. 63), and that the powerful *Asura* Iṣupa or Iṣupad was born as king Nagnajit (ch. 67).

The *Harivaṁśa* says that Suvala-Nagnajit joined Jarāsandha against Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇuparva, ch. 34). Kṛṣṇa married Satyā-Nāgnajitī *(Ibid.* ch. 60).

According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (ch. 235, vs. 2-4), Nagnajit was one of the eighteen instructors of the *Vāstu-Śāstra* (Architecture). The others were Bhṛgu, Atri, Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvakarmā, Maya, Nārada, Viśālākṣa, Purandara, Brahmā, Kumāra, Nandīśa, Śaunaka, Garga, Vāsudeva, Aniruddha, Śukra and Bṛhaspati.[2]

In connection with Iconometry, Varāhamihira, in his *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā,* ch. 58, vs. 4 & 15, refers to Nagnajit, as an authority. Bhaṭṭotpala, in commenting on the verse 4, referred to above, quotes the following verse from the work of Nagnajit :

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1. There is some misconception about the meaning of this passage. Some take the view that all these princes were the pupils of Parvata and Nārada, while others, following Sāyaṇa, take them to be a succession of teachers. We have taken the first interpretation. The second view does not seem to be plausible. Firstly these are Kṣatriya princes and not Ṛṣis; secondly how can Somaka, son of Sahadeva, be a teacher to his father Sahadeva, who is named immediately after him? Again Babhru can not be the teacher of his grandfather Bhīma. According to the *Pauranic* chronology, the names appear to have been given here in inverse order *(Anct. Ind. Hist. Traditions* by Pargitar, pp. 105-148).

2. Our thanks are due to Mr. Jitendranath Banerji, of the Calcutta University, for bringing this reference to our notice.

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"Vistīrṇaṁ dvādaśa-mukhaṁ dairgheṇa ca caturdaśa |
Aṅgulāni tathā kāryaṁ tan-mānaṁ Drāviḍaṁ smṛtam ||"

The Jaina *Uttarādhyāyana-Sūtra* says that the kings Dvimukha of Pañcāla, Nami of Videha, Naggati (Nagnajit) of Gandhāra and Karakaṇḍu of Kaliṅga were contemporaries. Each of them after making over the kingdom to his son, adopted the Jaina faith and became a *Pratyeka-Buddha (S.B.E.* XLV. 87).

The *Kumbhakāra Jātaka* says the same of these princes,[3] but asserts that they became Bauddhas. It gives the further information that Nagnajit was also the king of Kashmir, with his capital at Takṣaśilā.

B. Laufer of the field Museum, Chicago has, in his *Das Citralakṣaṇa,* published the Tibetan versions of the *Citralakṣaṇas* of Nagnajit, Viśvakarmā and Prahlāda, with German translations.[4]

From the evidence of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* it is clear that Nagnajit, the king of Gandhāra, was an authority on Architecture. This is supported by the *Matsya-Purāṇa* also. From the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā,* we learn that a Nagnajit was the author of a treatise on Iconometry. Again the *Citralakṣaṇa* informs us that an author of the same name also wrote a treatise on Painting. As the names of these authors of three works, on kindred arts, are the same, and as the name Nagnajit is not of very common occurrence, we hope, we shall not be wrong, if we take them to be identical. Kern appears to have taken the same view, when he, in his introduction to his edition of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā,* says that Nagnajit composed a work on Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and allied arts. Unfortunately he has not quoted any authority for his statement.

We have seen that in the *Mahābhārata* Nagnajit has been described as the disciple of Prahlāda. We find also that both Prahlāda and Nagnajit were authorities on Painting ; so this Prahlāda might be the preceptor of Nagnajit. Laufer identifies this Prahlāda with the well-known Prahlāda, son of Hiraṇyakaśipu, but we are sceptical about it. This Prahlāda's great-grandson Vāṇa was vanquished by Kṛṣṇa, so they were contemporaries. Kṛṣṇa married Satyā, the daughter of Nagnajit ; so both Kṛṣṇa and Vāṇa were junior contemporaries of Nagnajit. How can this Nagnajit be a disciple of Prahlāda? In

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3. This *Jātaka* reads Dummukha, Nimi, Karaṇḍu and Naggaji for Dvimukha, Nami, Karaṇḍu and Naggati respectively, and adds Bhīma of Vidarbha to the list.

4. We are indebted to the late Dr. Panchanan Mitra for translating passages from the German.

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the same chapter of the *Mahābhārata,* where Nagnajit has been called the incarnation of the *Asura* Iṣupa, Prahlāda, the king of Bāhlīka, has been described as the incarnation of the *Asura* Śalabha. We think this neighbouring king was his preceptor.

We have hitherto seen that Nagnajit, the king of Gandhāra, was an ancient authority on Art and Architecture. If we can find out his time, we shall be in a position to form an approximate idea of the antiquity of the Indian Art and Architecture. It has been shown that the sages Parvata and Nārada were the instructors of Nagnajit. These sages, we find, are the seers of the *Ṛgvedic* hymns VIII. 12 & 13. Again king Somaka, who was also a student of Parvata and Nārada, and thus a contemporary of Nagnajit, finds mention in the Ṛgveda (IV. 15). As it is, we have no hesitation in taking Nagnajit to be a Ṛgvedic king. And thus Indian Art & Architecture were in existence in the Ṛgvedic period, or earlier.

The verse quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala as that of Nagnajit does not appear to be as old as the *Ṛgveda.* It is, in all probability, like many other ancient works, a recension or recension of recensions. So it is no test of the antiquity of Nagnajit. As Varāhamihira has referred to it, it is earlier than the sixth century. The Sanskrit original of the Tibetan translation of Nagnajit's *Citralakṣaṇa* is lost ; so we are not in a position to say anything about its age.

Now the question is, if the Indian Art and Architecture are so old as the *Ṛgveda,* there must be some mention of them in the Vedic literature. This is not wanting. This point has already been discussed by several scholars (Jour. Orient. Res. Madras, Vol. VIII. pp. 291 ff.), so we shall content ourselves with giving a few instances only. The mention of the building of the king Mitrāvaruṇa, with thousand pillars *(Ṛgveda,* II., 41.5), hundred *puras* built of stone *(Ibid,* IV. 30. 20), and fire-altar etc. surely indicate the knowledge of Architecture.

The sage Vāmadeva wanted to sell his Indra, in exchange for ten kine, on condition that Indra should be returned to him, when he (Indra) shall have slain the purchaser's enemies *(Ibid,* IV. 24. 10). This Indra cannot but be the image of Indra. It appears from this that the image of Indra was considered as an auspicious object, by keeping which in one's own house, one was immune from all sorts of dangers. From this it does not necessarily follow that the image of Indra was worshipped in the sense we do now. Again Indra, mentioned in *Ibid,* VIII. 1.5, which the owner was not willing to sell even for immense wealth, has to be taken in the sense of an icon Indra. The word *pratimā* in the sense of 'image' occurs in *Ibid,* X. 130,3. *Pratirūpa* in the sense of 'picture' is described as *śilpa* i.e. art, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* III. 2. 1.5. Besides *tvaṣṭā* in the sense of 'giver

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of form,' i.e. sculptor, occurs in the *Ṛgveda,* X. 185. 1., & I. 188. 9. Artizans, such as *peśitā* (painter, engraver) and *prakaritā* (sculptor) were bound to the fourth *yūpa,* in the *Puruṣamedha* sacrifice *(Śukla Yajurveda,* ch. 35, Kaṇḍikā 5-22).

We have seen above that the opinion of Nagnajit, the king of Gandhāra, relating to the fire-altar-building, has been treated with contempt in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* on the ground that he belonged to the *Rājanya* class. The reason for this seems to be that the writers of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* were Brāhmaṇas and belonged to Madhyadeśa, where the Brāhmaṇa supremacy was fully established. So they naturally resented this as an intrusion, by a king, into their special province. But how could Nagnajit, a king, come to be an authority on ritualistic architecture? A reply to this question, as well as the estimation, in which the people of North-western India were held by the people of Madhyadeśa, will be found in the *Mahābhārata,* Karṇaparva, chs. 44 and 45. In Gandhāra the king was also the *Ṛtvij,* i.e. a priest.

Not only worst invectives have been hurled on the character, mode of life, and rites and customs of the North-westerners, but their kings have all been described as incarnations of *Asuras (Mahābhārata, Ādiparva,* ch. 67). This leads us to think that the people of the North-west were largely influenced by the *Asura* mode of life and culture,[5] although they were Vedic sacrificers.

There appears to have been, in the *Ṛgvedic* period three schools of culture, viz., (1) the Gāndhāra school, (2) the Madhyadeśa school, and (3) the Drāviḍa school. The reference to the last named has been made by Varāhamihira in his chapter on the *Pratimā-lakṣaṇa (Bṛhat-Saṁhitā,* ch. 58). We have seen that among the eighteen instructors of the *Vāstu-śāstra,* some are *Asuras,* such as Maya, some *Āsuric,* as Nagnajit, and others are *Ṛṣis.* We think that the Gāndhāra school, with its centre at Takṣaśilā, which became a great seat of

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5. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* XIII. 8.1.5. & 8.2.1., says that the godly people make their burial-places four-cornered, whilst those who are of the *Asura* nature, the Easterners and others, make them round. This shows that they followed different styles of Architecture. Again it says that both the gods and the Asuras sprang from Prajāpati; so they were not necessarily different ethnologically, i.e. Aryans and non-Aryans. The Easterners and others have been called as of *Asura* nature (Āsurya). Here 'others' includes the North-westerners, for we find that in the *Mahābhārata,* Ādiparva, ch. 67, both the Eastern and North-western kings have been described as incarnations of *Asuras,*

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learning, represented the *Asura* school. Its exponents were Maya, Prahlāda and his disciple Nagnajit. The Madhyadeśa school represented the Sura or Brāhmaṇic school, with Viśvakarmā, Bhṛgu, Atri, Vaśiṣtha etc. as its exponents.

It thus appears that the Gāndhāra school of Art & Architecture existed long before there was any communication between the Indians and the Greeks we hitherto know of. The time has come to revise the old theory that the Gāndhāra school is the creation of, or influenced by, the Greeks. In fact the finds of the Indus valley excavations have given a rude shock to this theory. In this connection, it is well worth mentioning what has been said by Sir John Marshall about the redstone statuette (plate X) found at Harappā. The 'refined and wonderfully truthful modelling of the fleshy parts,' and 'the subtle flattening of the buttocks and the clever little dimples of the posterior superior spines of the ilium' have been so exquisitely done, that 'a Greek of the fourth century B.C. might well have been proud' of it. (*Mahenjo-Daro* and the Indus Civilisation, Vol. I. p. 46).

Again, speaking about the all important matter of anatomical faithfulness of the two statuettes (plates x & xi), Sir John wonders whether 'Greek artistry could possibly have been anticipated by sculptors of a far off age on the banks of the Indus.' He further says, 'We know definitely that the Indus engraver could anticipate the Greek in the delineation of animal forms ; and if we compare the statuette of pl. x with, for example, seal 337, we must admit that there is a certain kinship between the two, both in the "monumental" treatment of the figures as a whole and in the perfection of their anatomical details' (Ibid, p. 47).

We think that Nagnajit was the founder of the Gāndhāra school of Art. The name of his capital Takṣaśilā (city of stone-cutters) also goes to support our view. The Indian Art & Architecture were as old as Ṛgveda, if not earlier.

(Late) JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

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(5)

ON 'BUDHA-YOGA' IN MUDRĀRĀKṢASA I. 6.

Stanza 6 in the first Act of the Mudrārākṣasa runs as follows :—

क्रूरग्रहस्सकेतुश्चन्द्रं[1] संपूर्णमण्डलमिदानीम् ।
अभिभवितुमिच्छति बलात्—
—रक्षत्येनं तु बुधयोगः ॥

In explaining this stanza, almost all scholars have taken the term' *'budhayoga'* to mean' the conjunction of Budha' with Candra or some other planet. The figure in the stanza is regarded as Śleṣa as there are two meanings throughout :— one with reference to the moon (lunar eclipse) and the other with reference to Candragupta. As *yoga* means here *sambandha* or conjunction as stated above, in the latter case *budha-yoga* means *Cāṇakya-sambandha*[2] with Chandragupta. On the basis of this meaning, naturally, in the former case too, *budha-yoga* is taken to mean conjunction of *Budha* with *Candra.*

There is a difficulty in accepting this view. It is a well-known fact that a lunar eclipse can take place only on a full moon day. On such a day the conjunction of *Budha* with *Candra* is an impossibility.[3] Hence one has to reject one or the other of these two hypotheses namely, (1) that it was a full moon day and (2) that the conjunction of *Budha* was with *Candra.*

Some scholars prefer to reject the former and read the first line of the stanza as— — चन्द्रम् असम्पूर्णमण्डलम् — — Prof. Ray, Taranatha Tarakavacaspati[4] and others belong to this class. Another class which includes Dhundiraja,[5] Kale,[6] Dhruva[7] and others, holds that it was a

1. चन्द्रमसंपूर्णमण्डलम् — Ray : Telang ; Vidyabhusana and Majumdar's series ed. Cf. Sāhityadarpaṇa (Nirnayasagar press ed. 1902) p. 269. See also Prof. K. H. Dhruva's notes in this connection in his edition of the Mudrā. (2nd ed. 1923).

2. According to some it is *Cāṇakya-upāya.*

3. It is an astronomical fact that the planets Mercury and Venus can never be at a distance of more than 90° from the sun. On a full-moon day the sun and moon will be at 180° from each other. Hence on such a day, the conjunction of moon with mercury is an impossibility.

4. Edition of Mudrā. in Majumdar's series.

5. Dhundiraja's commentary is printed in both Kale's and Telang's editions of the drama.

6-7. For the views of Kale and Dhruva, see their notes in their editions of the drama.

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full-moon day and rejects the above-said meaning of *budha-yoga*. According to them, the term means the conjunction of *Budha* with (other) planets ; they base their view on the following statement of Vṛddhagarga,[8]—

ग्रहपञ्चकसंयोगं दृष्ट्वा न ग्रहणं वदेत् ।
यदि न स्याद्बुधस्तत्र तं[9] दृष्ट्वा ग्रहणं वदेत् ॥

It is worthwhile however, to consider if *Yoga* has some other meanings in this context. The following are the meanings assigned to this word :—

विश्रब्धघातके द्रव्योपायसंनहनेष्वपि—मेदिनी ।
योगस्संनहनोपायध्यानसङ्गतियुक्तिषु—अमरः ।

An expedient, artifice, plan, device ; application of effort, endeavour, diligence, assiduity, zeal, attention. — Monier-Williams.

Strenuousness, exertion, endeavour, zeal, assiduity. — Macdonell.

Of these, the meaning **संनहन = सन्नाह** seems to suit well in the above context. Then *budha-yoga* means *'budhasya sannāha,'* the strenuous effort of budha.[10] This gives us scope to explain that it is this effort of Budha that is regarded as averting an eclipse. It becomes clear if we refer to the following stanzas of Amaracandra's Bālabhārata.[11]—

तन्नन्दनस्तन्मिथुनानुरूपरूपोऽस्ति चिद्रूपतया बुधाख्यः ।
यद्योगभाजं न विधुंतुदोऽपि विधुं तुदत्युग्रविरोधबोधः ॥ ८ ॥
उष्णांशुरासन्नचरस्य शश्वद्यस्येव सेवातिशयेन तुष्टः ।
स्वलोकलोकाब्जरिपोरपीन्दोः कलां पुनर्वृद्धिकलां ददाति ॥ ९ ॥

Here, Budha's constant attendance on Ravi is spoken of as the means for him to secure the averting of moon's eclipse through Ravi. It is noteworthy that Amaracandra (1250 A.D.) refers in his work to

8. This is quoted as the *Vṛddha-Garga-Vacana* in the *Utpala-vyākhyā* on Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira. In the same place the following also is pointed out as the statement of another Garga :—

पञ्चग्रहस्य योगं दृष्ट्वा सौम्यविवर्जितम् ।
ग्रहणं तु वदेत्तत्र सन्नद्धं न ग्रहं वदेत् ॥

9. युद्धं दृष्ट्वा ग्रहं वदेत्—Telang's edition.

10. According to the *Purāṇas*, Budha is the son of Candra.

11. Kāvyamālā 45. I. 1,8.

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this idea, though the great Astronomer Varāhamihira (c. 550 A.D.) has declared in his Bṛhatsaṁhitā (ch. 5, st. 17) that these *yogas* have nothing to do with eclipses.

In the light of the above, the following commentary is offered :—

सकेतुः केतुसहकृतः केतुसहाय इति वा क्रूरग्रहः भूच्छायारूपतमोधिदेवो राहुः इदानीमद्य पौर्णमास्यां संपूर्णमण्डलं परिपूर्णबिम्बं चन्द्रं चन्द्रग्रहम् अभिभवितुं पराभवितुं जेतुं ग्रसितुमिति यावत् इच्छति। किन्तु बुधयोगः बुधाख्यग्रहस्य योगः संनहनं सन्नाहः प्रयत्न इति यावत्; तथा चामरः—'योगस्संनहनोपायध्यानसङ्गतियुक्तिषु' इति। इतरग्रहैस्सह मेलनेन तेषां सहायसंग्रहरूपस्सन्नाहः एनं चन्द्रग्रहं बलात् स्वसाधितसहायबलमाश्रित्य रक्षति ग्रहणादभिभवाद्रक्षति—इति। तथा च वृद्धगर्गः —

पञ्चग्रहसंयोगं दृष्ट्वा न ग्रहणं वदेत्।
यदि न स्याद्बुधस्तत्र तं दृष्ट्वा ग्रहणं वदेत्॥

पक्षे चाणक्यावगतार्थस्तु—क्रूरग्रः क्रूराभिसन्धिः, चन्द्रगुप्तनिष्कासनं प्रति क्रूराभिसन्धि यस्यः सः क्रूरग्रहो राक्षसः। क्रूरग्रह इत्यनेनामात्यराक्षसस्य राक्षसनाम्नः सामरस्यमपि व्यज्यते। सकेतुर्मलयकेतुसहितस्तत् सहाय इति वा। चन्द्रं चन्द्रगुप्तं संपूर्णमण्डलं परिपूर्णराज्यचक्रं परिपूर्णसेनासमूहमिति वा। हरिवंशे च 'मण्डलैः प्रचरिष्यन्ति देशे देशे पृथक्पृथक्' (III. 99) इत्यत्र वृत्तिकारैः मण्डलशब्दसैन्यार्थे व्याख्यातोऽस्ति। इदानीमधुनाभिभवितुं पराभवितुं जेतुमित्यर्थः, इच्छति। तु किन्तु, बुधयोगः बुधस्व नयज्ञस्य चाणक्यस्य योगः उपायः कीवसिद्धि-सिद्धार्थक-भागुरायण-निपुणकाख्यानां चतुर्णां सहायसङ्कलनरूपस्सन्नाहः बलात् स्वसंगृहीतबलमाश्रित्य (ल्यब्लोपे पञ्चमी) एनं चन्द्रगुप्तं रक्षति इति॥

The stanza is to be translated thus :—

The cruel seizer Rāhu (Rākṣasa) with Ketu (Malayaketu), now seeks to vanquish Candra (Candragupta) having the full orb *(Maṇḍala);* but the effort of Budha (Cāṇakya) saves him by means of his power (force).

Cāṇakya had collected for his assistance four men namely Jivasiddhi, Siddhārthaka, Bhāgurāyaṇa and Nipuṇaka and this compares well with the four other planets with Budha in a pañca-graha-yoga to avert an eclipse. Amaracandra's stanzas referred to above, give us a clue to think that Budha's effort in securing the assistance of the other planets was believed to lead to the averting of an eclipse. So *'balāt'* means *svasaṁsādhita (mitra) sahāyabalam āśritya.*

S. RANGACHAR.

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YUVARĀJA DIVĀKARA

The *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa, 1205 A.D., quotes two verses (II. 146. 1; III. 45. 2) of a *Yuvarāja,* i.e., a crown-prince. It has been suggested, in the form of a query, that he might have been *Yuvarāja* Prahlādana, the author of the *Pārthaparākrama-vyāyoga,* and and brother of the Paramāra King, Dhārāvarṣa (1163-1229 A.D.) of Candrāvatī.[1] But no conceivable reason is found for Śrīdharadāsa of Bengal to refer to Prahlādana of Candrāvatī in West India as simply *Yuvarāja.* On the contrary his *Yuvarāja* is, to all appearance, and can, in all probability, be the heir-apparent to the throne of Lakṣmaṇasena, his royal master. It has to be observed in this connection that while Śrīdharadāsa is careful to quote not only Lakṣmaṇasena[2] but his father, Ballālasena,[3] as also Keśavasena,[4] a younger son of Lakṣmaṇasena, the name of Viśvarūpasena, the immediate successor of Lakṣmaṇasena, is conspicuous by its absence in the anthology, and the conclusion is irresistible, unless we become hypercritical, that it is the crown-prince, Viśvarūpasena, who is quoted as *Yuvarāja* by Śrīdharadāsa.

There is again a Yuvarāja Divākara, a verse of whose occurs in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (II. 31. 4). It is impossible to divine if Śrīdharadāsa's *Yuvarāja* is the same with *Yuvarāja* Divākara, but there is no intrinsic incoherency in their being identical. This, however, puzzles one all the more, but was Viśvarūpasena, who figures in the inscriptions as a devout worshipper of the Sun *(Divākara),* popularly known as Divākara before his accession? Is this, again, his original name that has been scratched off, as is well known, in the copper-plate grants of his, as also of his brother, Keśavasena? And if want of space to accommodate a name of more than three letters was the reason for the appearance of the comparatively smaller form of the four letters of the name *Vi-śva-rū-pa* in the copper-plates in question, what could then possibly have been the original name that gave place to *Viśvarūpa* n the inscription of Viśvarūpasena, who, we must remember, preceded Ke-śa-va(-sena)?

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1. *Saduktikarṇāmṛta,* published by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore, Introduction, p. 96.
2. *Ibid,* p. 104.
3. *Ibid,* p. 110.
4. *Ibid,* pp. 47-48.

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A NOTE ON ILTUTMISH

Dr. S. K. Banerji contributed an interesting paper on 'Some Aspects of Muslim Polity in Early Medieval India' to the October (1939) issue of this journal. As a student of the same subject, I may perhaps be allowed to say a few words about some of his conclusions.

Dr Banerji says, "The principle of election as opposed to that of the Divine Right was first illustrated in Muslim Indian History by Iltutmish's accession." Undoubtedly Iltutmish owed his elevation to the throne to baronial election ;[1] but did his predecessors rule by Divine Right? Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammed *ibn* Sām became the master of Northern India by the right of conquest. Qutb-ud-dīn could claim on his behalf no Divine Right of succession, no popular or baronial election[2] and no title based on military conquest. He took advantage of his viceregal position and assumed the title of 'Sultān' at his master's death. Mu'izz-ud-dīn's successor in Ghaznā, his nephew, gave his formal sanction to an arrangement which he was neither inclined nor able to disturb. It is clear, therefore, that no question of Divine Right arises in these cases. As a matter of fact, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was no recognised law of succession, no recognised procedure to which recourse might be had in case of dispute. Broadly speaking, the choice was limited, as a matter of convenience, to the members of the deceased Sultān's family. The priority of birth, the question of efficiency, the nomination of the dead king,—these factors sometimes received some attention ; but the decisive voice seems to have been that of the nobles who usually preferred personal convenience to the interest of the State.

Dr. Banerji tells us that the creation of 'the order of the forty' was Iltutmish's 'greatest achievement,' and refers us to the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* for the services rendered to the Sultāns by these 'pillars of the State' till the accession of Ghiyas-ud-dīn Balban. He seems to take this famous 'order' as a 'service' (like the Indian Civil Service) in the modern sense, i.e., a bureaucratic organization. Such a view is alto-

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1. See the present writer's articles in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1935, and *Journal of Indian History*, August, 1936.

2. After his accession all nobles, except Tāj-ud-dīn, accepted an accomplished fact as the logical conclusion of the previous course of events,

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gether inconsistent with the facts at our disposal. Baranī says, "The Forty obtained power in the government of the country, and grew in strength and dignity." He says about Balban, a member of this 'order,' that "even while he was only a Khān, he used many of the insignia of royalty."[3] We read in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*[4] that every one of these slaves 'attained to the rank of an Amir.' Sir Wolsely Haig says that this "college of forty ... divided among its members all the great fiefs of the empire and all the highest offices in the State."[5] This is precisely the reason that led Balban, whose success as an administrator is certainly not inferior to that of Iltutmish, to crush the pretensions of these 'pillars of the State.' As a matter fact, the forty Shāmsī slaves were neither better nor worse than the Muizzī or Qutbī slaves. These three groups of nobles belonged to the same category and played a similar part in the political history of those unsettled times. With his previous experience of the pretensions of 'over-mighty subjects,' Iltutmish should have refrained from creating another 'order.'

Dr. Banerji seems to attach an exaggerated importance to vain-glorious titles claimed by Iltutmish in his inscriptions. He described himself as the 'master of the king of the Turks and the Persians.' Dr. Banerji takes this as an announcement of "his might and majesty as compared to the insignificance of the petty kings of Turkistan and Persia." This announcement was as meaningless as the claim of the English successors of Henry V upon the throne of France and the claim of the Burmese kings to be the 'sovereigns of the universe.'[6]

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE.

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3. Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 97-98.
4. B. De's translation, Vol. I, p. 93.
5. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 62.
6. Wilson, *Documents Illustrative of the Burmese War*, p. 5.

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REVIEWS

THE SOCIOLOGY OF RACES, CULTURES AND HUMAN PROGRESS, by Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. Published by Chuckervertty, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 1939. Pages 399. Price Rupees Seven.

Formerly known as 'The Futurism of Young Asia,' the book is, in the words of the author himself, a 'volume of essays, disconnected and scrappy although they be, is like everything that Asia has done since 1905 in any field but another term in the series which is destined to bring about the great consummation. It will perhaps be regarded by the colleagues and comrades in the Western world as furnishing to a certain extent the logic or methodology which must have to operate in every process of *Aufklärung* before the final synthesis or reconstruction is reached.' The book is divided into five groups. The first essay, "The Futurism of Young Asia" which forms a group by itself, embodies the *Leitmotif* of this volume, viz. war against colonialism in politics and against *"orientalisme"* in science. The other four groups captioned as 'Asia and Eur-America,' 'Revolutions in China,' 'Tendencies in Hindu Culture,' and 'Young India (1905-1921)' consist of thought-provoking essays dwelling on the diverse courses of culture acquired by certain countries in the fields of Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology, Politics, etc. The Appendix entitled, "Young India in Exact Science (1915-1921)" gives a short account of India's new contribution to the various branches of science. "The entire volume is in its ideological affiliations organically oriented to the author's experiences and investigations which form the subject-matter of eight volumes in Bengali under the general title of 'Vartamān Jagat' (Contemporary World). This series of books, based as it is on travel, has for its theme the survey of tendencies in history, education, literature, science, art and social development, and comprises Egypt, Great Britain, Ireland, the United States, Japan, China, France and Germany."

If the reader, after a careful perusal of the entire book which preserves permanently the essays formerly published in the ephemeral pages of periodicals, fails to find pleasure and profit and to get himself aquainted with the world movements in matters, economic and political in particular, he will have no one but himself to blame, for Dr. Sarkar, a scholar of international repute, has, with his characteristic ability, admirably accomplished the task which he set out to perform.

MOHAMMED ABDUL KARIM.

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WHERE THEOSOPHY AND SCIENCE MEET, Parts. II, III & IV, edited by D. D. Kanga, I.E.S. (Retd.). Published by the Adyar Library Association, Madras. 1938.

The product of erudite specialists of the East and the West, the book is divided into four parts – (I) Nature – from Macrocosm to Microcosm, (II) Man – from Atom to Man, (III) God – from Humanity to Divinity, and (IV) Some Practical Applications. By us lie the last three parts. Part II contains self-contained essays on (i) 'Matter and the Atom' dealt with from the theosophical and scientific points of view, (ii) Chemistry – to show where and how far Theosophy and Chemistry meet, (iii) Physics (light, sound, etc.), to show how far the New Physics is approaching Theosophy in its exposition of the laws governing the physical universe, (iv) Relativity, (v) Modern Mathematical Thought, (vi) Evolutionary Biology, and (vii) From Mineral to Man. It aims at giving deeper knowledge and understanding of the constitution of man and the universe, both outer and inner, visible and invisible, and at showing the relationship between the two. Part III gives at the outest an indication as to how far modern science comes towards Theosophy in the domain of physiology, i.e., of function. Then follow the interesting essays entitled "Western Scientific Research and the Etheric Double" which gives a scientific explanation of *prāṇa* or vitality, "Mythology," "Anthropology," "Philosophy and Theosophy," "Psychology," and "Yoga." Part IV opens with a critical examination of the different "Methods of Research" followed by suggestive essays on "Psychical Research," "Medicine," "The Mystery of Magnetic Variation" "Astrology," "Law," "The Practical Application of Theosophy to Politics and Government," "Education," "And What of Art?" and "Whither Science?"

The appropriate illustrations and the bibliography at the end of each essay go a long way to enhance the importance of the book as a whole. Readers will surely find it a profitable reading.

S. C. S.

THE GĪTĀ : A CRITIQUE, by P. Narasimham, M.A., L.T., Professor of Philosophy, Madras Educational Service (Retired).

This is an original and thought–provoking book from the pen of a writer who has already made his mark by his solid contributions to the field of philosophic criticism. One may not agree with all his conclusions, but one cannot help admiring the boldness, the profundity and the analytical acumen displayed

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by the author in these pages. Here is an attempt to offer a critical estimate of the Gītā in detail in a truly scientific spirit, although the author is carried too far by his spirit of finding inconsistency and interpolations. The author often forgets that the Gītā is not a modern textbook meant for academicians but it was a synthesis of the philosophic thought of India meant for religious devotees as well as students of philosophy in the days of old. His exposition of the second chapter is able but not sympathetic, his exposition of the thirteenth chapter is the ablest and the best in the whole book as here he attempts to emphasize the contributions of the Gītā as the synthesis of the Vedānta and the Sāṁkhya in a profoundly philosophical spirit. His exposition of the tenth chapter is insufficient. It is common knowledge that here the pantheism of the Gītā is graphically expressed, notably in the concluding verse of the chapter which gives us in a nutshell the whole of the Hegelian philosophy. The author's characterisation of the famous eleventh chapter as something meant for "Vaishnava enthusiasts" in order to glorify their favourite deity is not very charitable either to the Vaishnava or to the inspired author of the book.

In the very first paragraph of the first page of the foreword we are told that, "The value of the Gītā lies entirely in the Upanishadic quotations it contains.," i.e. it has no original value at all! And again, in the tenth page of the second Chapter we are told that "The Gītā seems to aim at such a co-ordination of the two schools of thought, the Sankhya and the Vedānta; and this is the great merit of the work; for neither of the schools as they now exist is capable of achieving this synthesis." He characterises the idea of immortality expounded in the second book as something 'strange' and he finds no "reasons" why the Puruṣa in Sāṁkhya is apt to confuse himself with the everchanging Prakṛiti. Not to understand this means not to understand the whole of the Sāṁkhya philosophy. In spite of these and other inconsistencies and shortcomings of the book, we may confidently recommend it to the thoughtful perusal of all sincere lovers of philosophy and religion.

R. C. ADHIKARY.

HINDU SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS: by Pandharinath H. Valavalkar, Ph.D., LL.B.; with a Foreword by Prof. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt.; Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1939, pp. 345+Bibliography+Index.

This work which was accepted as a thesis for the Doctorate Degree, embodies the results of the author's studies in the Hindu Social Institutions and their Socio-psychological significations. After setting forth in the Prologue the bare

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outlines of the scope of the work, and the various sources of information, which mainly consist in the Vedic literature, the Sūtra literature, the Dharmaśāstra including the Epics, the Purāṇic literature, the Arthaśāstra and the Kāmaśāstra, the author deals in the first chapter with the basis of human relations and the problem of Existence and its implications. The second and third chapters treat respectively of the social psychology of the System of the Four *Āśramas* and the psychology of Education. A discussion of the Hindu marriage *(vivāha)* forms the topic of the fourth chapter, while the subsequent two chapters are concerned with the Hindu Family, and the Woman in the Hindu Society. The *Four Varṇas* constitutes the subject-matter of the seventh and last chapter, which is followed by an Epilogue, a Bibliography and an Index.

Although not adequately comprehensive in nature, the treatise is, nevertheless, an excellent contribution to Indian Sociology, and a highly entertaining study. These well-documented pages, one may unhesitatingly say, clearly testify to the author's erudition, skilfulness in interpretation and spirit of judicious caution. In trying to comprehend thoroughly and on a scientific line "the material, moral and spiritual background of the drama of social life and institutions as conceived by the Hindu," and "the fundamental ideology and spirit around which social order, institutions and purposes have been sought to be formulated and reared," at this time of day when the conflict between the two extremes of the Hindu Society, viz. the 'conservatives' and the 'progressives,' has really become sharp, the author has earned the gratitude of all sections of Hindus, who care to take pride in professing Hinduism. As Dr. Thoothi in his *Note* prefixed to these pages appropriately observes, "Perhaps the greatest single contribution of Hindu social thought to civilisation consists in the conscious recognition and acceptance of the fact that the highest individual development can and must be achieved in and through society, or to use the more comprehensive Hindu term through 'Samsāra.' Starting from this discovery, the Hindu seers proceeded from time to time to mould and perfect the appropriate social institutions." Dr. Valavalkar in his thesis further develops the idea and tells us that the *Āśrama* and *Varṇa* schemes were devised by the Hindu seers of old "as instruments of life, as the best means towards the fulfilment of what was conceived to be the fullest and most efficient management of the individual, and of the social and economic orders as a whole," and that "these two schemes are the unique gifts of Hinduism to the world."

The chapter on the "Woman in Hindu Society" may profitably be studied by anybody, Hindu or non-Hindu. The book is sure of a warm welcome by those whom it may concern.

N. N. Das Gupta.

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AṄKĪĀ NĀṬA : Edited by B. K. Barua, M.A., B.L., Honorary Assistant Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam ; published by the Government of Assam in the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies ; 1940.

With the neo-Vaiṣṇavite movement that set on foot in Assam in the fifteenth century came a strong impetus that was responsible for a remarkable development of art and literature in that province. Of the body of literature, drama became the most important component part, for dramatical performances were considered to be the most powerful instrument for propagating and popularising the new creed. Dramas of Assam had thus an origin which is primarily and expressly religious in character, and episodes of the life of Kṛṣṇa, as depicted in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* became naturally the subject of representation on stage.

We have in the volume under notice a collection, made from old manuscripts, of fifteen Assamese dramas, composed not by ordinary playwrights but by the famous Vaiṣṇava teacher of the province, Śaṇkaradeva, and his chief disciple Mādhavadeva as well as by Gopāladeva, who succeeded Mādhavadeva as the pontiff of the Assamese Vaiṣṇava church. As the very name *Aṅkīya Nāṭa* implies, these dramas are one-act plays, and a preponderance of lyrical elements is characteristic of them. The language employed in the dramas is, however, neither Sanskrit, nor Assamese, but a curious mixed language, the mixture of Assamese and Maithili, but which must not be confounded with what is *Vrajabuli.*

Congratulations are due to Mr. B. K. Barua, Honorary Assistant Director of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, upon his successfully editing this volume. He has, as is evident, taken great pains to insert in the Introduction all relevant and necessary information regarding these dramas within the compass of twenty-one pages, and the volume should be in the hands of everybody interested in the Assamese dramatical literature.

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Gauḍapāda's Asparśayoga and Śankara's Jñānavāda by P. C. Divanji.

On the origin of the doctrine of Saṁsāra by H. G. Narahari.

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Dārā Shikuh by B. J. Hasrat.

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OBITUARY NOTICES

Oriental scholars regret the passing of three women colleagues whose share in the advancement of Eastern studies was by no means small. These are:

1 MABEL R. RICKMERS, wife of the distinguished geographer and explorer, Willy R. Rickmers. Mrs. Rickmers died in Munich on Dec. 24th, 1939. Under her maiden name, Mabel, C. Duff, she was the author of the standard work on Indian Chronology, viz. "The Chronology of India" (1899). Not only a first-rate Sanskrit scholar and philosopher (disciple of P. Deussen), she was also efficient in the field of Pali Buddhism, and with W. Geiger translated the Cūḷavaṁsa for the Pali Text Society (2 vols. 1929-30). As a personality she was the soul of genius, kindliness and humour.

2 MISS MARY E. LILLEY, an enthusistic worker in the field of Pali Buddhism, passed away on March 14th, 1940. Owing to a natural reticence she was not as well-known among Orientalists as she deserved to be. She was one of the founding members of the first "Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland" (1907, President Rhys Davids), and she had occasion to prove her scholarly ability in the domain of Pali by the edition of the Apadāna for the Pali Text Society (2 vols, 1925), a task on which she spent endless labour, handicapped by a corrupt text in insufficient MSS.

3 CHRISTINE SCHERMAN, wife of Prof. Lucian Scherman, formerly Director of the Munich Ethnographical Museum. Mrs. Scherman died at Hanson, Massachusetts, U.S.A., on March 17th, 1940. She was a woman of great literary ability and wide learning, who assisted her distinguished husband in many departments of his studies. She was well-known as an authority on Burmese tapestry, and wrote many articles on weaving problems of Shan and Karen. Together with Prof. Scherman, she wrote the Burmese Travel Diary "Im Stromgebiet des Irrawaddy" (Munich 1922), a delightful cultural sketch of the Burmese and the mountain tribes of Burma. She combined her wide and sound learning with a true sense of family interests and devoted companionship.

W. STEDE

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By the death of Professor PAOLO STOHR the Italian Branch of the Indian Research Institute has suffered a grave loss. Though aged only 33 ...., he had made active advances in the study of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. Possessed of an unusual capacity for obstruction and of a fine scholarly instinct, he would doubtless have contributed ably to the Indian studies he loved. His charming personality and transparent honesty of purpose claimed the admiration of all who knew him. His activities on behalf of the Italian Branch of the Indian Research Institute were endless; he was a Member of the Institute, and wrote many papers for publication in the *Rivista di Indologia*. Personally he was the kindest of men, and no trouble was too great for him to take in helping those who appealed to his wide knowledge of classical languages.

His *MSS.* will be published in the *Rivista di Indologia*. Our deep sympathy goes to his mother and brother.

E. G. CARPANI

LATE RAI KANAK LAL BARUA BAHADUR, C.I.E.

Rai Kanak Lal Barua Bahadur came down to Calcutta to attend the Third Session of the History Congress, never to go back to Assam, his native province. With his death, which occured at his residence at Calcutta, North-eastern India has lost a profound scholar, who in spite of the burden of his official and other duties managed to devote much of his time to study and research work with passionate zeal. His valuable contributions to his Journal, and to the *Journal of the Assam Research Society* (of which he was the editor) and other periodicals, together with his monumental work, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, had won for him a high praise which he fully deserved, and amongst scholars of Assam there are few whose names shine in brighter splendour than his. May his soul rest in peace in Heaven!

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA

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LATE PAṆḌIT AMULYA CHARAN VIDYĀBHŪṢAṆA.

By the passing away of Pandit Amulya Charan Vidyābhūṣaṇa, the scholarly world of Bengal has sustained an irrepairable loss. A man of varied attainments and great capacity, he was known to be a prodigy of learning even when he was comparatively young in age, and he retained to the end his zeal for work and thirst for knowledge. He led a quiet and peaceful life of a true scholar and of a true Vaiṣṇava, and whenever his numerous friends and students approached him for help, guidance and advice, he never hesitated to place at their disposal his rich and plenty store of knowledge. If Providence would have spared his life a few years more, he would have died with the satisfaction that he had achieved to some extent the goal of his life, viz. the completion of a most comprehensive and up-to-date encyclopædia in Bengali.

Peace be with his soul!

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA

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By the term *"Āryyabhaṭa"* in the last column of the preceding page is meant "Calculated according to *Āryyabhaṭa.*"

To calculate *Dvyugaṇa* —

ध्रुवादब्दगणो दिग् (१०) घ्नः स्वकीयाष्टांशसंयुतः ।
संक्रान्तितिथियुक्तोऽधः स्वषष्ट्र्यंशविवर्जितः ॥ ३ ॥
त्रिंशच्छिन्नावशेषोनश्चैत्रादितिथिभिर्युतः ।
त्रिगुणाब्दगतर्तूनो द्युगणो ध्रुववासरात् ॥ ४ ॥

dhruvādabdagano dig-ghnah svakīyāṣṭāṁśasaṁyutah |
saṁkrāntitithīyukto' dhah svaṣaṣṭyaṁśavivarjitah ||3||
triṁśacchinnāvaśeṣona ścaitrāditithivir yutah |
triguṇābda-gatartūno dvyugaṇo dhruvavāsarāt ||4||

3-4. Take the number of solar years (elapsed) from the Epoch ; multiply the number by 10; add 1/8th of the product to itself ; add the number of the *Saṁkrānti Tithi* (at the Epoch); place the result (say, A) below ; deduct from this lower figure its 60th part, and divide the difference by 30 ; the remainder left is to be deducted from the result (A) placed above ; add the number of *tithis* from the commencement of the lunar month *Caitra* (of the current year); deduct three times the number of (solar sidereal) years (elapsed from the Epoch), and also the number of seasons elapsed (from the commencement of the current *Caitrādi* year); the (final) result is (technically called) *Dvyugaṇa.*

Notes.—(1) The terms *Ahargaṇa* and *Dvyugaṇa* literally mean the number of days *(ahorātras)* and have been used synonymously by other writers (e.g. *Bhāskarācāryya). Bhāskarācāryya* seems to have used the latter term *(Dvyugaṇa)* in a wider sense (as in **द्युगणो विधोः**), namely, the number of times that a planet comes in conjunction with the observer within a specified period ; and, in this sense, *ahargaṇa* is only Sun's *dvyugaṇa.* But *Muñjāla* here uses the term *dvyugaṇa* in a special technical sense ; *dvyugaṇa,* according to him, is *ahargaṇa* less 357 days multiplied by the number of years elapsed from the Epoch.

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(2) Illustration :—To find the *Dvyugaṇa* on 880 *Śāka, Caitrādi,* from 854 *Śāka, Caitrādi.*

Here the number of (solar sidereal) years is 26.

The working is as follows :—

Number of Years multiplied by 10	=26x10	=260
Add 1/8th of the product	=260/8	+32
Add *Saṁkrānti Tithi* (at Epoch)		+14
		= 306 (A)

Result

Place result (A) below	306	
Deduct 60th part	− 5	
	301	
Dividing by 30, Remainder	= 1	
Deduct this Remainder from result (A) placed above		− 1
		305
Add number of *Tithis* from *Caitrādi,* 880 *Śāka*		+ 0
		305
Deduct the number of years multiplied by 3 =26 x 3		− 78
		227
Deduct number of seasons elapsed from *Caitrādi* 880 *Śāka*		− 0
Final result = *Dvyu-gaṇa*		= 227

Dividing by 7, the Remainder is 3, which gives the day of the Week. As the *Caitrādi* of 854 *Śāka* was Saturday, the *Caitrādi* of 880 *Śāka* is therefore Tuesday.

All this agrees with the figures given by *Praśastidhara.*

(3). The Formula is :—

$$Dvyugaṇa = 10\,y + \frac{10\,y}{8} + t_s - R + t_d - 3\,y - S,$$

where y = number of years elapsed from Epoch,

t_s = *Saṁkrāntitithi* of Epoch,

t_d = desired *tithi,* i.e., number of *tithis* elapsed from *Caitrādi* of current year,

S = *number* of seasons elapsed from *Caitrādi* of current year, and

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R = *Adhiśeṣa* given by

$$(10\,y + \tfrac{10\,y}{8} + t_s)\,(1 - \tfrac{1}{60}) = 30k + R.$$

(4) Rationale :— The calculations are based on a lunar year of 354 days and a solar sideral year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days.

In 354 days there are therefore 12 x 30 or 360 tithis. In each solar sidereal year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, there are ($365\frac{1}{4}$—354) or $11\frac{1}{4}$ (or, $10+\frac{10}{8}$) additional *tithis*.

This is multiplied by the number of years elapsed to get the total number of such additional *tithis* (i.e., omitting complete lunar years) from *Varṣādi* of Epoch to *Varṣādi* of current year. The number of *Saṁkrānti Tithis* at *Varṣādi* of Epoch added to the total number of *tithis* calculated above gives the total number of additional *tithis* from *Caitrādi* of Epoch to *Varṣādi* of current year. The total number thus found is reduced to *sāvana days* by deducting its 60th part from itself ; this is based on the assumption that 354 days are equal to 360 tithis. If the number of *sāvana* days thus obtained is divided by 30, the quotient (which is not used in the calculations) gives the number of *adhimāsas* (intercalary months) for the years elapsed from the Epoch, and the remainder gives the *Adhiśeṣa* or lunar *tithis* from *Caitrādi* to *Varṣādi* of current year.

Deducting this number of *Adhiśeṣas* from the additional lunar *tithis* found before, the number of additional *days* (i.e. omitting 354 days for each year) from *Caitrādi* of Epoch to *Caitrādi* (instead of *Varṣādi)* of Current Year is obtained.

From this number of additional days are deducted 3 days for *each* year, to make the group of omitted days *per year* equal to 357, a multiple of 7.

The number of tithis elapsed from the *Caitrādi* of the current year is added, and this is converted to *sāvana* days by deducting the number of seasons, i.e. by deducting 1 day for every 2 months or 60 *tithis*.

The result is named *Dvyugaṇa,* to distinguish it from *Ahargaṇa*. *Ahargaṇa* is thus equal to *Dvyugaṇa plus* 357 days multiplied by the number of years elapsed from the Epoch.

The difference between *Ahargaṇa* and *Dvyugaṇa* being a multiple of 7 (because 357 is a multiple of 7), *Ahargaṇa* and *Dvyugaṇa* will leave the same remainder when divided by 7. As this remainder determines the day of the week (Sunday, Monday, etc.), calculation by *Dvyugaṇa* will give the same day of the week as that by *Ahargaṇa*.

In the Illustration given above, the *Ahargaṇa (Khaṇḍakhādyaka)* from *Caitrādi* 854 *Śāka* to *Caitrādi* 880 *Śāka* is 9509, which is the sum of 227 *(Dvyugaṇa)* and 357 x 26 (i.e. 357 days for each of 26 years

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elapsed from Epoch). 9509 and 227 both leave the same remainder 3 when divided by 7 ; as the begining of the Epoch was on a Saturday, the remainder 3 indicates Tuesday for *Caitrādi* 880 *Śāka* by both the calculations.

(5) The object of Indian Astronomy is to calculate and predict true places and motions of the celestial objects, particularly of the Sun, the Moon and the other Planets, at any desired instant of time, so that the calculated or predicted position may coincide with the observed position at the instant.

The usual method is to determine the mean motions or displacements of the Planets from a certain Epoch, and then to apply to such mean positions one or more corrections, called Equations ; the mean positions corrected by the Equations are expected to give the true positions as observed.

The corrections are based upon the eccentric and epicyclic theories of planetary motion, and will be discussed in the next Section. The object of this Section is to determine the mean motions from the Epoch.

If the Epoch be such that the longitude of every Planet at the Epoch is 0, the mean motions calculated for the period from the Epoch to the desired time will give the mean positions or mean longitudes of the Planets at the time.

The beginning of the astronomical *Mahāyuga* or of *Kalpa* is considered to be such an Epoch, namely, where the mean longitude of every planet is assumed to be 0. According to *Āryyabhaṭa,* at the beginning of the *Kaliyuga* (6 A.M., 18 February, 3102 B.C.) the mean longitude of *Candrocca* (Apogee of the Moon) is 9 signs and that of the Moon's Node 6 signs, while the mean longitudes of all other planets are 0.

If, however, any later date (i.e. later than the beginning of the astronomical *Kaliyuga,* 3102 B.C.) be adopted as the Epoch, the assumption that the longitude of every or any Planet would be 0 at any such Epoch would not be justified, and it therefore becomes necessary to calculate and state the longitudes of the Planets (called *Dhruvas* or Constants) at such an Epoch as the basis of subsequent calculations. The mean motions are then calculated from the Epoch up to the desired time, and added to the fixed longitudes calculated or stated for the Epoch, to give the mean longitudes of the Planets at the desired time.

The number of revolutions of each Planet for a number of sidereal years (equivalent to the revolutions of the Sun) in a *Yuga* or a *Mahāyuga* (4 times or 10 times the *Kali Yuga)* or a *Kalpa* (1,000 times a *Mahāyuga)* are given by every Author of a *Siddhānta,* e.g. *Āryyabhaṭa,*

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Brahmagupta, Śripati, Bhāskarācāryya, etc. The number of natural or *sāvana days* (called *Ahorātras)* in such a *Yuga,* a *Mahāyuga* or a *Kalpa* are also given.

The method of determining the mean motions of the Planets from the Epoch selected then reduces itself to determining the number of *sāvana* days *(Ahorātras)* elapsed from the Epoch, called *Ahargaṇa,* multiplying the revolutions of each Planet in a *Yuga* or *Mahāyuga* or *Kalpa* by the *Ahargaṇa* so calculated, and dividing the product by the number of *sāvana* days *(Ahorātras)* in the *Yuga* or *Mahāyuga* or *Kalpa* as the case may be. The following illustration for the mean motion of the Sun will explain the working :—

	In the Kaliyuga	*In a Mahāyuga*	*In a Kalpa*
According to *Bhāskara* —			
Revolutions of the Sun	4,32,000	43,20,000	43,20,000,000
Number of Days or *Ahorātras*	15,77,91,645	1,57,79,16,450	15,77,91,64,50,000

If the *Ahargaṇas* calculated from the beginning of *Yuga,* a *Mahāyuga,* or a *Kalpa* be respectively A_1 , A_2 , A_3 , the mean motion of the Sun during the period of the *Ahargaṇa* is given by

$$\frac{A_1 \times 4,32,000}{15,77,91,645} \text{ or } \frac{A_2 \times 43,20,000}{1,57,79,16,450} \text{ or } \frac{A_3 \times 43,20,000,000}{15,77,91,64,50.000.}$$

The calculations are simplified by calculating the *Ahargaṇa* from a more recent Epoch than the beginning of the *Yuga* or *Mahāyuga* or *Kalpa,* and replacing A_1 , A_2 or A_3 by such *Ahargaṇa.*

This is done by every Author of a *Karaṇa* to simplify the calculations. The Epoch selected by *Muñjāla,* from the Example quoted by *Praśastidhara,* seems to be 854 *Śāka,* although this date is nowhere mentioned in the *Laghumānasa,* probably due to the intention that the Epoch may be varied by a future calculator, who may yet apply the same methods of calculation as given in the Treatise.

A further simplification has been introduced by *Muñjāla* by splitting up the *Ahargaṇa* into two parts, namely, (i) a group of 357 *sāvana* days *(Ahorātras)* per Year elapsed from the Epoch, and (ii) the balance of *Ahargaṇa,* called *Dvyugaṇa.* The mean motion of a Planet for each of these parts is separately calculated and the two added to give the total mean motion of the Planet from the Epoch to the desired time. This method has been followed in Verses 5, 6 and 7 for the determination of the mean motions of the Sun, the Moon and the *Mandocca* of the Moon.

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To determine the mean motion of the Sun from the Epoch –

द्व्युगणोऽधो दशघ्नाब्दयुतः खागा (७०) प्तवर्जितः।
अष्टघ्नाब्दोनितोऽर्कांशोऽब्दाष्टमांशकलान्वितः ॥ ५ ॥

dvyugaṇo' dho daśaghnābdayutah khāgāptavarjitah |
aṣṭaghnābdonito' rkāṁśo' bdāṣṭamāṁśakalānvitah || 5 ||

5. Place the *Dvyugaṇa* in two places ; add to the one placed below 10 times the number of years and divide the sum by 70 ; deduct the quotient from the *Dvyugaṇa* (placed above); deduct from the difference 8 times the number of years ; add 1/8th of the number of years as *Kalās* (minutes); (the result gives the mean displacement or motion of) the Sun in *aṁśas* (degrees) (from the commencement of the Epoch).

Notes.– (1) Illustration :– To find the Sun's mean longitude at 880 *Śāka Caitrādi.*

		signs.	deg.	min.	sec.
Add 10 times the number of years to *Dvyugaṇa,*					
10 x 26 + 227 = 487					
Divide by 70, Quotient is			6	57	0
Deduct this quotient from					
227 taken as degrees			227	0	0
		—	6	57	0
			220	3	0
Also deduct 8 x 26 degrees			— 208	0	0
			12	3	0
Add 26/8 *kalās* (minutes)			+ 0	3	15
Sum = Displacement from Epoch			= 12	6	15
Add Longitude of Sun at Epoch		+11	16	12	0
Longitude of mean Sun at 880 *Śāka, Caitrādi*		=11	28	18	nearly

as given by *Praśastidhara.*

(2) Rationale of the Rule :–If x=*dvyugaṇa* and y=*abdas*, the displacement or motion may be expressed by the following formula –

$$\left(x - \frac{x+10y}{70} - 8y\right)^{\circ} + \left(\frac{y}{8}\right)' = x\left(1 - \frac{1}{70}\right)^{\circ} - y.\left(8\frac{1}{7}\right)^{\circ} + \left(\frac{y}{8}\right)'$$

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Now, mean displacement of the Sun

during 1 day $=59$ min. 8 sec. $= (1-\frac{1}{70})^\circ$ nearly

This is multiplied by the *Dvyugaṇa* to give the displacement in the period of the *Dvyugaṇa*.

Again, the displacement of the Sun

during 357 days $=11^s\ 21^\circ\ 51'\ 36''$

$= (-)\ 0^s\ 8^\circ\ 8'\ 24''$

which is equal to $(-8\frac{1}{7}^\circ + \frac{1}{8}')$ nearly.

In determining the *Dvyugaṇa*, a period of 357 days *per year* was omitted, and the *Ahargaṇa* is *Dvyugaṇa plus* 357 days multiplied by the number of years.

The displacement due to *Ahargaṇa* (i.e. the number of days from the Epoch to the desired date) is split up into two parts — (i) one for *Dvyugaṇa*, which is obtained by multiplying the displacement for a day by the *Dvyugaṇa*, and (ii) the other for 357 days of each year elapsed from Epoch, which is obtained by multiplying the displacement for 357 days by the number of years. The sum of these two parts gives the total displacement.

By the use of this artifice, *Muñjāla* has been able to introduce a simplicity in the calculations which is not possible in calculating only with the help of *Ahargaṇa* (which is necessarily a very much larger number).

(3) Compare the mean daily motions of the Sun as given by —

	min.	sec.
Sūryyasiddhānta	59	8.17
Siddhānta Śiromaṇī	59	8.17
Modern Value	59	8.2

These and subsequent values have been taken from Mr. P. C. Sen Gupta's "Planetary Motion in Hindu Astronomy".

To determine the mean motion of the moon from the Epoch—

विश्व (१३) घ्नो द्व्युगणो द्विष्ठस्त्रिघ्नाब्दद्व्युगणोनितः।
अष्टाङ्गा (६८) प्तजिन (२४) घ्नाब्दयुतो भागादिकः शशी ॥ ६ ॥

viśvaghno dvyugaṇo dviṣṭha strighnābdadvyugaṇonitah |
aṣṭāṅgāptajinaghnābdayuto bhāgādikah śaśī || 6 ||

6. Multiply *Dvyugaṇa* by 13 *(visva)* and place the product in two places; deduct *Dvyugaṇa* and three times *Abdas* (years) from the product (placed below); divide the difference by 68; add to the pro-

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duct (placed above) this quotient, as also 24 times the *Abdas* (number of years); (the sum gives the mean displacement or motion of the) Moon in degrees etc. (from the Epoch).

Notes.— (1) *Praśastidhara's* Illustration.— To find the mean Moon, when the *Dvyugaṇa* is 492 and *Abdas* 26.

		sign.	deg.	min.
Multiply *Dvyugaṇa* by 13 : 492 x 13 =			6,396	
Place it below	6,396			
Deduct *Dvyugaṇa* 492, and 3 times *Abdas*, 3 x 26	570			
	5,826			
Add 5,826/68 or 85° 41′ to Product		+	85	41
Also add 24 times *Abdas*, 24×26		+	624	0
Displacement or motion of Moon		=	7,105	41
or, omitting complete revolutions,		8	25	41
Add Longitude at *Caitrādi*, 854 *Śāka*		+ 11	18	22
Thus, Longitude of mean Moon on the date desired, omitting complete revolutions		8	14	3

(2) Rationale of the Rule :— The formula for the displacement of the mean Moon, if x be *Dvyugaṇa* and y *Abdas*, is given by —

$$(x\times 13+\frac{x\times 13-(x+3y)}{68}+24\,y)^\circ$$

$$=x(13+\frac{13-1}{68})^\circ+y(24-\frac{3}{68})^\circ$$

	deg.	min.	sec.
The mean displacement of the Moon during 1 day, as expressed by the Rule, is $(13+\frac{13-1}{68})^\circ$ =	13	10	35

which is multiplied by *Dvyugaṇa* to give the displacement during *Dvyugaṇa*.

Again, the mean displacement of the Moon during a period of 357 days is =	23	57	28
or,	24°— (0	2	32)
or,	(24—3/68)° nearly.		

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This is multiplied by the number of *Abdas* (years) to give the displacement during the (number of years x 357) days, in respect of 357 days omitted *each year* from the *Ahargaṇa* to arrive at the *Dvyugaṇa*.

This displacement, added to the displacement for the *Dvyugaṇa* found above, gives the total displacement from the Epoch of the mean Moon.

(3) Compare the mean daily motions of the Moon as given by—

	deg.	min.	sec.
Sūryyasiddhānta	13	10	34.89
Siddhānta Śiromanī	13	10	34.88
Modern Value	13	11	27.6

To determine the mean motion of the *Candrocca* from the Epoch—

द्व्युगणो द्विगुणाब्दोनश्चन्द्रोच्चांशा नवोद्ध ताः ॥
खवेद (४०) घ्नाब्दसंयुक्ताः साष्टांशाब्दकलोनिताः ॥ ७ ॥

dvyugaṇo dviguṇābdona ścandroccāṁśā navoddhṛtāh |
khavedaghnābdasaṁyuktāh sāṣṭāṁśābdakalonitāh || 7 ||

7. Deduct twice the *Abdas* (years) from *Dvyugaṇa ;* divide by 9 ; add to the quotient the number of *Abdas* (years) multiplied by 40 ; deduct from the sum taken as degrees the *Abdas* and the 8th part of the *Abdas* as *Kalās* (Minutes); (the result gives the mean displacement or motion of the) *Candrocca* (from the commencement of the Epoch).

Notes.—(1) *Praśastidhara's* Illustration :—To find the displacement of the mean *Candrocca,* when *Dvyugaṇa* is 227 and *Abdas* 26.

	Sign.	deg.	min.	sec.
Dvyugaṇa (taken as degress)		227	0	0
Deduct twice the *Abdas,* 2 x 26		—52	0	0
Difference	=	175	0	0
Dividing by 9, the quotient is	=	19	26	40
Add to the quotient 40 x 26	+	1,040	0	0
		1,059	26	40
Deduct 26 *kalās* and 26/8 *kalās*	—	0	29	15
Displacement of mean *Candrocca*	=	1,058	27	25
or, omitting complete revolutions,	11	8	27	25
Add Longitude at Epoch	+	7	20	0

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Whence, mean Longitude at *Caitrādi*, 880 *Śāka*	11	16	17	25
Praśastidhara gives the-result as	11	16	18	

(2) *Praśastidhara* gives another illustration, with *Dvyugaṇa* 492 and *Abdas* 26. These are the results :—

Displacement ...	0	8	24
Mean Longitude ...	0	15	44

(3) Formula : If x be *Dvyugaṇa*, and y the *Abdas*, the formula may be thus expressed —

$$\left(\frac{x-2y}{9}\right)^{\circ}+\left(40\,y\right)^{\circ}-\left(y+\frac{y}{8}\right)'$$
$$=\left(\frac{x}{9}\right)^{\circ}+\left\{y\left(40-\frac{2}{9}\right)^{\circ}-y\left(\frac{2}{8}\right)'\right\}$$

(4) Rationale.— The following seems to be the rationale of the Rule—

Displacement of the *Candrocca* during one day ... = 0 deg. 6 min. 40.88 sec.
= (1/9) degree nearly.

Displacement during the period of the *Dvyugaṇa* is obtained by multiplying the daily displacement by *Dvyugaṇa*, which gives the first part of the formula.

Displacement during 357 days = 39 45 33
$= (40-\frac{2}{9})^{0}-(9/8)'$ nearly.

Multiplying this by the number of *Abdas*, we get the Displacement for (357 x *Abdas*) days omitted from the *Ahargaṇa* in obtaining the *Dvyugaṇa*. This is the second part of the formula.

Adding the two parts, we get the total Displacement or motion from the Epoch.

(4) Compare the mean daily motions of the *Candrocca* as given by—

	min.	sec.
Sūryyasiddhānta	6	40.98
Siddhānta Śiromaṇī	6	40.88
Modern Value	6	34.26

In Verses 8-10 *Muñjāla* gives formulas for finding the mean displacements or motions of Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, and the Node of the Moon, from that of the Sun. Exactly the same methods are used (as alternative methods), and the same formulas given, by *Lalla* in his *Śiṣya-dhi-vṛddhida, Madhyamādhikāra*, Verses 50, 51 and 52 (the printed text of which is faulty and should be corrected).

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To determine the mean motion of Mars –

ध्रुवाद्यर्कात् कुजो द्वाभ्यां नृप (१६) घ्नाच्चेषुखेषु (५०५) भिः। ७$\frac{1}{2}$।

dhruvādyarkāt kujo dvābhyām nṛpaghnācceṣukheṣubhih |7$\frac{1}{2}$|

7$\frac{1}{2}$. Divide by 2 the displacement of the (mean) Sun from the Epoch; to this add the same displacement multiplied by 16 and divided by 505; (the sum gives the mean displacement or motion of) Mars (from the Epoch).

Notes.– (1) This half-verse gives a relation between the displacements of the mean Sun and Mars for any period from the Epoch. If the interval be taken as only one day from the Epoch, it gives a relation between the daily mean motions of the Sun and Mars, on which relation the formula is based.

(2) In the following Verses, the same method is applied to all the remaining planets (Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn), and to the Node of the Moon.

(3) Verse 5 has given the method for calculating the mean displacement of the Sun.

(4) Verses 6 and 7 have given formulas for calculating the mean displacements of the Moon and the *Mandocca* of the Moon directly, and not from that of the Sun, because these displacements are large compared to that of the Sun and a direct calculation gives a better result.

(5) But, according to *Muñjāla,* the displacements of Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, and the Node of the Moon, are comparable with that of the Sun, and they are very easily deduced from the latter.

It is to be noted here that, by Mercury and Venus (the inferior planets), their *Śighroccas* are meant (See Verse 16, second half), and, although their displacements or motions are greater than that of the Sun, these are much less than those of the Moon and the *Mandocca* of the Moon.

(6) Illustration.–If α, the displacement of the Sun for one day, be 59 min. 8 sec., find β, the displacement of Mars for one day.

	deg.	min.	sec.
$\alpha/2$	=	29	34
$16\,\alpha/505$	=	1	52
Adding, β	=	31	26

The usual values are –

Sūryya Siddhānta	0	31	27.29
Siddhānta Śiromaṇī	0	31	26.46
Modern Value	0	31	26.5

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(7) The formula is, if α and β be the displacements of the Sun and Mars during the same interval of time from the Epoch,

$$\beta = \alpha/2 + 16.\alpha/505.$$

To determine the mean motion of Mercury *(Śighrocca)*—

सप्तघ्नाद्ऋतुवेदै (४६) र्ज्ञश्चतुर्घ्नरविणा युतः ॥ ८ ॥

saptaghnād ṛtuvedair jña ścaturghnaraviṇā yutah ||8||

8. Multiply the displacement of the Sun by 7 and divide the product by 46; add the quotient to 4 times the displacement of the Sun; (this gives the mean displacement or motion of) Mercury (i.e. its *Śighrocca,* as explained in Verse 16).

Notes.—(1) If α and β are the displacements of the Sun and Mercury *(Śighrocca),* the formula is —

$$\beta = 4.\alpha + 7.\alpha/46.$$

	deg.	min.	sec.
(2) α, the displacement of the Sun during one day,		59	8
$4.\alpha$		236	32
$7.\alpha/46$		9	0
Adding, β		245	32
	or 4	5	32
The usual values are —			
Sūryya Siddhānta	4	5	33·37
Siddhānta Śiromaṇī	4	5	32·3
Modern Value	4	5	32·4

To determine the mean motion of Jupiter —

रूप (१) घ्राद्भास्करै (१२) र्जीवो भू (१) घ्राच्च रदखेन्दु (१०३२) भिः । ८$\frac{१}{२}$ ।

rūpaghnād bhāskarair jīvo bhūghnācca radakhendubhih |8½|

8½. Multiply the displacement of the Sun by 1 and divide by 12; again multiply the displacement of the Sun by 1 and divide by 1032; (the sum of the two quotients gives the mean displacement or or motion of) Jupiter.

Notes.—(1) Formula: If α and β are the displacements of the Sun and Jupiter, $\beta = 1.\alpha/12 + 1.\alpha/1032$.

(2) Rationale.— This is the relationship between the daily motions of the Sun and Jupiter, and thus it will be true for any period elapsed from the Epoch.

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(3) Illustration.—

		min.	sec.
α, the displacement of the Sun during one day	=	59	8
$\alpha/12$	=	4	55.6
$\alpha/1032$	=	0	3.4
Adding, β	=	4	59

The usual values are —

Sūryya Siddhānta	4	59.14
Siddhānta Śiromaṇī	4	59.15
Modern Value	4	59.1

To determine the mean motion of Venus *(Śighrocca)*—

दिग् (१०) घ्नात् षड्भिः सितो दिग् (१०) घ्नात् त्रिजिनां (२४३) शेन वर्जितः ॥ ९ ॥

digghnāt ṣadbhih sito digghnāt trijināṁśena varjitah ||9||

9. Multiply the displacement of the Sun by 10 and divide the product by 6; again multiply the displacement of the sun by 10 and divide the product by 243; and deduct the latter quotient from the former ; (the difference gives the mean displacement or motion of) Venus (i.e. its *Śighrocca*, as indicated by Verse 16).

Notes.—(1) Formula : If α and β be the displacements of the Sun and Venus *(Śigrocca)*, $\beta = 10.\alpha/6 - 10.\alpha/243$.

(2) Rationale.—This is the relation between the daily motions of the Sun and Venus *(Śighrocca)*.

(3) Illustration.—

		deg.	min.	sec.
α, the displacement of the Sun during one day	...	=	59	8
$10.\alpha/6$		=	98	33
Deducting $10.\alpha/243$		=	2	23
β	...	=	96	10
	or	1	36	10

The usual values are —

Sūryya Siddhānta	1	36	7.73
Siddhānta Śiromaṇī	1	36	7.73
Modern Value	1	36	7.7

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To determine the mean motion of Saturn —

षड्गुणादयुतेनार्किश्चन्द्र (१) घ्नाच्च खवह्नि (३०) भिः । ९$\frac{१}{२}$ ।

ṣadguṇād ayutenārki ścandraghnācca khavahnibhih |9½|

9½. Multiply the displacement of the Sun by 6 and divide the product by 10,000; again multiply the displacement of the Sun by 1 and divide by 30; (the sum of the two quotients gives the mean displacement or motion of) Saturn.

Notes.—(1) If α and β be the displacements of the Sun and Saturn during any period, the formula says that —

$\beta = 6.\alpha/10{,}000 + 1.\alpha/30$.

(2) Rationale.—This is the relation between the daily motions of the Sun and Saturn.

(3) Illustration.—

		min.	sec.
α, the displacement of the Sun during one day	... =	59	8
$\alpha/30$	... =	1	58.27
$6.\alpha/10{,}000$	... =	0	2.11
Adding, β	... =	2	0.38

The usual values are —

Sūryya Siddhānta	2	0.39
Siddhānta Śiromaṇī	2	0.38
Modern Value	2	0.5

To determine the mean motion of the Node of the Moon —

नखैः (२०) पञ्चाङ्गनेत्रै (२६५) श्च चन्द्रपातो विलोमगः ॥ १० ॥

nakhaih pañcāṅganetraiśca candrapāto vilomagah ||10||

10. Divide the displacement of the Sun by 20; again divide the displacement by 265; (the sum of the two quotients gives the mean displacement or motion of the) Node of the Moon, which (displacement) is retrograde.

इति मध्यमाधिकारः ।

Here ends the section dealing with mean motions.

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Notes.—(1) Formula : If α and β are the displacements of the Sun and the Node of the Moon respectively, then $\beta = \alpha/20 + \alpha/265$

(2) Rationale.—This is the relation between their daily motions.

(3) Illustration.—

		min.	sec.
α, the displacement of the Sun during one day	... =	59	8
$\alpha/20$	=	2	57·4
$\alpha/265$	=	0	13·4
Adding, β	=	3	10.8

The usual Values are —

Sūryya Siddhānta	3	10.75
Siddhānta Śiromaṇī	3	10.8
Modern Value	3	10.64

(4) The Verses 5-10 may be thus summarised :—

(A) If x be the *Dvyugaṇa* calculated for the desired date and y the number of years elapsed from the Epoch, the following Displacements are very quickly calculated in terms of these two variables :—

(a) Displacement of (mean) Sun

$= x(1 - \frac{1}{70})^0 - y.(8\frac{1}{7})^0 + (\frac{y}{8})'$

(b) Displacement of (mean) Moon

$= x(13 + 1\frac{3}{8}\frac{1}{8})^0 + y(24 - \frac{3}{60}\frac{3}{8})^0$

(c) Displacement of (mean) *Mandocca* of the Moon

$= (\frac{x}{9})^0 + y(40 - \frac{2}{9})^0 - y(\frac{9}{8})'$

(B) If α be the Displacement of the Sun, and β the Displacement of the Planet (Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn) or the Node of the Moon from the Epoch, the latter Displacements are thus expressed in terms of the Displacement of the Sun from the Epoch —

Displacements of —

(a) Mars ... $\beta = \frac{\alpha}{2} + \frac{16\alpha}{505}$

(b) Mercury *(Śighrocca)* ... $\beta = 4\alpha + \frac{7\alpha}{46}$

(c) Jupiter ... $\beta = \frac{\alpha}{12} + \frac{\alpha}{1032}$

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(d) Venus *(Śighrocca)* ... $\beta = \frac{10\alpha}{6} - \frac{10\alpha}{243}$

(e) Saturn ... $\beta = \frac{6\alpha}{10,000} + \frac{\alpha}{30}$

(f) Node of the Moon *(retrograde)* ... $\beta = \frac{\alpha}{20} + \frac{\alpha}{265}$

which may be compared with Verses 50, 51 and 52 (as corrected) in the *Madhyamādhikāra* of *Śiṣya-dhi-vṛddhida* of *Lalla* :—

रविर्द्विं (२) भक्तो रविराहतो नृपैः (१६)
शराभ्रबाणै (५०५) र्हृतयुक् कुजोऽथवा ।
रविर्नग (७) घ्नोऽङ्गयुगो (४६) द्धृतश्चतु (४)-
र्गुणार्कयुक्तो भवतीन्दुजो ध्रुवम् ॥ ५० ॥
रविर्विभक्तो रविभि (१२) र्हृतो रवी-
रदाभ्रचन्द्रै (१०३२) स्त्रिदशाधिपो भवेत् ।
रवेर्दशघ्ना (१०) द्वृतुभि (६) र्हृतात् सितः
पुनस्ततो रामजिनांश (२४३) वर्जितः ॥ ५१ ॥
रवी रसघ्नो (६) ऽयुत (१०,०००) भाजितो भवे-
द्धृतो रविः खाग्निभि (३०) रर्कजोऽथवा ।
नखो (२०) द्धृतो भास्कर इषृतुद्विभि (२६५)-
र्विभाजितश्चन्द्ररिपुर्विलोमगः ॥ ५२ ॥

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THE ATHARVAVEDA AND THE NYĀYAMAÑJARĪ OF JAYANTABHAṬṬA

By H. G. NARAHARI

While the supreme authority of the Vedas has seldom been questioned, at least in orthodox circles, attempts have very often been made to make a gradation even among the four Vedas from the standpoint of their importance. Though the first place is generally accorded to the Ṛg-Veda, it is not impossible to see, now and then, efforts to raise the three other Vedas to the highest pedestal. In his introduction to his commentary on the Ṛg-Veda, Sāyaṇa says that he commented on the *Yajurveda* first because it, in his opinion, deserves the first place among the Vedas. It may be, Sāyaṇa observes, that on occasions like *Vedādhyayana* (study of the Vedas), *Pārāyaṇa* (recitation), *Brahmayajña*, and *Japa* (meditation), the Ṛg-veda occupies the foremost place, but in sacrifices it is the Yajurveda that is most prominent.[1] While the contribution of the Ṛg-veda and the Sāmaveda ends with supplying *Stotras* and *Śastras* to be recited at the sacrifice, it is the Veda of the Adhvaryu priest (i.e. the Yajurveda) that really gives the shape (*mātrā*) to the sacrifice. The Ṛg-veda and the Sāmaveda supply only limbs to the body of the sacrifice in the preparation of which it is the Yajurveda that is solely instrumental.[2] Sāyaṇa would hence conclude that the *Yajurveda* is the foremost among the Vedas.

The statement "Vedānām Sāmadevo' smi" in the *Bhagavad-gītā* (X. 22.) is sometimes taken as an evidence to show that the *Sāmaveda* is the premier among the Vedas.[3]

Whichever of these three Vedas be the foremost, all these controversialists agree in holding that, as a Vedic text the *Atharvaveda* is distinctly inferior in status to the other Vedas. The three other Vedas are grouped together under the name *Trayī*, and the *Atharvaveda* is discarded from the group. Defining the *Trayī*, Amarasiṁha

---

1. Sāyaṇa's introduction to his commentary on the Ṛg-Veda, p. 2.– (Vaidik-Saṁśodhanamaṇḍal Edn.).

2. Ibid. p. 3.

3. Cp. RV. v. 54. 14b, where the seer says that the Maruts protect the seer versed in the *Sāman* (Yūyam ṛṣim avatha sāmavipram).

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says: "Striyām ṛk sāmayajuṣī iti vedās trayas trayī,"[4] meaning thereby that the group of the three Vedas Ṛg-veda, Yajurveda, and Sāmaveda is called *Trayī*. Commenting on this line, Kṣīrasvāmin remarks that the Atharvaveda is outside the pale of the *Trayī* (atharvaṇaḥ trayyuddhāraḥ)[5] Speaking of the genesis of the Vedas from the Primeval Sacrifice, the Puruṣa-sūkta (Rv. X. 90) mentions only three Vedas and omits the *Atharvaveda.*[6] The *Taittirīya-Braāhmaṇa* (III. 12. 9. 1) seems to ignore the Atharvaveda when it mentions only the three other Vedas ; "Ṛgbhiḥ pūrvāhṇe divi deva īyate, yajurvedena tiṣṭhati madhye'hnaḥ, sāmavedena astam eti vedaiḥ aśūnyaḥ tribiḥ eti sūryaḥ." The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (X. 5. 8. 1-3) also speaks of three vedas only omitting the Atharvaveda ; "tathā prajāpatiḥ akāmayata bahu syām prajāyeya iti, sa tapo' tapyata trayo vedā ajāyanta, agneḥ ṛgvedaḥ vāyoḥ yajurveda ādityāt sāmaveda iti." The *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣat* (XII. 2.) speaks of the *Trayī* thus ; "saiṣā trayyeva vidyā tapati." Speaking of the brahmins to be invited for *śrāddha,* Manu mentions[7] only those brahmins who are versed in the Ṛg-veda, the Yajurveda and the Sāmaveda, not those versed in the *Atharvaveda* also.

The reason that is usually advanced for meting out such a treatment to the Atharvaveda is that, while the three other vedas contain in them prayers and sacrificial formulæ used in sacrifices, the Atharvaveda contains in it hymns which are devoid of all sacrificial utility. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī only echoes the stereotyped orthodox view when he observes in his *Prasthāna-bheda*[8] as follows : "tatra hautraprayogaḥ Ṛgvedena ādhvaryavaprayogo yajurvedena audgātraprayogaḥ sāmavedena, brahma-yajamānaprayogau atraiva antarbhūtau ; atharvavedas tu yajñānupayuktaḥ śāntipauṣṭikābhicārādi-karmapratipādakatvena atyantavilakṣaṇa eva." In short, so strong is the wave of popular aversion against the *Atharvaveda* that it is sometimes allegorically represented as 'a lean black man, sharp, irascible, amorous, and fond of little things, possessing power to assume any shape it likes."[9]

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4. Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, v. 3.

5. "Amarakośa" with Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary-Ed. *V. G. Oka,* p. 28.

6. *Muir,* however, thinks that the seer means the "Atharvaveda" when, in RV. X. 90. 9c., he says that "Chandāṁsi" were born out of the primeval sacrifice.—Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. II, p. 189.

7. Manusmṛti, III. 145.

8. Weber, "Indische Studien," I. 16.

9. Rajendra Lal Mitra in his introduction to "Gopatha Brāhmaṇa," p. 4.

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Its claims as a Veda are very often discarded by some of the orthodox who sometimes even go to the extent of denying its very existence.[10]

Jayanta feels that all this aversion towards the Atharvaveda is unfair and that it is not justifiable on reasonable grounds. It is his sincere conviction that, as a Vedic text, the Atharvaveda can be in no way inferior to the other Vedas, and that it deserves to be ranked as important as any one of them. He would consider it a partial appreciation of the full value of the Atharvaveda, if it should be accepted that, though the Atharvaveda is of no service in so far as sacrifices are concerned, it is really valuable when it gives us hymns which are useful when we are 'to appease, to bless, and to curse.'[11] He can brook no compromise which would make him fall short of his own position, and hence is his attempt to prove that the *Atharvaveda* is as authoritative and valuable as any other Veda.

To those who profess to accept the authority of the Vedas but yet feel diffident to accept the authority of the Atharvaveda also, Jayanta would point out that their attitude is improper; when Jaimini,[12] the author of the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtras* propounded the infallibility of the Vedas or when both Kaṇāda[13] and Akṣapāda[14] made a similar declaration, they meant all the four Vedas; the Mīmāṁsakas cannot say that the Atharvaveda is not authoritative because it is of known authorship, and the Naiyāyikas cannot hold in a similar way that only the three vedas are the pronouncements of an *Āpta,* not the Atharvaveda also.

None of the philosophers are seen to make any distinction among the Vedas in so far as their authority is concerned.[15]

Also, the entire activity of the residents of the *Āryāvarta* is based on the authority of either *Śruti* or *Smṛti,* and the term *Śruti* includes the Atharvaveda also.[16]

Further, a good number of statements occur in Vedic literature itself where the Atharvaveda is also taken into account. The *Śatapatha*

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10. Cp. A. C. Burnell in his preface to "Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa," p. 21.
11. Madhusūdhana Sarasvati, op. cit.
12. Mīmāṁsā-darśanam, I. 1. 5.
13. Vaiśeṣika-darśanam, I. 1. 3.
14. Nyāya-darśanam, II. 1. 67.
15. "Nyāya-mañjarī" of Jayantabhaṭṭa, p. 254. (Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series.)
16. Ibid.

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Brāhmaṇa[17] contains the statement "so'yam atharvaṇo vedaḥ." The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VII. 7) says that the Atharvan is the fourth Veda and that Itihāsa and Purāṇa combine to form the fifth. In the *Śatādhyayana* there occurs the passage "atharvaṇo vai brahmaṇaḥ samānaḥ" thereby mentioning the Atharvaveda by its name. There are besides a good number of passages where the Atharvaveda is mentioned by one or other of its appellations.[18] The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (III. 4) mentions it by one of its common appellations, the *Atharvāṅgiras* when it says "yo' syodañco raśmayaḥ ta eva asya udīcyaḥ madhunāḍyo' tharvāṅgirasa eva madhukṛta iti." In the *Taittirīya* (11. 3.) the Atharvaveda is mentioned by the same appellation: "Tasmād vā etasmāt prāṇamayād anyaḥ antarātma manomayaḥ..tasya yajureva śiraḥ, ṛg dakṣiṇaḥ pakṣḥ, atharvāṅgirasaḥ puccham pratiṣṭhā." The Atharvaveda is referred to in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III. 12. 9. 1.) also, which says "ṛcām prācī mahatī dig ucyate, dakṣiṇām āhuḥ yajuṣām, atharvaṇām aṅgirasām pratīcī dig ucyate". So also the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI. 3. 8. 7) when it says : meda āhutayo vā etā devānām yad atharvāṅgirasaḥ sma ya evam vidvān atharvāṅgirasaḥ..tṛptāḥ tarpayanti". A reference to the Atharvaveda is not wanting even in the Saṁhitās. The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (III. 5. 11. 3a) refers to the Atharvaveda as follows : "tvām agne puṣkarād adhy atharvā nir amanthata."[19]

Jayanta next proceeds to cite passages from the *Smṛtis* where the Atharvaveda is mentioned by name or where its name is implied. The *Manusmṛti* (XI. 33) gives the Atharvaveda the same status as the three other Vedas in calling it also a *Śruti* : "srutiḥ atharvāṅgirasīḥ kuryād iti abhicārayan." When the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (I. 3) mentions the fourteen branches of knowledge (*Vidyāsthānāni*), it takes into account four Vedas, not merely three. The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (III. 6. 28) is more explicit when it mentions the four Vedas (*vedāḥ catvāraḥ*) in the course of its enumeration of the varieties of knowledge (*Vidyā*).

Śatātapa recognises the importance of the Atharvaveda when he says "Ṛk-sāma-yajuraṅgānām atharvāṅgirasām api aṇor apy asya vijñānād yo'nūcānaḥ sa no mahān iti."[20] The members of a Pariṣat are

17. Ibid. ; there are besides a good number of passages where the term "atharvaṇaḥ" occurs in the same Brāhmaṇa ; see for instance, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 1. 5. 18; VI. 4. 2. 3; XIV. 1. 1. 18, etc.

18. For a full account of the various appellations of the Atharva veda, see *Bloomfield* "The Atharvaveda and the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa," pp. 7-10.

19. This verse occurs in the other Saṁhitās also ; see RV., VI. 16. 13a ; SV. I. 9a ; VS. XI. 32a ; Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā (II. 7. 3a).

20. Cited by Jayantabhaṭṭa in his "Nyāya-Mañjari," p. 255. (Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series.)

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always expected to be conversant with the Atharvaveda. According to some, four people well-versed in the four Vedas, and knowing the nature of Dharma constitute a Pariṣat.[21] *Śaṅkha* and *Likhita*[22] specify that the ten people constituting a Pariṣat should possess a knowledge of the Atharvaveda also. So also one of the qualifications of the five people constituting a Pariṣat is according to *Prācetas*,[23] a knowledge of the four Vedas. Also when the *Paṅkti-pāvanas* are recounted, one knowing the *Atharvāṅgiras* is also taken into account.[24]

So much for passages from the *Śruti* and *Smṛti* which recognise the importance of the Atharvaveda. But Jayantabhaṭṭa does not stop there. He next proceeds to quote passages from other writers of eminence like *Patañjali* and *Jaimini* who also step aside from the general group which looks upon the Atharvaveda with disfavour. In citing samples from the four Vedas, Patañjali cites[25] first from the Atharvaveda Sabara also cites in many places[26] from the *Maudaka-Śākhā* and the *Paippalādaka-Śākhā* of the Atharvaveda besides the Yajurveda.

The next objection against the Atharvaveda taken up by Jayanta for answering is that the Atharvaveda teaches not the sacrificial cult that is the main theme of the three other Vedas and that it consequently deserves its divorce from the pale of the *Trayī*. Jayantabhaṭṭa would consider such an argument unsound for, in the performance of *sattoras* like Iṣṭi, Paśu, the Ekāha, and the Ahīna, the teachings of the Atharvaveda have seldom been neglected.[27] There is no sacrificial rite that

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21. See, for instance, Yājñavalkya-Smṛti, I. 2. 9.

22. Nyāya—mañjarī, loc. cit.

23. Ibid.

24. Cp. Śaṅkha-smṛti, XIV. 7, p. 386 (Ānandāsrama Sanskrit Series).

25. Mahā-bhāṣya," p. 5. (Benares Edn.); Patañjali's partiality to the Atharvaveda is further evidenced by the fact that he cites almost exclusively from the Atharvaveda and the ancillary texts belonging to this Veda. It is a fact that is familiar to Sanskrit grammarians that Pāṇini favours the Ṛgveda, Kātyāyana, the Yajurveda and Patañjali, the Atharvaveda. Patañjali's leaning towards the Atharvaveda is sometimes taken to signify that he is an Atharvavedin; if this reasoning be acceptable, there is greater reason to consider Jayantabhaṭṭa as an Atharvavedin, especially when his favour towards that Veda is quite explicit, as the present paper shows.

26. See, for instance his bhāṣya on "Mīmāṁsā-sūtras," I. 1. 27, II. 4. 8.

27. Nyāya-mañjari, p. 256. (Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series); cp. RV. VIII. 9. 7 cd. where mention is made of the Atharvan fire in sacrifices. (ā somaṃ madhumattamaṁ gharmaṁ siñcād atharvaṇi).

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can proceed unless the different shades of opinion found in the different Śākhās are taken into consideration.

It may, however, be argued that the Atharvaveda need not be consulted as the Hotṛ is expected to be proficient in the Ṛgveda, the Adhvaryu in the Yajurveda, the Udgātṛ in the Sāmaveda, when rites like the Soma-sacrifice are performed. Jayanta would then point out that the Brahma-priest must consult the Atharvaveda so that he may be able to perform his duties. In support of his statement, he refers to the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇ* (I. 2. 24) wherein it is stated that Prajāpati employed four priests—the Hotṛ, knowing the Ṛg-veda, the Adhvaryu, knowing the Yajurveda, the Udgātṛ, knowing the Sāmaveda, and the Brahman, knowing the Atharvaveda—when he performed the Soma-sacrifice, and that, if any one of these four priests is omitted the sacrifice will be faulty.[28] It is also stated there that if, in a sacrifice, anything should go wrong, that can be remedied by the Atharvaveda (yajñe yad ūnañ ca viriṣṭaṁ yātayāmaṁ ca karoti tad atharvaṇāṁ tejasā āpyāyati[29]). That the Bhṛgvāṅgiras should drink the Soma is also mentioned in the same context.

To this it may be objected that all this refers to the practice of the followers of the Atharvaveda, and that, in the opinion of the followers of the Trayī it is enough if the Brahman knows the three-fold Vidyā *(trayī-vidyā)*. Jayanta would reply saying that the *Trayī-vidyā* is nothing more than the Ṛg-veda, the Yajurveda, and the Sāmaveda put together, and since the Atharvaveda contains passages from all these three Vedas, it has a right to be the text of the Brahman in a sacrifice. Should it, however, be retorted that there is no necessity for a whole, the parts of which can subsist separately, Jayanta would reply saying that the Atharvaveda is not a mere compilation of the other Vedas, but contains in it the essence of all of them *(trayyāḥ śukṛam bhavati)*,[30] and as such cannot be replaced; it is for this reason that it is often called the Brahma-Veda, the Veda of the Brahma-priest. The *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* (I. 2. 16.) enumerates the four Vedas as follows; "catvāro ime vedāḥ, ṛg-vedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo brahmaveda iti". The *Kāṭhaka-śatādhyayana-Brāhmaṇa* endorses this appellation when it says: "Atharvaṇo vai brahmaṇaḥ samāno'tharvaṇam eva etaj juṣṭham nirvapati."[31] This is further corroborated by another passage in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (II. 2. 5.) which says that the sacrificer must seek

28. Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 40-43—Bibliotheca Indica Edition.
29. Nyāya-mañjarī, p. 257 (Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series).
30. Ibid.
31. Cited in the Nyāya-mañjarī, p. 258.
32. Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, pp. 106-107—Bibliotheca Indica Edition.

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the aid of the Brahma-priest who, by dint of his knowledge of the *Bhṛgvaṅgiras* (i. e. the Atharvaveda) can remedy anything that goes wrong in the course of the sacrifice.[32]

As for the claims of the Atharvaveda for the name 'Veda', Jayanta points out that there is enough evidence even in ordinary parlance ;[33] when one classifies the Vedic Literature into Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa, he understands the Atharvaveda also by the first division ; also, if a man says that he has studied the Atharvaveda among the Vedas, none of his hearers blame him for giving the appellative Veda to the Atharvaveda. The term "Veda" is a common title for all the four collections. It may be that, like the Atharvaveda, Āyurveda is also called a Veda. But the two do not belong to the same class. The subject-matter of the Atharvaveda is akin to that contained in the other Saṁhitās, and like any one of them it also treats of Brahma-yajña and other Śrauta rites.[34] Yājñavalkya, for instance, says that the Brahmin who studies the Atharvāṅgiras satisfies the gods with fat (*medas*), and the manes with honey and clarified-butter.[35]

It is thus evident, Jayantabhaṭṭa concludes, that, as a work the authority of which is to be acknowledged, as a vedic text which is useful for self-study (svādhyāya), and finally, as an instrument to secure the *summum bonum* of life, the Atharvaveda is on a par with any other text in the Vedic canon (tena pramāṇatāyāṁ vedasvādhyāyaśabdavācyatve puruṣārthasādhanavidhav api catvāraḥ samā vedāḥ).[36] If it is necessary to make any distinction among the Vedas, the first place must belong to the *Atharvaveda,* for it contains, according to the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. 1. 5.), the great mantra with which Brahman performed his primeval *praṇava.* Also, while those initiated according to the Atharvaveda are at liberty to study any one of the other vedas, others who have not gone through Atharvavedic initiation, have no right to study the Atharvaveda.[37]

In conclusion, Jayantabhaṭṭa would say that there is nothing like a private or an exclusive rite of a single Veda, for each single rite is based on the authority of all the branches of the Vedic canon, and that only those who are not afraid of the consequence of scoffing at a Vedic

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33. Nyāya-mañjarī, p. 259.
34. Ibid.
35. Yājñavalkya Smṛti, I. 1. 44.
36. Nyāya-mañjarī, loc. cit.
37. Ibid., pp. 259 f ; Jayanta cites this context a statement which says that while those knowing the Bhṛgvāṅgiras can study the other Vedas, the reverse cannot hold good.

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text would think of making distinctions therein.[38] To him, however, there are four branches of the Vedic tree, each one having a number of off-shoots, replete with innumerable flowers and fruits, whose glory is all the more enhanced on their sweet-juice being tasted by the mouth of the priestly-singer.[39]

In thus arguing in defence of the Atharvaveda in the teeth of opposition from the orthodox, Jayantabhaṭṭa seems to have long anticipted Whitney who, in 1853, remarked: "It is well known to all who are in any degree conversant with the Sanskrit literature, that Ṛk, Sāma, and Yajus are often named as the three Vedas, to the entire exclusion of the Atharvan; it never, indeed, attained to the high consideration enjoyed by the other collections, nor so far as is known, found a native commentator.[40] It would be highly unjust, however, that the Indian example should in this respect be followed by us: for to us the Atharva is, next after the Ṛk, the most valuable of the four Vedas, as being itself also an historical collection, and in much the greater part of independent contents."[41]

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38. Nyāya-mañjarī, p. 261.

39. चतुस्स्कन्धोपेतः प्रथितपृथगर्थैरवयवैः कृतान्योन्यश्लेषैरुपचितबपुर्वेदविटपः ।
प्रतिस्कन्धं शाखाफलकुसुमसन्दर्भसुभगाः प्रकाशन्ते तव द्विजसुखनिपीतोत्तमरसाः ॥ —Ibid.

40. Whitney was then unaware of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Atharvaveda.

41. J.A.O.S., Vol. III, p. 306.

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CANDRA-GUPTA II, SĀHASĀṂKA ALIAS VIKRAMĀDITYA AND THE NINE JEWELS

By S. K. DIKSHIT

(Continued from p. 210 of I.C. Vol. VI. No. 2.)

We now come to *Vararuci* and *Subandhu.* In a stanza already quoted, Subandhu is associated with Raghukāra, Haricandra, etc. Dr. Keith[44] says, "He (=Subandhu) appears first in Bāṇa, who mentions in the introduction to the Harṣacaritam[45] the Vāsavadattā as quelling the pride of the poets, and in the Kādambarī[46] in celebrating his own work he uses the epithet *atidvayī,* surpasing two, which is believed to refer to the Vāsavadattā and the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya. That Subandhu's work is meant is not now seriously questioned, Peterson himself having long since withdrawn his suggestion to that effect." Subandhu's priority to Bāṇa is confirmed also by a reference in the Rāghavapāṇḍavīya,[47] which says that "there have been (only) three experts in Vakrokti, viz., Subandhu, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Kavirāja ; a fourth one may or may not exist." Another stanza found in the Śrī-kaṇṭha-carita (II. 53) seems to refer to his priority to Bhāravi and Bāṇa, and posteriority to Meṇṭha.

A commentary on Subandhu's Vāsavadattā says that he was a court-poet of Vikramāditya and that he composed this work after that

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44. History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 307 (1928).

45. कवीनामगलद्दर्पो नूनं वासवदत्तया ।
शक्त्येव पाण्डुपुत्राणां गतया कर्णगोचरम् ॥'
—H.C. p. 4. (Parab's ed.)

46. 'द्विजेन तेनाचतकण्ठकौण्ठया
महामनोमोहमलीमसान्धया ।
अलब्धवैदग्धविलाससुग्धया
धिया निबद्धेयमतिद्वयी कथा ॥ २० ॥'
—Kādambarī, Intro St. (Kaṇe's ed. p. 2).

47. 'सुबन्धु र्बाणभट्टश्च कविराज इति त्रयः ।
वक्रोक्तिमार्गनिपुणाः चतुर्थो विद्यते न वा ॥'
—Kavirāja's Raghava-Pāṇḍaviya, 1, 41.

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king had expired.[48] Vāmana's Sūtrālaṅkāra has (as first shown by Professor Pāthak) the following under the Sūtra defining Ojas :—

"Sābhiprāyatvaṁ yathā — "so'yaṁ saṁprati Candraguptatanayaś Candraprakāśo yuvā, jāto bhūpatirāśrayaḥ kṛtadhiyāṁ diṣṭyā kṛtārthaśramaḥ." Āśrayaḥ kṛtadhiyām ity asya ca Subaṇdhu-sācivyopakṣepaparatayā sābhiprāyatvam."

Professor Pāthak corrected "ca Subandhu" to "Vasubandhu," but the latter reading was challenged by MM. H. P. Śāstrī on the evidence of the manuscripts. Later Mr. R. Narasiṁhāchārya, the (former) Director of Archæological Researches, Mysore, referring to the same passage said that his examination of various manuscripts of Vāmana's sūtras shows that the reading of the disputed portion of the passage was "ca Subandhu" and not "Vasubandhu"[49] This is, therefore, taken by R. Narasiṁhāchārya to refer to Kumāra-Gupta, the son of Candra-Gupta II. I think I should agree with him.

Dr. Keith in his History of the Sanskrit Literature refers to a tradition which "makes him (Subandhu) a contemporary of the legendary Vikramāditya and a nephew of Vararuci." The colophon of an old manuscript of Vāsavadattā[50] reads : "iti Vararuci-bhāgineya-Mahākavi-Subandhu-viracitā Vāsavadattā samāptā," i.e., "Here ends the Vāsavadattā composed by the great poet Subandhu, a sister's son to Vararuci."

Subandhu mourns the demise of Vikramāditya in the 10th verse of Vāsavadattā[51] which runs as follows :—

सारसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कङ्कः ।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

We may or may not take *'navakā vilasanti'* as referring to the nine jewels, as suggested by some scholars. But what is there to stand against such a suggestion, especially when the commentator says :

'कविरयं विक्रमादित्यसभ्यः । तस्मिन्राज्ञि लोकान्तरं प्राप्ते एतन्निबन्धं कृतवान् ।'

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48. Nṛsiṁha-nātha Vaidya (Hall's ed. Intro. p. 6.)

49. Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, p. 204. JASB. 1905. 253; IA. One does not know how far to believe in the Avantisundarī-kathā.

50. Hall's manuscript D. Cf. Hall's ed. pp. 6-7 ; Gray's ed. p. 6, where he makes a very aposite remark.

51. No interpreter can afford to forget that this stanza is full of double meaning words. See also J.R.A.S. 1907. p. 406 ff. In his introduction to Vāsavadattā, Gray denies the reference to 'Kaṅka,' and offers another interpretation (p. 8). See J.R.A.S. 1914-601 ff.

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(Hall, Intro. p. 6)? Subandhu refers to Durvāsas' curse on Śakuntalā, "an incident invented by Kālidāsa" (IHQ. I. p. 310).

There is little difficulty in his reference to Uddyotakara.[59] Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa regards Uddyotakara as a contemporary of Dharmakīrti, as he refers to a work called Vādavidhi which "is only another name for the Vādanyāya by Dharmakīrti." But Dr. Benoytosh Bhaṭṭāchārya, in his foreword to the Tattvasaṅgraha[53] has rightly pointed out that "Uddyotakara's Vādavidhi may very well represent the Vādavidhi (Ron-ki) of Vasubandhu, and not Vādanyāya of Dharmakīrti." In Dr. Bhaṭṭāchārya's opinion "Uddyotakara flourished considerably before the time of Dharmakīrti." Moreover, S. Lévi denied the suspected allusion to the Bauddha-saṁgatyalaṁkāra of Dharmakīrti in Vāsavadattā. I would therefore assign Uddyotakara to circa 410 A.D.; he criticized Dignāga, the disciple of Vasubandhu. I need not go, I think, into the details regarding Vasubandhu's date which is already adequately treated by scholars like Prof. M. Péri, Mr. B. Bhaṭṭāchārya, Prof. H. Ui, etc. whose conclusions with slight changes I have not much hesitation in accepting. According to Prof. M. Péri, [54] Vasubandhu was born about 350 A.D., according to Dr. S. C. Vidybhuṣaṇa, "Vasubandhu was a contemporary of Lha-tho-ri, king of Tibet who lived upto 371 A.D.," and therefore "lived in the middle of the 4th century A.D." (J. & Ps. A.S.B. 1905. p. 227), while according to Mr. B. Bhaṭṭāchārya, he lived from 320 to 400 A.D. I therefore respectfully differ from Drs. Takakusu,[55] T. Kimura, G. Ono, U. Wogihara, Prof. Hikata, B. Liebich[56]etc., regarding Vasubandhu's date ; I may add that the date which Prof. M. Péri assigns to Vasubandhu has been followed by Professors Keith, Winternitz, Sir V. Smith, etc. In my humble opinion Vasubandhu was alive up to 415 A.D., i.e. up to the reign of 'Bālāditya' (Kumāra-Gupta ; Bāla=Kumāra), son of Vikramāditya (vide Beal).[56a]

Vararuci's contemporaneity with Vikramāditya is confirmed by

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52. न्यायस्थितिमिवोद्द्योतकरस्वरूपां बौद्धसङ्गतिमिवालङ्कारभूषितां···वासवदत्तां ददर्श ।

Hall, 235; IRAS. 1914. 601.

53. G.O.S. No. XXX. pp. LXXIV ff. Cf. Lévi, 'La date de Chandragomin,'

54. Apropos de la date de Vasubandhu, B.E.F.E.O. XI. 1911, Nos. 3-4.

55. J.R.A.S. 1905. pp. 33ff. Indian Studies, pp. 89ff., 93ff. etc.

56. B. Liebich (Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī, appendix). I am obliged to the Editors for this reference, as also for various other suggestions.

56a. JASB. 1905. 255 ; JDL. I. 34; IC. 1939 April.

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his own Patrakaumudī, which says that that work was composed by the intelligent Vararuci at the behest of king Vikramāditya.[57] Prof. Śailendranāth Mitra in his article on "The long lost Sanskrit Vidyāsundara"[58] informs us of another work written by the same author: "Accident has however brought to light a Sanskrit manuscript called Vidyāsundara-Upākhyānam (which came to my hand in 1920), written in a strange admixture of Bengali and Devanāgarī alphabets. The author of the work is mentioned as Vararuchi, of the court of Vikramāditya, as is to be found from the following colophon which reads:

"इति समस्तमहीमण्डलाधिपमहाराजा विक्रमादित्यनिदेशलब्धश्रीमन्महापण्डित-वररुचिविरचितं विद्यासुन्दरप्रसङ्गकाव्यं समाप्तम् ॥"

The story is introduced under the following circumstances. There was a delightful converse of scholars going on in the court of king Sāhasāṁka, and in the conversation on the works of new poets the king asked them to relate in verse the story of the poet Chaura and Vidyā of perfect learning; whereupon Vararuchi commenced the story of Vidyāsundara.....there is a mention of a poet Kāliḍāsa along with a Śaṅkaraśiva."

I have taken the liberty of quoting Mr. Mitra at length, for this clarifies certain important points regarding Vararuci's date. Here Vikramāditya the patron of Vararuci is also called Sāhasāṁka, a name which can be legitimately referred to Candra-Gupta II. He had other poets besides Vararuci in his court, who used to discuss about the respective merits and demerits of new works, — as we already know from Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṁsā. It is also worth remembering that Ujjayinī is chosen by Vararuci "for his heroine."[59]

The JV. (XXII. 9) refers to *Śrutasena.* The commentator Bhāvaratna says: "Śrutasena is put here instead of Siddhasena only to avoid the metrical defect, *chandobhaṅga.*" The well-known collections of Jaina traditions, known as Prabandhakośa,[60] Kharataragaccha-paṭṭāvali[61] etc. refer in several places to his famous achievement in the

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57. विक्रमादित्यभूपस्य कीर्तिं सिद्धेर्निदेशतः ।
श्रीमान्वररुचिर्धीमांस्तनोति पत्रकौमुदीम् ॥

58. Proc. and Trans. of the Second Oriental Conference. pp. 216-218.

59. Ibid. p. 218.

60. Prabandhakośa pp. 16-18

61. Kharataragachchha-paṭṭāvali-saṁgraha (compiled by Jinavijaya) p. 18. Also pp. 3, 25 etc.

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Mahākāla temple at Ujjain, by which he converted Vikramāditya to Jainism. His father according to Jain tradition was a Purohita of king Vikramāditya of Ujjain. This led Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa to identify him with Kṣapaṇaka, one of the nine jewels of Vikrama's court. After he met Vṛddha Vādiguru, he became his disciple and assumed the name Kumudacandra. When later he determined to turn the whole sacred lore of Jainism from Prākṛta into Sanskrit he is in some traditions said to have been ordained to expiate for that sin by his preceptor. According to other accounts he determined to expiate for it of his own accord. His resolve to write in sanskrit seems to be in conformity with an equally insignificant tradition refered to by the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa that all the authors of Sāhasāṁka's time wrote in Sanskrit.[62] Śatruñjayamāhātmya and other Jain texts also unanimously aver that Divākara-Siddhasena was a contemporary of Vikramāditya. Lastly, we ought to remember that Varāhamihira in his Horāśāstra has referred to Siddhasena at least once by name.[63]

Amarasiṁha is already correctly assigned by certain scholars to circa 400 A.D.[64] I would here like to draw attention of the scholars to an interesting reference to king Vikramasiṁha of Ujjain and his minister Amara in the KSS. and the BKM., where the latter discusses with the former the merits of hunting. He pleads for hunting as an exercise, — an idea exactly similar to one put in the mouth of the commander-in-chief of Duṣyanta. Thus the KSS. (Chapter XXVII) has : **अस्तीह भुवनख्याताऽवन्तीषूज्जयिनी पुरी ॥....तस्यां विक्रमसिंहाख्यो बभूवान्वर्थ-याख्यया। .... अथ सोमरगुप्तेन तदभिप्रायवेदिना। कथान्तरे प्रसङ्गेन मन्त्रिणा जगदे नृपः ॥....राज्ञां चाखेटकमपि व्यायामादिकृते मतम् ॥'** (st. 135-146).

Now we come to *Vetālabhaṭṭa.* I have already remarked that Vikramāditya is constantly associated with Vetāla. I should here only quote some significant passages that connect Candragupta-Sāhasāṁka with Vetāla. (1) Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra has the following : *"Yathā Devīcandragupte Śakapatinā paraṁ kṛcchram-āpāditaṁ Rāmagupta-skandhāvāramanujighṛkṣurupāyāntarāgocare*

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62. 'कोऽभूवन्नाढ्यराजस्य राज्ये प्राक्तनभाषिणः।
काले श्रीसाहसाङ्कस्य के न संस्कृतवादिनः ॥

63. आयुर्दायं विष्णुगुप्तोऽपि चक्रे।'
दैवज्ञामी सिद्धसेनोऽपि चैवं।—Horāśāstra VII 7.
(Trivandrum Sanskrit Series: No. XCI: p. 137).

64. I.A. 1912. p. 216; Carmichæl Lectures, 1921, p. 23; pp. 181ff.

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pratīkāre niśi Vetālasādhanamadhyavasyan Kumāracandragupta Ātreyeṇa Vidūṣakeṇoktaḥ etc. Thus according to Devīcandragupta, Candragupta retired with his friend Ātreya at the dead of night to a solitary place with the object of propitiating Vetāla. This means, in my opinion, that Candragupta had two friends, Ātreya and Vetālabhaṭṭa, both of whom helped him in his secret undertakings. Vetālabhaṭṭa was accordingly a friend of Vikrama even when he was a Kumāra, i.e. when he had not yet usurped the throne of Rāmagupta. (2) The reference in the Cambay and the Sānglī plates of Govinda IV of the Imperial Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty to the Paiśācya may, I suppose, be now clearer.

Vetālabhaṭṭa was almost certainly the author of the prototype of the present Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā, which we find incorporated both in the KSS. and the BKM. Here Vetāla is represented as a semi-divine being to whom are attributed not only human actions but human form and seniments also.[65] He is associated with the Mahākālaśmaśāna of Ujjain and remembers Vikramāditya after his death with grief, saying that Vikramāditya annihilated the Asuras or demons who had assumed the form of Mlecchas.[66] The stories in the KSS. and the BKM. are narrated to Trivikrama (son of Vikrama) instead of Vikrama himself. According to KSS.,[67] Vikramāditya has a very significant epithet, viz. Viṣamaśīla ; he holds a certain power over the Vetāla. I guess that the name Viṣamaśīla is possibly given to Vikrama in view of his usurpation of the throne and the consort of his elder brother, if not in view of his association with Vetāla (who is obviously the same as Vetālabhaṭṭa).[68]

Just as in the KSS. and the BKM., Vetāla is represented in the R.T. too as a contemporary of the son of Vikrama. The same Vikrama is represented in the R.T. as an elder contemporary of Pravarasena ; he is contemporaneous with the poet Meṇṭha as already shown. We are told of "sūtraṁ Vetālapātitaṁ" and "Vetālaveditaṁ lagnaṁ."[69] Thus in the R.T. too Vetāla is represented as a semi-divine being who is

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65. Cf, वेतालं नृशरीरगम् and 'निर्गता नृकलेवरात् ।—Kss. ch. 78 st. 2 ete.

66. 'त्वमादौ विक्रमादित्य: सृष्टोऽभू: स्वांशतो मया ।
म्लेच्छरूपावतीर्णानामसुराणां प्रशान्तये ॥'—Kss. ch. 89, st. 33.

67. Kss. विषमशीललम्बके प्रथमस्तरङ्ग: (Ch. 119. st, 27-39).

68. Kss. ch. 122. st. 103-4 ; विषमशीललम्बके तृतीयस्तरङ्ग: ।
—Kss. ch. 123. st. 33ff. विषमशीललम्बके चतुर्थस्तरङ्ग: ।

69. R. T. III. 349-51

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capable not only of human actions but of sentiments as well; he remembers Vikrama in the presence of his son and praises him.

Now we come to the question of the contemporaneity of Candragupta Vikramāditya and the *Kālidāsa*. Abhinanda in his Rāmacarita says that Kālidāsa's composition was given an unsurpassed amount of encomium by the Śakāri.[70] The whole stanza reveals that Kālidāsa probably received from him a vast amount of gifts. This reference to his munificence is very appropriate in the case of Candra-Gupta as will be shown below.

Words of Greek origin like Jāmitra etc. are unknown to Āryabhaṭa but are freely used by Kālidāsa and Varāhamihira. The commentators Dakṣiṇāvartanātha and Mallinātha find an allusion to Dignāga and Nicula in the 14th stanza of Meghadūta.[71] Dr. Kshetreśachandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya[72] has adduced some grounds for proving that these commentators are at times wide of the mark in explaining certain terms, phrases etc. But this happens practically with every commentator, and opinions may differ as to which of the conflicting explanations is correct. But here I see no such conflict, for no other commentators, except perhaps the modern ones, have stated that the stanza does not contain any allusion to Nicula and Dignāga. At any

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70. हालिनोत्तमपूजया कविवृषा श्रीपालितो लालितः
ख्यातिं कामपि कालिदासकृतयो नीताः श्रकारातिना।
श्रीहर्षो विततार गद्यकवये बाणाय वाणीफलं
सद्यः सत्क्रिययाभिनन्दनमपि श्रीहारवर्षोऽग्रहीत् ॥'
—Rāmacaritam XXII 100.

71. 'अद्रेः शृङ्गं हरति पवनः किंस्विदित्युन्मुखीभि-
र्दृष्टोत्साहश्चकितचकितं मुग्धसिद्धाङ्गनाभिः।
स्थानादस्मात्सरसनिचुलादुत्पतोदङ्मुखः खं
दिङ्नागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् ॥'
—Meghadūta, st. 14 (Pūrvamegha)

72. I confess, I cannot convince myself of Dr. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya's proposition that "Dakṣhināvartanātha is (here) more anxious to explain the veiled reference to Nichula and Dignāga than to give the direct meaning of the verse." The reference is not at all far-fetched; at any rate, there is no need of charging that commentator of any 'originality in the matter' (The Kuppuswāmī Śāstrī Commemoration Volume, p. 18). Mr. K. G. Śaṅkara informs us: "The Śabdārṇava gives Nichula as a poet's name" (I.A. 1922, p. 193). For Dignāga, vide J & Ps. A.S.B. 1905 217; 254ff.

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rate, it would be dangerous, I believe, to charge the commentators with inventing lies, or even with creating fictitious tales, especially when one of them (i.e. Mallinātha) defines and circumscribes his activities as a commentator in the famous lines: *"nāmūlaṁ likhyate kiñcit,"* (i.e. nothing is written without authority). According to Dr. S. Vidyābhūṣaṇa and B. Bhaṭṭāchārya, Dignāga 'was known as the Fighting Bull or a Bull in Discussion (Tarkapuṅgava)." And it can be easily admitted that if Kālidāsa lived in circa 400 A.D. he certainly borrowed from and improved upon his predecessors. I see no reason why Dignāga should not charge Kālidāsa with plagiarism, as is stated by the commentators. Nor do I know why Kālidāsa, like Uddyotakara,[73] should not refer to Dignāga, when all of them practically belonged to the same period. Haribhadra, a Jain author who died in 479 A.D., 'quotes from Dignāga and adopts his view as universally accepted by the Buddhists' (J.A.S.B. 1905. 254).

It may, however, be objected that such veiled allusions to contemporary events are not in keeping with Kālidāsa's style. But is the Indian Shakespeare really above such allusions?[73a] We know that Candragupta's son Kumāragupta was known also as Mahendra. The Vikramorvaśīyam is already taken by some scholars to be enacted at the 'Yauvarājya' ceremony of Kumāragupta as the Kumāra of Purūravas is coronated at the end of the play. The name of the play itself as well as the sentences like: *"anutsekaḥ khalu Vikramālaṅkāraḥ"* are already taken to refer to the king Vikramāditya. The theory regarding Kumāragupta's coronation is further confirmed by my conjecture that the sentence *"Mahendr-opakāraparyāptena Vikrama-mahimnā vardhate bhavān"* has a direct reference to that event. I should only draw attention to the constant play on the words Mahendra and Kumāra (both of them epithets of Kumaragupta) in the Vikramorvaśīyam.

We know that the gotra of the Guptas was Dhāraṇa; I therefore guess that the sentence: "Be you the lord of Dhāriṇī and the earth"

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73. The reference is only an indirect one. Vācaspatimiśra (V.S. 949) in his Tātparyaṭīkā (p. 1). says:

तथापि दिङ्नागप्रभृतिभिरर्वाचीनैः कुहेतुसम्भस समुत्थापनाच्छादितं शास्त्रं न तत्वनिर्णयाय पर्याप्तमित्युद्योतकरेण तदपनीयते।' Cf. 'यदक्षपादः प्रवरो मुनीनां शमाय शास्त्रं जगतो जगाद। कुतार्किकाज्ञाननिवृत्तिहेतुः करिष्यते तस्य मया निबन्धः।' —Uddyotakara. Uddyotakara "mentions Dignāga under the name of Bhadanta" according to Dr. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa. (JASB. 1905. 223).

73a. In this connection, I refer the reader to Prof. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya's article on 'the Date of Kālidāsa,' (Allahabad Univ. Studies. Vol. II. pp. 114ff. and 135ff.). Also, JRAS 1909 pp. 733ff.

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"धारिणीभूतधारिण्योर्भर्ता च भर्ता शरच्छतम्" has a significant allusion that could be better appreciated by a man in the street in Kālidāsa's days than even by a most learned scholar of to-day. I had drawn Dr. Raychaudhuri's attention to this passage in the Mālavikāgnimitra (I. 15) and suggested to him this conjecture. But he seems to favour quite a different conclusion that the Guptas were in some way related to Dhāriṇī, the first consort of Agnimitra. But one should remember that the Śuṅgas or the Kāśyapas, according to all traditions, were Brāhmaṇas, while the Guptas were not.

It will be permissible, I hope, to argue that the Cantos 3 to 7 of the Raghuvaṁśa were composed while Kumāragupta was reigning, as the word Kumāra is of very frequent occurrence in those Cantos.[74] Kumārasambhava is, in my opinion, rightly supposed to be written to hail Kumāra's accession to the throne. I may point out however that the fourth canto of Raghuvaṁśa does not refer to Kumāra after the 20th verse, in which he refers to *"ākumārakathodghātam ;"* thereafter it refers to Vikrama instead, no less than five times.[74a] This only means that the conquest of the four quarters (Digvijaya), depicted in that Canto is referable to Vikrama rather than to Kumāragupta. There is little reason to suppose that it refers to Samudragupta or to Skandagupta. At any rate the JV. (XXII. 14) avers that Vikramāditya did undertake a *digvijaya-yātrā* in which he conquered Draviḍa, Lāṭa, Vaṅga, Gauḍa, Gurjara, Kamboja etc. As to his southern conquest we should remember the connection of the Pāṭali-pura-varādhīśvara and the Ujjayinī-pura-varādhīśvara Candragupta or Vikramāditya with the Guttas of Guttal or Guttavoḷal,[75] as well as the Kauntaleśvara-dautya. A tradition recorded in the Prabandhakośa etc. refers to his conquest of the Pāṇḍya king.[76] Nor can we forget the hoard of Kumāragupta's coins found in the Sātārā District of the Bombay

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74. Raghu III. 12, 16, 40, 48, 55 :
IV. 20 ; V. 36, 37, 39, 50, 52, 75,
VI. 3, 78 80 : VII 16, 28, 36, 61, 63.

74a. Raghu IV. 22; 52; 59; 68; 83.

75. Bombay Gaz. I. ii. pp. 578-84. Their family deity was Mahākāla of Ujjayinī, and one of their crests Garuḍa-dhvaja. Note the Garuḍa-dhvaja on the Gupta coins. Also vide the Allahabad Inscr. of Samudra ; Girnār Rock Ins. of Skanda-Gupta. St. 2. etc.

76. Op. cit. p. 15 :—इतश्चावन्त्यां विक्रमादित्यो राजा etc.
Compare 'Vikrama's adventures' (F. Edgerton, H.O.S. XXVI. 231).

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Presidency.[77] The title Mahārājādhirāja attached to Candragupta, as against the title Mahārāja attached to Rudrasena etc. in plates of Prabhāvatī, wife of Rudrasena, are, to say the least, significant. About the conquest of Assam we get information from Prof. S. K. Bhuyān of the Cotton College, Gauhati, who in his article on the Assamese Historical Literature informs us as follows :— "Lakshmīpāla's son Subāhu, Savaṅga in some chronicles, detained the horse let loose by the Rājā Vikramāditya in connection with his Aśvamedha. Vikramāditya invaded Prāgjyotishapura and rescued his sacrificial horse after vanquishing Subāhu."[78]

The R.T. also speaks of Vikramāditya — a contemporary of Meṇṭha, Vetāla, Pravarasena etc. and a conqueror of Śakas as holding sway over Kāśmīra even when he properly belongs to Ujjain. Nepalese chronicles also admit Vikramāditya's hegemony over Nepāla.

I therefore think it probable that Candra of the Meherauli Pillar Inscription[79] is identical with Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, though I cannot definitely say that all these claims found in the JV., the Meherauli inscription, the Raghuvaṁśa etc. are correct. Indeed, we cannot ignore the striking similarity that is observable between the inscription and the Gupta coins. The Meherauli inscription contains the following two lines, which, in view of the light that the coin legends and the Raghuvaṁśa throw over them, must be regarded as referring to the demise of Vikramāditya :—

'खिन्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्येतरां
मूर्त्या कर्मजितावनिं गतवतः कीर्त्या स्थितस्य क्षितौ ।'

i.e. "of him who being as it were tired of one world has resorted to the other; who has bodily reached the world that was conquered by (his own) deeds, (but) has remained in this world by (or in the form of) fame." The Gupta coins contain almost identical words and expressions, which

77. Allan, Cat. of Indian Coins, Gupta dynasties., p. CXXX.

78. Calcutta Ori. Press Publication, 1929, p. 3. Compare K. L. Barua's Early History of Kāmarūpa, pp. 43-44.

79. Fleet's Gupta Inscrs. No. 32. The conquest of the *four* quarters is briefly and beautifully described there. The Bāhlīkas in that inscription should naturally represent Bactria in the north. The Bāhlīkas to "the west of the seven months of Indus" are a figment of imagination.

80. Compare : कौमुदतेयः कुमुदावदातैर्यामर्जितां कर्मभिरारुरोह ॥ ३ ॥ (Raghu XVIII). Is this not a reference to the inscriptions on the Gupta coins? Cf. also Raghu XVIII. 22.

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forbids the interpretation that the Meherauli Iron pillar inscription is not a posthumous one.[81] Thus we see that Vikrama was probably a great conqueror, as is averred by the JV., the BKM and the KSS.[82] According to the JV. he was also a patron of poets and was known for his munificence. The Cambay and Sangli plates of Govinda IV refer to Candragupta's 'Tyāga';[83] while the following stanza from the Sanjān inscription of Amoghavarṣa (A.D. 871) throws a flood of light on his munificence saying that he gave by lacs and crores :[84]

'हत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरद्वीं च दीनस्तथा
लक्षं कोटिमलेखयत्किल कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः।
येनात्याजि तनुः स्वराज्यमसकृद्वाह्यार्थकैः का कथा।
ह्रीस्तस्योन्नतराष्ट्रकूटतिलको दातेति कीर्त्यावपि॥'

The Nālandā inscription of Devapāladeva has a pertinent reference to "the Tyāgapatha, that was destroyed by Kali, when the enemy of

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81. Some of the Gupta coin-legends run as follows :—

'काचो गामवजित्य दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्जयति।'

'अप्रतिरथो विजित्य क्षितिमवनीशो दिवं जयति।' & 'अप्रतिरथो विजित्य क्षितिं सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति।'

'क्षितिमवजित्य सुचरितैर्दिवं जयति विक्रमादित्यः।' & 'नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः प्रथितः श्रिया दिवं जयत्यजेयो भुवि सिंहविक्रमः।

'विजितावनिरवनिपतिः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति' & 'गामवजित्य सुचरितैः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति।'

82. Here the KSS. (Ch. CXX. 76–78) says that Vikramāditya of Ujjain conquered "the entire confederations of Mlecchas after conquering all the countries Madhydeśa, Saurāṣṭra, Vaṅga, Aṅga and the (countries of the) eastern quarter, Kāśmīra, and (the countries of) the northern quarter and making them pay tribute (Vide KSS. Ch. 119. St. 27-39 quoted supra ; Ch. 122. St. 1-7 and 103-104). The Bāhlīka-country mentioned in the Meherauli Inscription seems to be referred to by Kālidāsa in the conquest of Raghu, Canto IV. st. 67. For, "the northern country on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu river where saffron is cultivated" and where the Hūṇa-kings were vanquished, "is identified by Kṣīrasvāmī....with Vāhlīkadeśa or Bactria in his gloss on the word Vāhlīka meaning "saffron" where he says :—

"व(वा)ह्लिकदेशज' (वाह्लीकं), यद्रघोरुत्तरदिग्विजये—दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धाँल्लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान्।"

(Pāṭhak's Meghadūta, Introduction, p. viii). Vide in this connection Mr. Oak's edition of Amarakośa, p. 110.

83. 'त्यागेनासमसाहसेन भुवने यः साहसाङ्कोऽभवत्।'

84. E.I., XVIII. 235-57.

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the Śaka had passed to the other world."[85] Hiuen-tsang speaking of Vikramāditya, says that he "was of wide renown" adding immediately "He ordered his Ministers to distribute daily throughout India five lakhs of gold coins; he largely supplied the wants of the poor, the orphans and the bereaved. His treasurer fearing that the resources of the kingdom would be exhausted represented the case to the king.. .....The king answered "But of my own surplus I (wish to) relieve the poor. I would on no account, for my own advantage, thoughtlessly burthen (grind down) the country." Accordingly he added five lakhs for the good of the poor."[86]

Paramārtha[87] refers to Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā as having given both Vindhyavāsin and Vasubandhu "a reward of three lacs of gold" each. The Nepālese tradition avers that Vikramāditya paid off all the debts of all persons before he started an era. Hāla's Gāthā-sapta-śatī says —

संवाहणसुहतोसिएण देन्तेण तुहकरे लक्खं। चलणेण विक्कमाइच्च-चरिअ-मनुसिक्खिअं तिस्सा॥ (संवाहनसुखतोषितेन ददता तव करे लक्षं। चरणेन विक्रमादित्यचरितमनुशिक्षितं तस्याः॥)

i.e. "Her foot has imitated the deeds of Vikramāditya in rendering a Lakṣa (a lac of gold coins; a mark) to your hand, being pleased with the pleasant massage of her limb." Jain traditions unanimously narrate how Siddhasena received a crore of gold coins etc. from Vikramāditya :

'धर्मलाभ इति प्रोक्ते दूरादुच्छ्रितपाणये। सूरये सिद्धसेनाय ददौ कोटिं नराधिपः।" "विक्रमश्चतुरो गजान्यथासंख्यं वसन-सुगन्ध-द्रव्य-हेमनाणक-हारादि-पूर्णानानाव सूरिमभाणीत् 'इमे गृह्यन्ताम्'॥" (Prabhandhakośa, pp. 17 & 20).

The Prabandhakośa records many other traditions regarding the munificence of Vikramāditya. According to that work[88] he gave more than a million grants :— 'दत्तानि दश लक्षाणि शासनानि चतुर्दश।' The same work[89] seems to quote from an earlier authority a story relating to

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85. विच्छिन्नः कलिना शकद्विषि गते कालेन लोकान्तरं
येन त्यागपथः स एव हि पुनर्विस्पष्टमुन्मूलितः॥' (V. R. S. Mon. No. pp. 19)

86. Beal. I. 106-7. Note that the father of Kumāra (Kumāragupta according to my interpretation) Aja i.e. Raghu is described as :—
'चतुर्दिगावर्जितसंभृतां यो मृत्वाचशेषामकरोद्विभूतिम्॥' Raghu VI. 76.

87. B. Bhaṭṭāchārya, op. cit., p. LXI; LXII.

88. p. 20, 89. p. 15.

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his bard who received from him a magnificent gift. This story is also known to Śārṅgadharapaddhati,[90] which adds an interesting comment in this connection :—

"अष्टा हाटककोटयस्त्रिनवतिमुक्ताफलानां तुलाः पञ्चाशन्मधुगन्धलुब्धमधुपाः क्रोधोद्धुराः सिन्धुराः। लावण्योपचयप्रपञ्चचतुरं पण्याङ्गनानां शतं दण्डे पाण्डय-नृपेण ढौकितमिदं वैतालिकायार्पय ॥ १५ ॥ निखिलमपि पद्यं विज्ञापयतो भाण्डागारिक-स्योक्तिः। वैतालिकायार्पयेति च सप्ताक्षराणि वैतालिकगीतदत्तकर्णस्य विक्रमादित्यस्य प्रत्युक्तिः।"

Śārṅgadhara-paddhati[91] contains another verse which says that the king Vikramāditya gave what nobody else could :—

'तत्कृतं यन्न केनापि तद्दत्तं यन्न केनचित्। तत्साधितमसाध्यं यद्विक्रमार्केण भूभुजा ॥ ३ ॥

Udayasundarīkathā of Soḍḍhala refers to the king Śrī-Vikrama as a great patron of poets, who bestowed on the deserving ones even troops of elephants :—

'श्रीविक्रमो नृपतिरत्र पतिः सभानामासीत्स कोप्यसदृशः कविमित्रनामा। यो वार्थमात्रमुदितः कृतिनां गृहेषु दत्त्वा चकार करटीन्दुघटान्धकारम् ॥'

Even Rājaśekhara in his Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā[92] advices the princes to imitate the 'Sabhāpatis' like Sāhasāṁka etc. in point of liberality' or *dāna*. To Vikramāditya is ascribed the following verse in the Sūkti-muktāvali, where he declares himself prepared for anything that be in store for him, now that he has bestowed heaps of gold, that he has destroyed the pride of the best of logicians, that he has sported with kings as with dice, etc :—

अर्थिभ्यः कनकस्य दीपकपिशा विश्राणिता राशयो वादे वादविषाणिनां प्रतिहता शास्त्रोक्ति-गर्वा गिरः। उत्खातप्रतिरोपितैर्नृपतिभिः शारैरिव क्रीड़ितं कर्तव्यं कृतमर्थिता यदि विधेस्तत्रापि सज्जावयम् ॥ ६६ ॥' (sūkti. G.O.S. CXXXII. p. 455). Vikrama's Adventures' (H.O.S. XXVI) is full of tales regarding his libera-

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90. Śārṅgadharapaddhati, Ch. 35; st. 565. Compare the variant reading of the same verse found in Prabandhakośa, quoted above.

91. Ibid. Ch. 73. st. 1249 (Viśiṣṭa-rāja-varṇanam, st. 3).

92. G. O. S. I. p. 55 : 'वासुदेव-सातवाहन-शूद्रक-साहसाङ्कादीन्सकलान्सभापतीन्दानमानाभ्या-मनुकुर्यात्।

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lity etc. It is by no means necessary to believe in all the details given by these divers traditions; still it cannot be said that these traditions are all worthless. Nor can they be regarded as very late, especially if we remember that the person to whom they refer belongs to the early part of the fifth century A.D. At any rate these traditions, as also those about Vetāla, make it amply clear that the famous Vikramāditya is almost certainly identical with Candra-Gupta II Sāhasāṁka.

The authenticity of the JV. is also confirmed by the fact that many of the astronomers referred to in that work find mention also in Varāha's works. The JV. (XXII. 9) thus refers to the astronomers Śrutasena, Satyācārya, Bādarāyaṇa, Maṇittha or Maṇintha, Varāhamihira, Kumārasiṁha and Kālidāsa. Varāhamihira in his Horāśāstra has quoted Satya or Satyācārya no less than eight times, Siddhasena and Maṇintha[93] once; while his commentator Śrīrudra quotes Bādarāyaṇa eleven times, Maṇiṁtha or Maṇittha thrice and Satya once. Varāhamihira has quoted Bādarāyaṇa in his Bṛhatsaṁhitā, while Bādarāyaṇa himself in his Muhūrtadīpikā mentions the Jyotirvidābharaṇa written by Kālidāsa. Kumārasiṁha may or may not be identical with Kumāradāsa the author of the Jānakīharaṇa,[94] as is suggested by Prof. K. K. Lele and S. K. Oak. Mr. S. B. Dikshit informs us about Satyācārya's work saying that "of all the five Nāḍī-granthas the one by Satyācārya known as the Dhruvanāḍī is the best." I do not think that the JV. could have mentioned many of these persons at all, had it been written in the 10th or 11th cent. A.D. as is believed by some. Before finishing this brief article I should give only a few of the many points of similarity noted by Prof. K. K. Lele and S. K. Oak, to whose article[95] on Vikramāditya I am also indebted for certain references in this article :—

(1) Raghu III. 13 :—ग्रहैस्ततः पञ्चभिरुच्चसंश्रयै-
रसूर्यगैः सूचितभाग्यसम्पदम्।

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93. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar mentions a Maṇittha-tājika, saying that "the work is ascribed to Maṇitthāchārya; Manittha..is identified by Prof. Weber with Manetho, author of Apotolesmata."(Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, p. 39).

94. 'जानकीहरणं कर्तुं रघुवंशे स्थिते सति।
कविः कुमारदासो वा रावणो वा यदि क्षमः॥'

95. 'The Date of Kālidāsa and Vikramāditya' (कालिदास व विक्रमादित्य यांच्या काल-निर्णयाची दिशा); Vividha-jñāna-vistāra, 1922, March, April and May. (In Marāthi).

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Compare JV.—अहेलिभिः पञ्चभिरुच्चभिर्ग्रहै-
नरो भवेन्नीचकुलेऽपि पार्थिवः ।

(2) Raghu IX. stanzas 2,11,12,14,15 and 54 respectively.

'स-नगरं नगरन्ध्रकरोजसः ।'
'घनरवा नरवाहनसम्पदः ।'
'खनवता नवतामरसाननः ।'
'अनलका नलकानवमां पुरीम् ।'
'अनलसोऽनलसोमसमद्युतिः ।'
'नरवरो रवरोषितकेसरी ।'

Compare JV (Ch. XI) 'नरवरो रवरोषितशत्रवः ।'
(Ch. XII) 'त्वनवरा न वराय वरस्य सा ।'
(Ch. XII. 5) 'वृणु वरं नृवरं वयसस्तु ते ।'

(3) Kumārasambhava I. 3 'एको हि दोषो गुणसन्निपाते
निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः ।'

Compare JV (IV. 85) एको गुणो दोषगुणं समेत्य etc.
(IV. 86) 'दोषैकदेशो गुणसन्निपाते etc.'

There are numerous astrological and astronomical similarities between the JV. on the one hand and Kālidāsa's works on the other. The similarity between the ideas found in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā and Kālidāsa cannot be overlooked :—

(1) Kumārasambhava (IV) 'कामः पुरः शुक्रमिव प्रयाणे etc. ।'
Compare JV. XI. 40 'न समीयात्प्रतिपक्षमङ्गभृत् ।'

(2) Raghu IV. 21, प्रससादोदयादम्भः कुम्भयोनेर्महौजसः ।'
Compare Bṛhatsaṁhitā उदये च मुनेरगस्त्यनाम्नः etc.

(3) Raghu XVII. 35 : 'शरत्प्रसन्नैर्ज्योतिर्भिर्विभावर्य इव ध्रुवम् ।'
Compare Bṛhatsaṁhitā (Saptarṣivicāra): सैकावलीव राजसि etc.

(4) Śak. I : हेम्नः संलक्ष्यते ह्यग्नौ विशुद्धिः श्यामिकापि वा ।
Bṛhatsaṁhitā : दुर्जनहुताशतप्तं काच्यसुवर्णं विशुद्धिमायाति ।'

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In the end I take the liberty to quote one of the stanzas in the Śeṣādhyāya of the JV. which gives us the name of still another work of Kālidāsa, called Śrutikarmavāda, but which perhaps, together with seven more stanzas, may be a later addition, as we find seven or eight stanzas more than the number of stanzas of that work given in one[96] of its verses :—

'काव्यत्रयं सुमतिकृद्रघुवंशपूर्वं
जातं ततो ननु कियच्छ्रुतिकर्मवादः ।
ज्योतिर्विदाभरणकालविधानशास्त्रं
श्रीकालिदासकवितो हि ततो बभूव ॥' (JV. XXII. 20)

96. J.V., XXII. 6, gives 1424 verses only, but the text contains more.

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ŚIVĀJĪ'S SURAT EXPEDITION OF 1664 :
Some of its historical aspects.

By J. C. De

Faruqi[1] and other scholars have of late ably pleaded that the events of Aurangzíb's notable reign be viewed in a proper historical perspective. While admitting the justice of such a view-point, one must realise that during the early years of that rule, when one could reasonably expect reforms being introduced by a strong, young and efficient ruler, little had been done to reorganise the military forces, infuse new vigour into the war-offices, and undertake other measures of defence and offence which could successfully cope with the Mahárāshṭṛíya menace of irregular warfare. It is no palliation to argue that even Akbar's army would not have been able to get the better of those intrepid horsemen and the genius of their leader. The fact remains that Akbar had not been faced with such a problem. Whether he would or would not have been able to solve it, had it confronted him, is a question which lies in the realm of possibilities and probabilities. Nor must it be supposed that Surat was a part of the Empire which could be neglected with impunity by the Mughul administration. We shall have occasion to speak of the opulence and commercial importance of the city later on. It will be sufficient for us to mention here that (according to an English record of 4th April, 1664)[2] "the King (had) taken very heavily the plundering and burning of this towne and port of Surratt, and hath vowed revenge upon the rebell." "The Governor of Surat, Reaite (sic) Chaun was turned out of that government."[3]

It cannot be denied that the old military methods could not be altered to the tune of changed circumstances by the Mughul Emperor ; that the artillery in particular could not be brought up to that standard of discipline and efficiency which the Europeans of those days attained in India itself ; that a navy could not be built up which could guard the ports, and transport an army into the Mahárāshṭṛíya country (if necessary)! that nothing in short could be done to avert

1. In "Aurangzeb and his Times."
2. Factory Records Surat, Vol. 86, 72.
3. Eng. Fac. 1661-64, p. 314.

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the lightning–like blow of the Marāthā chief, and prevent the success which crowned it.

To quote from just one of the sources of information. Śivájí's troops according to Careri[4] were "much better soldiers than the Moguls; for they live(d) a day upon a piece of dry bread, and the Moguls (would) march at their ease, carrying their women, abundance of provisions and tents, so that their army looks like moving city."

The Governor of Surat is given credit to by a Dutch documents[5] for "placing scouts round the city, breaking down bridges (though the water channels were mostly dry) and placing cannon in various places." But we find later on in the same document that "the Governor though (he was) the commander of 1000 horse and charged with the duty of defending the city, took refuge in the castle with his suite and 100 horsemen (all that he had of the aforesaid number) as the principal inhabitants had already done." When Śivájí's men[6] "had the boldness . . . . to come close up to the castle," the guns "did them no harm while inflicting considerable damage on the city itself." "Some of the robber's troope," says the same record, "made their way, quite unopposed to the custom house and there found plenty of booty." "The King's custom house" says the Dutch Register, "was the first to be attacked. The Governor with hundred cavalry and his retinue, shut himself up in the fort, abandoning the town to the brigands, who moved right up to the fort."[7]

There were no "500 men trayned and in a readyness, as by order from the king there ever should."[8] There seems to be no doubt that the Governor had converted to his own use the money that he used to draw from the Exchequer for the ostensible purpose of maintaining a guard of soldiers, for at the time of the raid, it was found that this force existed mainly on paper. "It was mid-day," says Valentyn,[9] "fierce fire was seen raging in the city while Seva-gi's men gradually entered it and first turned their attention to the Customs House (Tolhuis) which they sacked. The terrified governor of the city immediately fled with all the servants of the Mogol to the fortress."

Śivájí "now finding no opposition did nothing till deep into the night,

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4. "A voyage round the world" "of Indostan" in Churchill, IV.
5. The Surat Factory Diary in Hague Transcripts, ser. I. Vol. XXVII, No. 719. I have followed the translation in I.A., Ll.
6. Sloane Mss. no. 1861.
7. The Dutch Register says that "8 to 10 thousand cavalry and infantry" accompanied Sivaji.
8. "Dagh Register gehouden in Casteel Batavia Anno 1664" (1893 edition).
9. Valentyn: Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien (book IV, part ii).

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but pillaging and burning, and also encouraging themselves to approach (near) the fortress. It is true that the "Mughals shot (at the Maráthás) throughout" the whole night; but "they" "did more damage to the city than to the enemy." "The two governors," says Carré, "could not but be pensive in their despair, their only care being how to hide themselves and the more valuable things they possessed. They were swayed by interest and avarice which made them override the dictates of duty. At last the governor of the castle opened artillery fire upon the town. He shot at random and if (it) was to a certain extent fraught with dangers in regard to Seva-gy's soldiers, it rendered the destruction of the people of Surat most certain."[10] "This sudden surprize," says the English President and Council,[11] "strucke such a terror to all, both men, women, and children, that the Governor and the rest of the Kings ministers and eminent merchants betooke themselves to the Castle." Naturally, "the townes folke perceiveing, left theire houses and whatever belonging to them, and fled with theire wives and children." "The Moores," says the newly arrived chaplain, "L'Escaliot,"[12] "through the unworthy covetousness of the Governour ....had noe body to head them nor none unto whom to joyne themselves, and so fled away." Even before Śivájí had actually reached Surat, "the cowardly and unfaithfull Governour," according to the same authority "sen(t) a servant to Sevagee to treat of some conditions of ransome." This man is probably identical with the "Cotouäl qui est comme le grand Prevost" "de la campagne."

Their inefficiency was so palpable even to themselves that some of the Mughul officers did not consider it derogatory to their dignity to beg for assistance from the European factors. "The king's wákiahnavís who had taken refuge in the castle," say the Dutch (for example), "wrote to the Directeur asking that certain chests in his house (hard by ours) might be fetched into our factory for safety." To his humiliation the request was not granted by the Dutch. Again the Kotwál's brother is said to have come "out of the castle with 40 soldiers, and a trumpeter (was) sent from the Captain to the Directeur, proposing that (the Dutch) should send out some of (their) men" to drive away the raiders. "Reply was made," say the Dutch, "that we had no men to spare."

Referring to this matter, the Regsiter says, "De governeur Zond een troup van 40 Moorse ruyters hy den directeur, versoekende, dat hy daer enige Hollanders wilde by doen on de rovers te gaen ops-

10. L'histoire de Seva-gy in Calcutta Review, Feb. 1928.
11. O.C. Vol. 28, 3019; Fac. Rec. Sur. vol. 86, 4.
12. Sloane Mss. No. 1861.

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charpen, dewyl ay haer nu stil hielden en den brand meest gebluscht was." "But the Director declined, deeming that this inaction of the enemy meant further mischief brewing and would only result in a resumption of the attack in a day or two with greater vigour."

No doubt exists regarding the opulence of the city and its importance in the Empire. But nothing had been done to make its defences adequately strong.

As early as the beginning of the seventeenth century foreign travellers had seen in Surat an important centre of trade. Its inland and coastal commercial activities gradually extended from Delhi, Agra and Lahore in the north to Golconda, Konkan and the Malabar in the South. "Surat," says Hawkins, "was now one of the chief ports of India, and the centre of trade with the Red Sea." "It trades," says another traveller,[13] "to the Red Sea, to Achin, and to divers other places." "The citie," says Finch, "is of good quantitie with many faire merchants houses therein, standing twentie miles within the land up a faire river."[14] "The citty of Surat," says "L'Escaliot," "(is) built of a large extent, and very popelus, rich in merchandise, as being the mart for the great empire of the Mogol."

"Within a league of the Road," says Mandelslo, "we entered into the river upon which Surat is seated, and which hath on both sides a very fertile soil, and many fair gardens, with pleasant country houses."[15]

"The city of Surattee," points out "Baldaeus," "is a place of great traffick, both the English and Dutch having factories there."[16] He adds that since the early seventeenth century the trade of Surat increased, "many rich merchants and artisans haveing been drawn thither since that time."

"Careri" by the end of the century found that "in the port of Sourate there is a trade not only for all sorts of spice — but of very rich gold and silk stuffs, of very fine cottons and other commodities brought thither from remote parts. There are such rich merchants, that they can load any great ship out of one of their warehouses." "Surattee is the prime mart of India, all nations in the world trading thither."[17]

The general idea that we glean from the apparently exaggerated

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13. Terry.
14. Foster; Early travels in India; Purchas etc.
15. Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo, in 1638 and 1639.
16. "Baldaeus: An exact Description of the Coasts Malabar and Coromandel in the East Indies."
17. John F. Gemelli Careri: A voyage round the world (in Churchill).

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accounts of the plunder which the Mahárāshṭríya king carried away from Surat is that of the extraordinary economic prosperity of that town. "It is believed," says Thevenot, for example, "that this prince carried away in jewels gold and silver to the value of above thirty French millions." "He .... carryed," records Gary, "a vast treasure away with him. It is credibly reported neere unto tenn millions of rupees." "Hee hath carryed away," says the English President, "in gold, pearle, pretious stones and other rich goods to the value of money hundred thousand pounds, and burnt of other goods and houses to the amount of as much more." The loss to the merchants according to the Dutch Diary was an "immense" one. The account of the Loyal Merchant says that "by report" Śivájí took away "with him above a million and halfe of mony (Suratt not haveing been soe rich, not in many yeares before." Another almost contemporary English record points out that "jewels gold, silver, horses" and "other goods" used to come from other ports to Surat. Bernier tells us that Śivájí returned ... laden with gold and silver to the amount of several millions ; with pearls, silken stuffs, fine clothes and a variety of other costly merchandise."[18] Śivájí, according to Valentyn, left "Surattee" with an "incalculable booty" ("onnoemelyken buit"). "He and his followers took only the most costly things with them." The damage in general was fully reckoned at 30 millions.

Referring to Śivájí's exploit, a Marathi account sums up thus :— "Tadanamtara Suratee márávi asá vicára karun sar kárkuna va sardára va mávale ádikarun jamiyat karáví to karun Surata márilo ; vahut mattá hátása lágalo ; sone, rupe, moti, daulat va naktákherija dusrá evaj dhetlá náhí."[19]

But no care had been taken to fortify this rich and important depository of merchandise, and the port of call for vessels proceeding to the holy towns of Arabia. "Śivájí," as an earlier historian ably remarks, "led his famous expedition ... without any opposition against Surat which was then the emporium of Indian commerce with foreign countries."[20] As regards defences, "its situation" says "L'Escaliot" "is upon a large plaine of many miles extent and their care hath beene so little to secure it by art that they have only made against the cheef avenues of the towne some weake and ill built gates, and for the rest in some parts a dry ditch easiely passable by a footman, wanting a

18. Travels of M. de Thevenot; Public Record Office, C. O. 77, vol. IX, folio 38A, No. 24; Orme Mss. no. 263; Eng. Fac. 1661–64 p. 314; Constable and Smith, Travels in the Mogul Empire, page 188 etc.

19. In Vakskar : Qalmí Bakhar.

20. Ranade : Rise of the Maráthá Power.

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wall or other defence on the inner side ; the rest left soe open that scarce any single of a ditch is perceivable." "Surate," says Carré,[21] was without any defence that could arrest (the attack of) an army."

Tavernier says that at the time of Murád Baksh's siege "the city, which was without protection, made no resistance, for it has only had walls, which are open in many places."[22]

The walls of Surat were probably built of mud, and were not certainly strong during Śivájí's siege.

"Baldaeus" points out that "Suratte — lies open to the water-side, except that the castle is well provided with cannon" borrowed from "the ship Midelleburgh." "But on the landside it is fortified by a wall of stone, the old fortifications being only of earth."[23] But Careri says that Surat was "inclos'd by a weak wall, built after it was plundered by Savagi or Kacagi."[24]

An English letter to Ahmadabad of 1st November, 1664 says, "Wee take notice of the arrival of your new Governor, and the present you made him ; which was too much for our business there, what ever hee expected." The "new Governour" was Mahábat Khán. The way in which the new Viceroy of Gujarat moved to the relief of Surat shows that the present was not certainly deserved. The Dutch records tell us that he arrived there about two weeks after Śivájí had left. "A letter from Signor Wagensvelt at Brotschia (Broach) dated the 8th. instant, apprised us," says the Surat Factory Diary, "that the Duke Suberdescham" (Súbadár Khán ?) "with a large force, was marching to the relief of Surat ; and that Mirfetta (Mír Fateh) was to follow."

Ably commenting on these reported military movements, the Dutch chronicler says, "Had they started earlier, they might have prevented much of the destruction that has taken place." "(Here) is arrived from Amadabad Mohobutt Ckawne . . . who wee heare is much troubled at the ruine of this citty, as the choicest flower in his garden. Hee made what expedition posible after hee heard of Sevages approach. His army hath been here these three dayes,' hee himself hath not reacht further than Broach, and tis thought will come no further, now this second fright is over." Whatever may have been the marching speed of the cavalry under Mahábat Khán, the huge forces collected at Aurangabad did not raise their little fingers to make the Maráthá surrender his loot. "Mahábat Khán," says Manucci, "in spite of having a large army, could not restrain the fury of this robber."[25]

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21. L'historie de Seva-gy Cal. Review Feb. 1928, p. 232.
22. Ball, I, 328.
23. Churchill's Voyages vol. III, 24. Vol. IV.
25. Storia II, 120.

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One must therefore conclude that the general inefficiency of the Mughul administration relative to this rich port of the Empire and the cowardice of the officers responsible for the welfare of the citizens and security of their property were demonstrated by the ease with which the Mahárāshṭriya raid was conducted, and the objective of his enterprise gained by Śivájí.

The exploits of Sivaji in 1074 A.H. are thus summed up in the Muntakhabul Lubáb[26]:—"Despatches arrived from Prince Mu'azzam to the effect that "Śivájí was growing more and more daring, and every day was atacking and plundering the Imperial territories, and caravans. He had seized the ports of Jíwal Pábal and others near Surat, and attacked the vessels of pilgrimage bound to Makkah. He had built several forts by the sea-shore and had entirely interrupted maritime commerce." So far as this information is historically accurate, it forms an adverse commentary on the then prevailing methods of Mughul administration.

Regarding the citizens themselves, it is apparent from the above quotations that the desertion of their posts by the officers disheartened them and impaired their morale. But Mughul incompetence was not the only cause of the collapse of all resistance on the part of the townspeople. The Hindu, the Jaina and the Parsi were as much to blame as the Mahammadan.

"The courage of its inhabitants," says Carré, "certainly did not serve as ramparts" of the city. The merchants-class bent on making money did neither have the boldness to fight for their property nor the prudence to hire others for a few thousand rupees to fight for them. Religious scruples again stood in the way of some. The Jaina and probably some of the Hindus would not care to shed blood under any condition, while the Parsi is said to be during those days such a votary of Fire, that he would not quench flames consuming life and property. "The Banian is one," says "L'Escaliot," "who thinks it the greatest wickedness to kill any creature whatsoever that hath life, ... and the Persee doth supperstitiously adore the fire as his god, and thinks it an unpardonable sin to throw water upon it." "The merchants who abounded in the place," adds Carré, "had little experience of war and intent on the preservation of their private interest. Besides many Indians in Surat had .... so great a horror for bloodshed that they would not kill the meanest animal, far less massacre men, a very good sentiment if everbody shared it." The fact that two brass guns could be spared by a merchant for the defence of the English factory shows that not armament but the spirit to use it was lacking.

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26. By Kháfi Khán.

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At the same time success of the expedition must not blind us to the cruel methods that Śivájí employed to extort his spoil. He, according to Bernier, "remained nearly three days (in Sourate), torturing the population to compel a discovery of their concealed riches. Burning what he could not take away, Seva-gi returned without the least oposition, laden with gold and silver." Some of the prisoners had heads and hands cut off. Swords were flourished over the heads of others. He threatened to "race our (the English) house to the ground and bee our destruction." "His party .... continued a great deale of tyranny and cruelty to the townsmen, cuting of the hands of some and the heads of others, day and night robbing and burning downe the city." According to "L'Escaliot" "he spares no barbar(ou)s cruelty to extort concessions from his prisoners; whips them most cruely threatens death, and often executeth it, if they doe not produce soe much as hee thinks they may or disires they should; at least cuts off one hand, sometymes both." "There was no form of cruelty that they did not practise upon women and old people," says Carré, "who had been detained in their lodgings through weakness or age. They wanted thereby to make them disclose where the rest of their treasures were concealed." "The rogue," adds the English President, "was very cruell. Who ever hee was that was taken and brought before him, who could not redeme himselfe, lost either his hands or his head." "The dwelling of the famous merchant Wiergewora," says the Surat Diary, "was in ashes and the same fate had befallen that of Suwadrae and innumerable others, few of the great houses having escaped spoliation." "The whole time," (i.e. on the first night), says Valentyn, "miserable crying of women and children on account of the loss of their husbands, houses and goods was heard," and "no one as the fire increased, knew where to turn."

But one must remember firstly, that we must judge this Maháráshṭrīya captain according to the standards of his age. Both in the East and West, torture was at this time the handmaiden of Law, and the sack of Surat compares favourably for Śivájí with that of Magdeburg, for example, in Europe. "Croats were seen to throw men, women and children alive" into "the flames," "while Pappenheim's Walloons transfixed infants at the breasts of their mothers." "Six thousand bodies had to be thrown into the Elbe before the streets could be cleared and some estimate made of the material damage." "The most reliable figure for the victims of the massacre, not one in fifty of whom war armed, is 25,000." "400 rich merchants" were held to ransom" by

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27. The President's letter of 28th January.

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Tilly.[28] We must not forget that these are events of the seventeenth century.

Moreover the fact that Śivájí spared Anthony Smith, Father Ambroise, "a deceased Delale's" family, a Jew and others speaks highly of his nobility of character. One should not, considering the times, shudder so much at the cruelties, as rejoice at the exceptions.

To consider a few details "It comes to Mr. Smith(s) turne," says the chaplain, "and his right hand being comanded to bee cutt of ; hee cryed out in Indostan to Sevagee rather to cut off his head ; unto wich end his hatt was taken of, but Sevagee stopt execution."

The letter of 16th February to St. George says that Śivájí threatend Smith with death and cused him "to be bound with his armes behinde him amoungst the rest of the prisoners, demanding 300,000 rupees for his ransome." But when an Armenian "that was of his acquaintance" informed the Maráthá king of "his quality and condition," and "assured him that" Smith "was a common man, the next day" Śivájí "tooke 300 rupees and sett him free, sending him to us upon his peroul."[29] "Smith," says the Dutch Diary, "had been captured by the marauders .... but (was) ... taken for a menial servant (being badly dressed) and so released for a ransom." "L'Escaliot" says definitely that Smith was well treated at the outest. Then he was "seised upon by a cupple of black rogues and pinioned" "in that extermety hath brought away thee marks in his armes with him." Smith, we must remember, was not a decent type of Englishman. He had taken part in many dubious proceedings, and once wanted to bribe Oxenden with a diamond valued at ₹. 1000/-.[30] A letter of 31st March, 1665[31] from the Company's servants calls him "a more atheisticall wretch never was suffered to live on the earth," and accuses him of pletting with the Mahárashṭríya to "betray your house, estate and servants up to him." One may venture to suggest that the opportunist in him made him guilty of indiscretions which Śivájí sought to punish in the rough and ready manner of those days.

(To be continued)

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28. Watson : : Wallenstein (pubd. 1938.)
29. F. R. Surat, 86, 52.
30. Eng. Fac. 1661-64, p. 207 etc.
31. Fac. Rec. Surat, vol. 86; O. C. vol. XXIX.

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POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE IN INDIA

(I)

By MAKHANLAL ROY CHOWDHURY SHASTRI

Islam means 'Peace.' Peace presupposes War. Arabia, where Muhammad appeared, was a land of War. Muhammad in spite of himself, found himself in a political organisation after the Battle of Badr. He had to protect those who had 'surrendered to God' and desired peace ; Revelations were sought and they came. Muhammad, the orthodox held, had no individual initative. Everything round about him was inspired. Muhammad gave orders and decisions to suit local conditions and needs which the orthodox interpreted as indications of what should be done in such matters for all times and desired to apply them as universal propositions. In trying to do service to the cause of Islam, the orthodox people killed social and political initiative and thereby impeded its natural growth. The tragedy was that the Mullas, in interpreting the decisions of the Prophet laid more stress on the form rather than on his spirit thus standing as an eternal barrier to the free and continuous progress of Islam.

But in spite of the Mulla barrier Islam out of necessity could not avoid the unconscious forces of assimilations of social psychology and could not outgrow the pressure of political environments. The structure of a political state which Muhammad foreshadowed, incorporated some pre-Islamic elements from the Western Asiatic States, and from peoples that lived in and near Mecca. The control of the rituals of religion formed a part of the ancient Semitic states with whom the pre-Muslim Arabs had acquaintance.

Commerce of Mecca brought her in direct touch with the different peoples of the age, we mean the Christian State of Najran, the autonomous Jewish Colony of Yathreb, and with the Natbean Traditions and Imperialism of Himyar. Arabs were a military-minded people, they were conscious of their superior tongue and were proud of their "ennobled blood," and lovers of their tribal instincts. Behind the spirit of religious proselytisation, the national Arab movement turned onward to an ever broadening zone of political influence conquering, Islamising and Arabicising new peoples, incorporating fresh factors in her complex achievements.

The Islamic state grew unconsciously round the personality of

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the Prophet. The State evolved out of the actions of the Prophet guided by 'the inner will' expressed in terms of revelations. Here "in his life and actions one finds wars, truce, pacts, conventions and various other matters of a purely temporal nature intermingled with fasts, prayers, privations, austerities"—reconciling the most irreconciliables. God revealed to him the advent of a Khalifa or Commander of the faithful. Prophet was after all a Prophet and not a secular prince. Naturally in the state, which he ruled at Medina, there were many 'links lost.' After his death his immediate disciples assumed the rule of Islam 'inheriting faith and the Government of the new state.' This period may be called the formative period of the Islamic State organisation, consolidating the floating links and supplying the missing ones. During this period, called the Apostolic period (632-661), the Quran was officially published and the secular state was organised; the revelations of the Quran, the precepts of the Faith and examples of Muhammad were applied to the problems of the rising Islamic Empire. At the same time it was during this period that new theories were sought to be formulated regarding the succession to the Khelafat as a political institution. Though apparently the different contesting sides based their contentions and claims on the Quran, their quarrels were principally due to recurrence of the tribal spirit of the Arabs which was kept dormant only by the personality of the Prophet for about half a century. This struggle led to a schism both in religion and politics and ultimately it "ranged the forces of Islam into narrow sectional groups swayed by conflicting alliances." Possibly the rule of Omar is the only instance when the ideal preached by Muhammad both in matter and form was more or less realised. His was the rule when the precepts of the Quran were emphasised by his personal rule and example, and "the democratic nature of the Islamic state as a trust to be administered in public interest as a national institution which fitted every man into a proper place within the frame-work of a political order," was more or less realised.

The real regal period begins with the Ommyads when the Republic was destroyed and forever; and it was then substituted by a dynastic monarchy.[1] The tragedy of Political Islam has been that except Abu Bakr, father-in-law of the Prophet who ruled only for two

1. Historian Maqrizi states that Muhammad prophesied, 'Khelafat after me will endure for 30 years; after that will come the rule of Kings.' Ibn Khaldun says that after the death of Harun-al-Rashid there was nothing of the Khelafat. Qutubuddin says that Khelafat ended in 1258 when the Mongols conquered Bagdad. Arnold, Caliphate, Chap. V.

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years, almost all the descendants and many of the important disciples of the Prophet were killed by the followers of the faith who had received inspiration from the Prophet himself. During the dynastic periods of the Khelafat, many new problems arose in course of political organisation and administration. The problems of Immat, nature of Government, rights and obligations of the rulers and the ruled were sought to be defined. The influence of the Roman Empire was most noticeable in the development of Governmental departments ; the Roman institutions were Arabicised by giving them Arabic names and personnel especially in provinces which were conquered from Rome. The Persian ethics of royalty and rituals of the court could be very well traced in the institutions relating to the kings and courts of this period.

The Abbasid period was the most important so far as the growth of Islamic polity was concerned. The contacts which the Ommyads had established with the lands beyond Arabia now began to bear fruits. The study of the philosophy of the Greeks, their art and medicine widened the Arab mind, supplying one of the strata for the growth of Sufism. The political structure of the conquerred Roman provinces created rich political traditions ; and contact with Indian notions of state craft opened new fields of experiments and adoptions. And there was no dearth of Arabic scholars and jurists to give them Arabic colour and touch, and ultimately Arabicise them. The intellectual horizon of the Arabs was distinctly widened by the encouragement which Khalifas like Mamun and Harun gave to these scholars.

Though the political activity of Islam began with the question of the appointment of Abu Bakr to the Khelafat and particularly with the succession of Ali, yet the real political philosophy of Islam began with the split of the Arabs into a number of independent kingdoms or principalities with or without formal tie with the central institution of Islam, known as the Khelafat. During the last phase of Abbasid rule the forces of Islam were divided into two cultural groups, Arabian and Persian—Arabian group represented by the Abbasids who by the 9th and 10th centuries of the Christian Era had distinctly developed Semitic ideology, and the Persian group representing the ancient Aryan culture now supported by the Eastern Asiatic and Muslim states like Khurasan, Jarjan, Fasr and Azar Baijan. The distinctive features of the Aryan culture were maintained by the Iranians by supporting the doctrine of incarnation through Shiaism supporting Ali almost as an incarnation. During the Sammanid period, the Persians threw off their cultural relations with Arabia and supplanted the Arabic culture in the eastern and western countries by Persian culture.

The Persian contributions to Islamic politics are prominent in (1)

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rituals of royalty, (2) in polish and dignity, (3) in political theories. Indeed the Persians supplied the deficiencies of Arab culture.

The Turks by accepting Islam gave a new tone to the forces of Islam which were being fossilised into evil contests and intellectual controversies.

The Turks infused new vigour which characterised the early expansion movement of Islam and of the Arabs. In fact even in the intellectual realm the Turks kept the balance between the Arabs and the Persians. During the Turki period of Islam the greater part of the traditions, Hebrew, Greek and Persian, which were collected by the Abbasids were systematised. They were more conscious of the political needs of their empire, its administration and culture. A distinct kind of literature called Political was the product of the age. No doubt during the Arab rule it had been begun, and Iranians continued it; but during the Turki period it reached its completion. Writers of this period looked upon political philosophy as a part of Ethics, and its study was looked upon as necessary, if not compulsory.

The most important writers on the political philosophy of Islam may be mentioned :—

(1) Ahkam-i-Sultaniah, on the art of Government by Al Mawardi.
(2) Muqadiama-i-Tarikhd by Ibn Khaldun.
(3) Zakhirat-ul-muluk, by Ali Shahab Hamdani (5th & 6th chapters deal with the conception of Khelafat, duty of a Khalifa and rights of the subjects.)
(4) Suluk-ul-Saltanat, on the art of Government by Ghazali.
(5) Suluk-i-Mulūk by Fazl bin Rouzbahan Ispahani. He. was a Hanafi Scholar ; the author has used Ahkami-i-Sultania.
(6) Siyasat nama—by Nizam-ul-mulk, the famous vizier of Alp Arslan and Muluk Shah.
(7) Maqrizi—though an historian, his work incidenatlly has given comments on historical events which have been treated as political deductions.

Besides these writers on political philosophy, rulers by their actions created examples and precedents which had almost the force of law, such as the decrees of Khalifa Mutawakkil concerning the position of non-Muslims.[2]

Again, the codifiers of Laws were in a sense political philosophers too. Abu Hanifa, Imam Malik, Imam Shafi and Ahmed bin Hanbal

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2. Akbarnama, Beveridge, Vol. II, 421; Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann, 237; Ain-i-Akbari I, 65. Dr. Tripathi has made some observations on this point, Some Aspects of Muslim Administration, pp. 61-62.

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in course of their codification of the Laws and Traditions discussed points which concerned Government purely, though their angle of vision was religious. Thus in awarding punishment to an infidel who has reviled the Prophet they incidentally discussed the status of the non-believers in the land of Islam, or in assignment of punishment these jurists propounded principles which touched politics more than religion.

Even the commentaries on Quran have been discussed in such a way that they leave the readers in doubt as to where the Law ends and politics begins, in fact one ran into the other.

By the time the Mughals came to India, the political structure of the State had been more or less defiined. The Turks found Hindu ethics of royalty and institutional life of India already accepted by their predecessors and they incorporated them into the administrative theory of their Government. The accession of Rezia Begum demonstrated conclusively the Turki spirit of being unfettered by any dogma. Formally accepting the orthodox structure, they made use of their native instincts to suit the need of the hour. The slave dash, the Khilji experiment, the Tughluq inconsistencies, the Lodi tribalism and Sur's practical sense had contributed to the development of a political theory in Mughal India in which the Hindu ideal had its place too.

Abul Fazl introduced new conceptions into his Khelafat (of course the Khalifa being his own Master) which were not certainly strictly Islamic. In the Quran the Khelafat was a democratic institution while Abul Fazl's Khalifa is a despot, though benevolent. The Quranic Khalifa existed on the 'IJMA' (the consensus of the people); the King of Abul Fazl owed his position to the Divine will and his greatness was intrinsic; he ruled because he was great. The Quranic Khalifa spread the Faith, Abul Fazl's Khalifa was neutral and maintained religious balance.[3] The Quranic society was more or less a missionary one, the Khalifa being the chief missionary; but Abul Fazl's society was a political society of which the king was the balance holder. He is the centre of all desires (Qibla-i-muraddat). The orthodox held that the Khalifa must maintain a difference between the Muslim and non-Muslim subjects; but Abul Fazl insisted on his king holding the balance between the two. Shaikh Mubarak while drafting the Mahzar in 1597 laid emphasis on the two attributes of the king, namely, 'sense of justice' (sultani-adil) and 'perfection as a man' (insani-i-kamil). The abolition of Jezia and other disabilities on the non-Muslims, their appointment in the important department of

3. Badauni, Muntakhabu-t Twarikh, II. p. 279-80.

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the distribution of lands, endowments and waqfs and preference for Persian to the exclusion of the sacred Arabic languages, permission granted to Christians for making converts to Christianity,[4] however logical they may be to a modern mind, were highly objected to by the orthodox class. It is no wonder that the orthodox class regarded the Mughal state as non-religious if not 'profane.'

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4. Akbar wrote a Book of Advice for King Abbas Safavi (penned by Abul Fazl) in which he gives his ideas about Kingly duties, Dabistan, Shea and Troyer, III, 37.

5. According to Abul Qasim, Jurist, attempt to convert a Muslim is a major offence which deprives a Zimmi of his political privileges.

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OBSERVATIONS ON CERTAIN POST-MAURYAN DYNASTIES

By H. C. Raychaudhuri

The political history of the centuries immediately following the disintegration of the Maurya Empire is still somewhat obscure. Scraps of information may no doubt be gleaned from literature, inscriptions and coins, but it is no easy task to weave them into a coherent narrative. The literary tradition embodied in the Purāṇas is not always confirmed or elucidated by epigraphic or numismatic testimony, and stray names furnished by inscriptions and coins are not, in several cases, capable of presentation in the shape of a connected story.

The *Bhaviṣyānukīrtana* section of the Purāṇas, which deals with "future" kings and is regarded by some as the most systematic record of Indian historical tradition, ignores many ruling families and tribes whose existence is vouched for by contemporary archæological evidence. Moreover, the designations applied by the Purāṇic texts to a number of royal lines, for example the families of Simuka and "Nakhapāna", are not confirmed by epigraphs. The order of succession, too, does not in *all* cases accord with archæological testimony. For instance, the only Āpīlaka known to the Purāṇic passages that deal with the so-called Andhra kings is placed very early in the list. Numismatic evidence, on the other hand, suggests that Śiva-Śrī-Āpīlaka should be classed with later rulers of the family like Śrī-Yajña-Śātakarṇi.[1] There are also some important omissions in the Purāṇic lists. The cases of Śakti-Śrī and of Śrī-Kumbha Śātakarṇi[2] may be mentioned in this connection. These facts should be borne in mind in utilising the testimony of the Purāṇas for the reconstruction of the history not only of the Sātavāhanas but of other lines as well.

According to Purāṇic evidence the immediate successors of the Mauryas were the Śuṅgas, a line that is taken to commence with Senānī Puṣyamitra. There are two well known epigraphs found at

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1. *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, X., 1-4 1936-37, p. 225.

2. Of the Akola hoard, referred to by Mr. Mirashi at the meeting of the Numismatic Society held on 17th December, 1939.

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Bharhut in Central India which refer to the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas[3], and Puṣyamitra himself is mentioned in an Ayodhyā Inscription[4]. But the last mentioned record does not style Puṣyamitra as a Śuṅga and the Śunga records at Bharhut have no reference to that king, his son or grandson. According to the most recent view[5] the Bharhut Inscription of Dhanabhūti mentioning " the reign of the Sugas" *(Śuṅgas)* is to be classed with the epigraphs of Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra and assigned to the earlier part of the *first* century B.C., and not to the age of Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra who flourished in the second century B.C. It may be remembered in this connection that the dynastic designation Śuṅga is applied to Puṣyamitra and his progeny *only* in the Purāṇas. It is not used in reference to the great Senānī and his son in the *Divyāvadāna,* the *Mālavikāgnimitram* or even in the *Harṣacaritam*[6] which mentions the dynastic revolution involving the overthrow of the last of the imperial Mauryas by Puṣyamitra. The name Śuṅga is no doubt known to the last mentioned text, but Bāṇa, the author, applies it not to the commander who overthrew Bṛhadratha Maurya but to the ruler killed by the emissaries of Vasudeva *(Kāṇvāyana)*[7]. The dynastic connection of this prince (Devabhūti) with Puṣyamitra rests *entirely* on Purāṇic evidence and receives no confirmation from independent sources. It is well known how the Purāṇas mix up dynasties or collateral lines of rulers claiming descent from the same legendary hero. The Śākyas of Kapilavastu, for instance, are represented as ancestors of Prasenajit of Kosala, a prince described as a son of Rāhula and a grandson of Siddhārtha :—

Śuddhodanasya bhavitā Siddhārtho Rāhulaḥ sutaḥ
Prasenajit tato bhāvyaḥ Kṣudrako bhavitā tataḥ

Śiśunāga who, according to the Purāṇas, rose to power having taken away the glory of the Pradyotas *(hatvā teṣāṁ yaśaḥ kṛtsnam)* is represented by those texts as belonging to the same family as Bimbisāra and Darśaka and is actually described as their ancestor. This

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3. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* Nos. 687, 688.
4. *J.B.O.R.S.,* X (1924), p. 203 etc.
5. Marshall, Foucher and Majumdar, *Monuments of Sāñchī,* I., p. 271.
6. *Prajñādurbalaṁca ˚baladarśanavyāpadeśa darśitāśeṣasainyaḥ Senānīranāryo Mauryaṁ Bṛhadrathaṁ pipeṣa Puṣyamitraḥ svāminam.*
7. *Atistrīsaṅgaratam anaṅgaparavaśaṁ Śuṅgam amātyo Vasudevo Ḍevabhūtidāsīduhitrā devī-vyāñjanayā vītajīvitamakārayat.*

Harṣacaritam, Ucchvāsa VI (p. 199), Parab's edition (1918).

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goes not only against the testimony of Buddhist literature which clearly distinguishes between the line of Bimbisāra and the later family of Śiśunāga, but also against the evidence of two plays attributed to Bhāsa (the *Svapna-Vāsavadattam* and the *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa)* and a verse ascribed to Kālidāsa[8] which makes Pradyota, Udayana (Vatsarāja) and Darśaka contemporaries. As in the case of the so-called "Śaiśunāgas" so also in the case of the so-called Śuṅgas the possibility is, therefore, not precluded that the Purāṇas may have included under the name Śuṅga two distinct groups of kings, viz., the line of Puṣyamitra which is styled Baimbika by Kālidāsa, and the *real* Śuṅgas who succeeded this line and are referred to by Bāṇa and the Bharhut Inscription of Dhanabhūti.

To the Śuṅgas succeeded, according to the Purāṇas, the dynasty named Kaṇva or Kāṇvāyana. The *Bhaviṣyānukīrtana* styles them servants of the Śuṅgas *(Śuṅgabhṛtya)* and *dvija* (twice-born) and represents the founder of the line as an *amātya* (minister or some other high official) of the last Śuṅga in the Purāṇic list. The Kaṇva family is an old one. It is mentioned in Vedic literature[9]. The Purāṇas represent it as an offshoot from the Paurava line[10], and bring it into special relationship with the kings of Hāstinapura and Pañcāla. It may be remembered in this connection that the name of the second Kāṇvāyana king of the Purāṇic list is Bhūmimitra, and an identical name is actually found on certain coins attributed by Cunningham to a dynasty exercising sway in Pañcāla[11]. Rulers of this group include an Agnimitra as well. In the Purāṇas the line of kings to which Bhūmimitra belongs succeeds the group headed by Agnimitra and his father. It may be noted here that rulers issuing the same or similar types of coins in a given locality need not *all* belong to the *same* family. Succeeding dynasties are known to have continued the coin-types of their predecessors with or without modifications.

The *Bhaviṣyānukīrtana* does not afford any *definite* information as to the location of the capital *city* or the metropolitan *province* of the Kāṇvāyanas. In speaking of the territory over which they exercised sway it uses vague terms like *Mahī, Vasundharā* and *Bhūmi,* and does not name well-defined localities like Girivraja, Kusumāhvaya, Magadha, Sāketa, Prayāga etc. It is, however, to be noted that the founder of the line is said to have become king among the Śuṅgas

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8. *Pradyotasya priyaduhitaraṁ Vatsarājo'tra jahre (Meghadūta).*
9. *Vedic Index,* I. 147.
10. *Matsya,* 49, 47; *Vāyu,* 99, 170; *A.I.H.T.* (Pargiter), p. 225.
11. Allan, *C.I.C., A.I.,* pp. cxvii, 198.

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(Śuṅgeṣu bhavitā nṛpa).[12] Now the Śuṅga line *in extremis* is in the Purāṇas definitely associated with the Vaidiśa territory, that is to say, the region round Vidiśā or Besnagar in Eastern Malwa.

Nṛpān Vaidiśakāṁś c āpi bhaviṣyāṁs tu nibodhata

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Bhūtinandas tataś c āpi Vaidiśe tu bhaviṣyati
Śuṅgānāṁ tu kulasyānte Śiśunandir bhaviṣyati[13]

This fact along with the Bharhut Inscription of Dhanabhūti undoubtedly points to Eastern Malwa and that neighbourhood as the locality with which the Śuṅgas of the *first* century B.C. are to be connected. So far as the Purāṇic evidence goes, there is no reason to doubt that the Kāṇvāyana Mayor of the Palace, who ousted the Śuṅga *roi fainéant,* ruled in the same region.

If the *Mālavikāgnimitram* is to be believed, the southern frontier of the "Vaidiśa" territory had been pushed as far as the valley of the Varadā or Wardha as early as the days of Agnimitra. That the Kaṇvas extended their sway over certain neighbouring regions is suggested by the epithet *praṇata-sāmanta*[14] applied to them in the Purāṇas. The word *sāmanta,* it may be remembered, is equated with *sāmīpa* by the draftsmen of the Aśokan Rock Edict II. One direction in which the Kaṇva sovereignty *may* have extended, is the north where coins bearing the name of Bhūmimitra have been found. Another direction is clearly indicated by the expression *bhṛtya* (or servant of the last Kaṇva) used in reference to Rājā Simuka and his fellow tribesmen. As the early epigraphic records of Simuka's line have been discovered in the Nānāghāṭ and the Nāsik regions it is not improbable that the later Kaṇvas succeeded in extending their frontier to the Godāvarī and even further to the south. The term *bhṛtya* in the passage

Kāṇvāyanāṁs tato bhṛtyāḥ Suśarmāṇam prasahya tam[15]

is paralleled by the expression *paricāraka* used in reference to the *Āṭavika rājas* who felt the irresitible might of Samudra Gupta.

No inscription definitely assignable to the Kāṇvāyana dynasty has been discovered so far. A Mahārāja Viśvāmitrasvāmin is mentioned in a Besnagar (East Malwa) Seal Inscription[16]. It is not clear as to whether Viśvāmitra is to be taken here as a personal name or a family designation. As is well known the figure of Viśvāmitra appears on

12. Pargiter, *D.K.A.,* p. 34. 13. *Ibid,* p. 49.
14. *Ete praṇata-sāmantā bhaviṣyā dhārmikāśca ye,*— Pargiter, *D.K.A.,* p. 35.
15. *D.K.A.,* p. 38.
16. *P.R.A.S.I., W.C.,* 1915, p. 64.

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Audumbara coins[17] and the *Vāyu Purāṇa* points to the intimate connection of the sage with the tribe in question[18]. But there is nothing to connect Mahārāja Viśvāmitrasvāmin of Besnagar or Vidiśā (in East Malwa) with the Kangra district where Audumbara coins have been found in large numbers. Epic and Purāṇic genealogies connect the sage Viśvāmitra with the royal line of Ajamiḍha and queen Keśinī[19]—the same personages from whom the Kāṇvāyana *dvijas* are supposed to derive their origin. It may be recalled in this connection that an inscription of *Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvarī* Daṇḍī Mahādevī refers to a person belonging to the Viśvāmitra *gotra* as a student of the *Kaṇva Śākhā*.[20] The evidence cited may not be sufficient to establish a dynastic connection between Mahārāja Viśvāmitrasvāmin and the Kāṇvāyana line of the Purāṇas. But the matter is worth further study.

The *Brahma Purāṇa* adds the interesting information that the royal grandfather of Viśvāmitra grew up among the Pahlava or Parthian forest folk :—

Pahlavaiḥ saha saṁvṛddho rājā vanacaraiḥ saha[21]

Contact between Vidiśā and the Yavana realm in the north-west is referred to in a record of Bhāgabhadra. Did the Parthian successors of the Indo-Greeks maintain this contact when the line of Bhāgabhadra was supplanted by a family bearing the famous name of Viśvāmitra, and have we an echo of this in the Purāṇic legend about the association of Viśvāmitra's family with the Parthians? Further discoveries alone may show if such a surmise is warranted.

According to Purāṇic chronology Kaṇva rule came to an end 137+112+45=294 years[22] after the fall of the Nandas and the accession of Candragupta Maurya, that is, not earlier than 31 B.C. Classical writers refer to Indian embassies which reached Augustus in 27, 26 and 20 B.C. The king who sent the ambassadors is named by some authorities as 'Pandion' and by others 'Porus.' As Kātyāyana derives the name Pāṇḍya from Pāṇḍu, king 'Pandion' might doubtless lay claim to Paurava ancestry. But it should be remembered that the

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17 Allan, *C.I.C., A.I.*, p. lxxxiv.

18. *Vāyu*, 91.94-98;

19. *Mbh.* I. 94. 31-33; *Brahma Purāṇa*, XIII, 83-91; *Matsya*, 49. 46-47.

20. *Ep. Ind., VI.*, pp. 136, 139. 21. *Brahma Purāṇa*, XIII, 89.

22. This agrees with epigraphic evidence. According to the Hāthigumphā inscription, the interval between the Nandas and Khāravela, a contemporary of Śātakarṇī, who is usually identified with the son of the destroyer of Kaṇva power, is 300 *(ti-vasa-śata)* years.

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Kāṇvāyanas, too, according to Purāṇic tradition, were of Paurava extraction. The presents sent by the Indian monarch to his Roman contemporary included a boy without arms, *snakes,* a river *tortoise* and a big partridge. A deity holding a snake figures prominently on Bhūmimitra's coins and the tortoise is specially associated in art with the Jumna, though it is also found elsewhere. These are interesting coincidences which, however, do not amount to proof of the identity of the Indian monarch in question with any of the Kāṇvāyanas of Mid India. According to Nicolaus of Damascus the Indian ruler in question (styled Porus) is described as sovereign of six hundred kings. This description suits the imperial successors of the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas, who were *praṇata-sāmanta,* better than the ruler of Madura, Tinnevelly and one or two adjoining districts of Southern India. It is not impossible that records of embassies of two distinct rulers, one from the Far South and other from Central India, both meeting at the city of Barygaza and pursuing the rest of the journey together, have got mixed up in the Classical accounts.[23]

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23. Strabo, XV, 1, 4, and 73; Strabo refers to one king. But Don Cassius speaks of *many embassies* coming to Augustus (M'Crindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature,* p. 212). See also *J.R.A.S.,* 1860, pp. 309 ff.

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THE HARAPPA HOARD OF JEWELLERY.

By KALYAN KUMAR GANGULI

The jewellery board found at Harappa is an amazing discovery.[1] It has not only freshened our knowledge about the chalcolithic jewellers' art in India but has also added to it much about the standard they had actually attained. Previous finds of jewellery from other chalcolithic sites in India were not, however, poor. In fact the zealously treasured wealth found in the silver jar or the rich variety of gold, silver and stone ornaments found in two other hoards at Mohenjo-daro would; by themselves be sufficient to bespeak a high quality of the chalcolithic jewellery of India.[2] In comparison with the varied sorts of ornaments found from Mohenjo-daro, the Harappa hoard contained a mere handful of objects. The antiquities, again, were poorly reported and inadequately described in the official report. But the position of this hoard in the world of jewellery cannot be ignored nor can we be satisfied with such an inadequate treatment of the lot. In their own sphere these ornaments hold a position of no lesser importance than is held by the famous stone statuettes of Harappa which have evoked much heated discussion.

The jewellery in the hoard has not only revealed several new aspects of the technical knowledge of the Indus-valley jeweller but it has raised the status of the jeweller to a great height. The hoard is a small one but it contained a commendable variety of ornaments. But the ultimate praise of the hoard lies in the fact that here at last we have found some such jewellery in India which can compare favourably with what was best among the Babylonians or even the dwellers of the valley of the Nile.

In the year 1928-29, the hoard was discovered at a depth of about 8′ feet below the surface, where it lay on a bed of hard earth along with several pieces of charcoal. The association evokes interest. Sister trenches, very near the above find spot, are known to have yielded a number of antiquities such as beads, bracelets etc. which are remains of personal ornaments. A few feet above the jewellery was found a bracelet made of copper and at a little distance off from the

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1. A.S.I., A.R., 1928-29, p. 76, pl. XXX, d.
2. Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilisation, pp. 519 ff.

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hoard were found numerous fragments of metal objects and stone beads.[3] The charcoal pieces read with the other associates cannot help giving rise to the idea that the spot under survey marked a place situated within a gold-smith's worskshop which was live with activity, five milleniums ago.

The antiquities are all objects of gold and stone, the absence of copper is worthy of notice. The people, we know, had made a total use of copper and it is difficult to find such a spot in any of the chalcolithic sites, where a number of antiquities hoarded at a place, has no sprinkle of copper in it. Gold and silver were not rare. In fact we have even utensils made of silver from various sites of Mohenjo-daro.[4] Yet a comparative scarcity of precious metals prove that they were not too cheap to be available for the average people. It has been suggested by Sir John Marshall that the rich indulged in jewellery made of gold and silver while the poor had to remain content with objects made of copper and earth.[5] The statement however requires serious investigation. The learned scholar has made a detailed study of the chalcolithic culture of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and it may not be unreasonable to see, with the observations made by the scholar himself, if some other plausible suggestions can be brought forth to meet the problem.

The difference between the rich and the poor in the Indus valley does not appear to have been so sharply demarcated as it had been among the people of Egypt and Babylonia. In both these latter places people were dominated by privileged classes headed by kings, the creams of luxury being earmarked for them. In those countries, the bulk of personal ornaments containing the best specimens of jewellers' art were discovered from the burial deposits of those personages. It is quite evident that the luxury of wearing such rich jewellery remained confined to a limited circle and the jeweller, who were probably nothing better than slaves, toiled to meet the choice of their masters. In India however, the perspective is entirely different. The architectual remains led Marshall to remark that the amenities of life enjoyed by the average citizen at Mohenjo-daro were far in advance of anything to be found at that time in Babylonia or on the banks of the Nile.[6] The political organisation of the 'Indus Valley' people remains unknown. Copper was the metal par excellence of the civilization and copper ornaments have been found from almost all possible sites and corners, in big buildings and small streets and near human

3. A.S.I., A.R., 1928-29, p. 76-77.
4. M.I.C., p. 519 f.
5. A.S.I., A.R., 1926-27, p. 52 f.
6. A.S.I., A.R., 1926-27, P. 52.

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remains of all possible characters. It is extremely difficult to find out who the actual wearers of the gold ornaments could be. It may be suggested that there was a small moneyed class who could enjoy the riches of brilliant jewellery. But some other suggessions may also be given.

We had a gold fillet in Mohenjo-daro which had two peculiar embossed designs on it at the two ends. It is extremely interesting to note the resemblance of a like fillet round the head of a dignified looking limestone statuette found at Mohenjo-daro.[7] The statuette presents a yogic glance and wears a shwal having trefoil motifs, in the Indian way. The statuette has been supposed to be either the image of a deity or the figure of a priest.

Representations of heavy loads of jewellery may also be seen on various other human figurines found from these two places. These figurines, which are mostly representations of females, might have been the images of some popular deities.[8] The ornaments seen on them consist of fore-head fillets, neck-collars, necklaces composed of beads and pendants, armlets, bracelets and anklets resembling tubular rings of metal. A number of well preserved or dilapidated metal tubes, fillet ribbons, and a number of beads and pendants were found both in Mohenjo-daro and Harappa.[9] It is however interesting to note that all these elements were objects of gold, silver or semiprecious stones while the numerous other personal ornaments discovered from all over the excavated sites were mostly objects of copper and terracotta, exceedingly fine specimens of which, showing high standard of technical skill are however not at all rare. It is however extremely difficult to find who the wearer of these precious ornamnets were. As there was probably no centrifugal power in any of these places, which could wield a tyrranical influence, we cannot attribute these ornaments to the work of any slave technician working under the penalty of persecution, to produce works of high grade. It may not be unreasonable here to stress upon the association of the precious ornaments with the above mentioned human figures having religious fervour. Even now in India valuable ornaments are bequethed by ordinary people to the use of deities and priests .

It appears probable that among a people having a somewhat uniform social organisation, who could not rise ordinarily higher above the standard of copper, there flourished a specially privileged class who could indulge in ornaments of gold and silver without being grudged

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7. M.I.C., pl. XCVII, 1-4.
8. Ibid, p. 339.
9. Ibid, pp. 509 ff.

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by the rest. If it was a merchant class, it would have surely towered up above the others, thus destroying the social equilibrium. The absence of such evidence leads us to seek for such a class elsewhere and who else could it be excepting a theocratic hierarchy, in whose hands might have accumulated the ecclesiastical, as well as, probably, some sort of political power, too.

The hoard consisted of the following things:—

A hollow armlet and a bangle of gold ; a small gold object of the shape of a cone ; 240 gold beads in four strings ; a heart-shaped pendant inlaid with blue faience; a flat object shaped like the numeral 8; a broken silver bangle; two bracelets, each made of 27 coincal bosses; two small strings of tiny beads and terminals and a number of pendants and beads made of gold, steatite, agate, jade, blood-stone faience, carnelian and shell, representing almost all the semiprecious stones used by the 'Indus Valley' jeweller. Unfortunately, however, the description of the hoard given in the official report is a very poor one. It does not give any detail of the objects, nor describe anything about how the beads and the pendants were recomposed into complete strings, identified by Mr. Vats as bracelets, necklaces etc.

The types of the beads and the pendants do not afford any novelty. Almost all the types have been found in abundance from the excavated sites of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. The terminals and the spacers used in some of the strings, though smaller than usual, are of the common types, which have been traced as far as Egypt.[10] A string made of 240 globular gold beads with two spacers and terminals reminds one of an excellent string found at Mohenjo-daro and described as a bracelet.[11] This might also be used as a neck collar, as is noticed in some of the terracotta figunines.[12] Two similar strings, made up of very tiny beads and terminals were probably used as bracelets of children.[13]

The most extraordinary objects in this hoard consist of the heart-shaped pendant, the S-shaped brooch and the bracelets made up of the conical bosses.

The heart is a very famous symbolic design and it came to be associated with jewellery as necklece pendants. It is common in Byzantine ornaments and till very recently heart-shaped necklace pendants were extensively used in Bengal. The surface of this particular

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10. Calcutta Review, Sept. 1939, pp. 236 ff.
11. M.I.C., p. 522, pl. CXLIX, no. 3, top.
12. A.S.I., A.R., 1928-29, Pl. XXX d, top. middle.
13. Ibid, left, 3rd & 4th from top, left.

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specimen was inlaid with blue faience, the colour effect of which on a yellow background of gold can well be imagined. This piece is probably the earliest example of the symbol's association with jewellery.

The S-shaped object is a very interesting bit of gold inlaid with rows of tiny cylindrical steatite beads having gold ends. Some of the inlaid beads are however lost but the effort shows a very high standard of efficiency and skill. How the object was used is difficult to surmise. Mr. Vats has suggested that the object was a brooch. I remember of noticing such objects as girdle buckles in some Greek jewellery.

The last yet the prettiest of the lot are the two ornaments made of conical bosses soldered together. The freshness of the polish, the exquisite finish of the bosses, and the whole effect of a convex-shaped prism stand quite unique in the whole range of Indian jewellery. The pair of objects most probably was used as bracelets or armlets, silver armlets having some similarity with these may be traced among the upcountry women even at the present age.

Harappa has yielded enormous wealth of antiquites. Unfortunately, a systematic and detailed report of these has not yet been made available to the public. It is expected that a long felt want will be removed by the authorities by bringing out the promised volume on Harappa without any further delay.

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ECONOMIC GUILDS IN THE KUṢĀṆA PERIOD

By BAIJNATH PURI

Despite the paucity of evidence, the Kuṣāṇa epigraphic records bear testimony to a highly developed and flourishing economic life in that period. The existence of trade guilds served to stimulate spiritual benefactions and pious gifts in the community. Besides the commercial and industrial ends in view, their religious uses were also universally appreciated and taken advantage of. Permanent endowments were made in these trade and craft guilds under proper deeds of agreement reciting the condition under which they held. In this capacity, they served as modern banks. Before going into the constitution and working of these trade and craft guilds, better it is first to enumerate them along with their functions.

नवकर्मिक :— In the Taxila casket inscription of the year 1, of King Kaniṣka, there is a mention of a religious gift by *dāsa* Agiśala, a **नवकर्मिक।** Similarly the Hida inscription records the deposit of a relic by Saṁghamitra, a **नवकर्मिक।** An older Kharoṣṭhi record[1] mentions the construction and establishment of a *Saṁghārāma,* and a relic of the Lord Śākyamuni respectively under the supervision of Rohinimitra, a **नवकर्मिक।**

Now **नवकर्मिक,** according to Sir M. Williams,[2] means 'the superintendent of the construction of an edifice'. Whether he was a state official or a member of an ordinary craft guild, can very well be inferred from the fact that three different records mention three different **नवकर्मिकाः।** Moreover, in the first record the **नवकर्मिक** Agiśala styles himself a *dāsa,* which is hardly possible in case of a state official. Therefore it is apparent, nay certain, that there was a craft guild of the *Navakarmikas,* who constructed *Vihāras,* temples etc. The head of this class, personally directed and supervised the construction work. We may, therefore, call him an architect who combined in himself the functions of an overseer also.

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1. Taxila copper Plate Inscription of Patika.
2. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* p. 530.

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The existence of the guild of architects (**नवकर्मिकाः**) is as old as the time of Manu, who has mentioned architects in the class on which rested a social stigma.[3] They belonged to the Śūdra class of Hindu society. The same is testified to by the texts of Gautama,[4] Vaśiṣṭha,[5] Nāraḍa[6] and Viṣṇu.[7] It is thus not surprising if we find an architect (**नवकर्मिक**) styling himself as a *dāsa.*

The Mankiāla inscription mentions the name Burita as the repairing architect *(Vihārakaravhaeṇa* **विहारकरव्हइण**) equivalent to Sanskrit *(Vihāra kārāpakeṇa* **विहारकारापकेण**) । Whether this class of architects was different from the *Navakarmikas,* cannot be said with certainty. It is just possible that they were not so excelled and qualified as the *Navakarmikas.* They may have been doing repairing and patch work.

लोहवर्ण-लोहककार The guild of **लोहवर्ण, लोहककार** (Skt. **लोहकार**, modern Hindi **लोहार**) is mentioned in two Brāhmi Kuṣāna inscriptions from Mathurā. The one[8] records the gift of Mittrā, first wife of Haggudeva (Phalgudeva), the daughter-in-law of Vāhara and the daughter of Jayabhaṭṭi, the *Maṇikāra* of Khoṭṭamitta. The other[9] refers to the dedication of a statue of the goddess Sarasvatī by the smith, Gova, the son of Siha. There is yet a third[10] dedication by a member of this **लोहकार** guild, Goṭṭika by name the Sūra, the son of Śramaṇaka. The Lohakār, as in modern times, had his work exclusively confined to the metal, iron. Their guild was a very old one, and was also mentioned in the list enumerated in the *Jātakas.*[11] They were considered as men skilled in arts and crafts and were regarded on a footing of equality with carpenters, masons and painters.

मनिकार[12]**—भारणिकार** *Jeweller. Maṇikāra* in Sanskrit means a jeweller, and according to Sir Monier Williams,[13] the adulterous offspring of Vaiśya parents whose mother's husband is still alive, is styled as a **मणिकार** । At first sight, it seems puzzling how a jeweller's

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3. III. 50-60. 4. XVII. 17. 5. III. 3; XIV, 2, 3.
6. I. 178. 7. XXXVII. 22.
8. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, No. IV, p. 383. 9. *Ibid,* No. XXI, p. 391.
10. *Ibid,* Vol. II, No. XVIII. p. 203. 11. VI. 427.
12. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, No. IV, p. 383.
13. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* p. 774.

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daughter, who certainly carried a higher status, could marry a blacksmith's son who was on a footing of equality with carpenters, masons and painters. Reserving this topic for a discussion under the head "Social Life," here it is sufficing to say that caste did not interfere in the selection of a craft. Instances of even royal craftsmen are furnished by Pali texts.[14] A king is described as a 'skilful' carver and painter who wrought a beautiful image of the Bodhisattva.

From contemporary Greek records,[15] it is evident that Indian gems and diamonds were famous in the west and as such the *Maṇikāras* must have had a very good business at that time. But though the *Maṇikāras* possibly had a flourishing business, there is hardly any record of their dedication of religious gifts or establishment of relics. The name of Jayabhaṭṭi, the *Maṇikāra* of Koṭṭamitta, is mentioned in the record[16] of his daughter, Mittrā.

सतंवाहिनिये (Skt. **सार्थवाहन**) :— The word **सार्थवाहन** means the 'leader of a caravan'[17] There is only one record[18] which mentions the gift of Dharmmamitrā, the wife of a caravan leader. The name of this Sārthavāhana is not mentioned in this epigraphic record. Perhaps he was too well known and hence there was hardly any necessity of his name being mentioned. It cannot be said with certainty whether his office was a hereditary one, or the caravan traders elected somebody as their *vāhana* or leader. The travelling in company may well have been undertaken for greater safety. There were dens of robbers, and individual trading was insecure. Their leader was well acquainted with the trade routes and was particularly conscious of the dangers that might befall in the way. The *Jātakas*[19] also mention the organisation of caravan traders under a *Jeṭhaka* (alderman) who was their leader. There is also an allusion in the same *Jātaka,* to Buddha coming to life as the leader of a caravan when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares. In the Kuṣāṇa period, the necessity of *Sārthavāhanas* was greatly realized because of the national and international commerce, particularly the silk trade between China and Rome via India. The traders looked to the leader for directions as to halts, watering, precautions against robbers etc.

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14. *Mahāvaṁsa* of XXX and XXXIV.
15. Pliny : Book XXXVII.
16. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, No. IV p. 383.
17. Sir M. Williams' *Dictionary* p. 1209.
18. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, No. XXIX p. 395.
19. *Jāt.* I, 368; II, 295.

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गंधिक :—Perfumers. There are no less than three inscriptions recording dedications made by members of the *Gandhika* guild. Kumārabhaṭī, the mother of a dealer in perfumes *(gandhika)* dedicated an image of Vardhamāna.[20] A four-fold image of the Arhat was dedicated by Jitāmitrā, daughter of Ṛtunandī wife of Budhi and mother of the perfumer whose name is not mentioned.[21] The third inscription,[22] running in two lines on rim over front relief of the image of a Jaina in meditation, records the pious gift of Jinādāsī, the daughter of Sena, the daughter-in-law of Datta, and the wife of the perfumer whose name is mutilated. The gift was made in the year 83, of Mahārāja Vāsudeva.

The guild of perfumers was an old one, and according to the *Jātakas*[23] was localised in certain quarters. The perfumers supplied toilet requisites like sandal wood, camphor oil, rose water etc. It can not be said whether they were dealing in pharmaceutical products and indigenous herbs also. They may have been doing this allied trade also, but there is no account of it anywhere.

हैरण्यक (Skt. **हिरण्यकार**) :— There is only one Kuṣāṇa inscription[24] which records the dedication of an image of divine Vardhamāna by the daughter of the gold-smith, Deva. The name of the donor unfortunately is mutilated. In view of the ornamentation of the body, the Hiraṇyakāra or the gold-smith was a necessity in the economic life of that time. From an ordinary ring to a girdle or necklace, involving very minute work, were all made by them with elegance, beauty and efficiency. They had certainly achieved a high degree of efficiency both in the design and make up of the ornaments. It is not certain whether the Hiraṇyakāras exclusively confined themselves to gold, or they prepared silver ornaments also. This much is of course certain that they were different and distinct from the Maṇikāras and as such did not prepare ornaments of jewels and diamonds.

राजनापित :—The Sanskrit word **नापित** means a barber while **राजनापित** would mean the ' chief of the barbers.' It can also mean 'the King's barber,' but better it is to take it in the sense of **नापितनां राजा** i.e. the chief amongst the barbers. The solitary ins-

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20. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. 7, p. 385.
21. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XVI, p. 199.
22. Vogel, *Catalogue of Muttra*, No. B2 p. 62.
23. I. 320; II. 197.
24. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, No. XXII, p. 205.

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cription[25] in very bold letters 2″×3″ in size is engraved on a slab which may have served the purpose of a sign-board marking some place or building belonging to the chief of the barbers, Jarā by name. It may probably be his shop or house. There is unfortunately no reference to the locality from which the slab came from. The function of these barbers must have been dressing the hairs, shaving and massaging. The barbers belonged to the fourth class of Hindu society and as such in a Pali work, *Sutta-Vibhaṅga,*[26] they are called hīnasippa. The guild of barbers was also mentioned in the *Jātakas* along with shampooers.[27]

समितिकर :—An inscription from Mathurā[28] brings to our notice not only the existence of another trade guild (Samitikar Śreṇī) which according to Sir Monier Williams[29] means 'wheat flour guild,' but it also establishes for the first time that the trade guilds performed the functions of a bank where deposits were made for religious and pious purposes. Reserving this subject for discussion a little later in this paper, here it is sufficient to say that there existed a guild of flour-makers who grinded wheat and supplied flour. Wheat was not grinded at home, but was sent to this guild, which must have charged something for it. It was not considered as a 'hīnasippa' but was certainly a noble profession. They carried respect and confidence, which can be inferred from the fact that permanent deposits were made with this guild. The donor was perhaps the foreigner Kanasarukmāna who deposited 500 purāṇas with this guild under certain stipulations which were to be fulfilled.

रयगिनिये :—An inscription from Mathurā[30] records a dedication by *Rayagini.* Bühler while first editing the inscription thought it to be a proper name of the donor. But according to Lüders,[31] *Rayagini* (**रयगिनि**) has not the appearance of being a proper name, but it should be taken as an appellative in the sense of 'the wife of a rayaga' in analogy to such terms as 'Vihārsvāminī,[32] the wife of a

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25. *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society,* July, 1937, No. III.
26. M. II. 152. 27. *Buddhist India,* p. 94.
28. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXI No. 10. p. 59.
29. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* p. 1164.
30. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, No. V, p. 384
31. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXXIII, p. 37.
32. *Corpus,* Vol. III, p. 263.
33. *A.S.W. Ind.,* Vol. IV p. 114. No. 16.

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Vihārasvāmī, Mahāsēnāpatinī, the wife of a Mahāsēnāpati,[33] and Sārthavāhinī, the wife of a Sārthavāhana.[34] *Rayaga* would be the true Prakrit equivalent of Sanskrit *Rajaka* (रजक) meaning a washerman or dyer. If Prof. Lüders is right, then this record bears testimony to the existence of another trade guild of washermen or dyers.

The guilds of washermen and dyers were pretty old guilds. They were mentioned by Nārada[35] and the existence of the guild of dyers in Buddhist India is also testified to by the *Jātakas*.[36] According to a *Jātaka* even the locality of dyers was in Sāvathi.[37] Though the two guilds were different, the one confining its function to washing the clothes, and the other to colouring them, but it is just possible that the washerman (रजक) may have also taken over the function of a dyer. There is of course no concrete evidence to establish this.

वणिक :— The fact that the traders formed a class themselves quite distinct and different from the artisan class or the caravan traders, is apparent from an epigraph[38] inscribed on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image, which records the establishment of an image by Puśikānāgapriyā, wife of the trader Dharmakāśa. These Vaṇikas or what we call today Vyāpārīs, may have been different from the caravan traders. They must have had their shops in certain localised quarters, and as the modern shop-keepers do, they went in the morning to their shops and returned in the evening.

Constitution and Functions of the Guilds :—There is not much reference in the epigraphic records regarding the constitution of the guilds. The trade guild known as Śrenī.[39] The head of the guild was called the Śreṣṭhin (alderman).[40] It is not known what powers he exercised over the individual members of the guild. It is possible that his interference was invoked to settle differences between its members and their wives.[41] This is certain that their chief function was confined to looking after the welfare of the individual members of the guild. It is not known how the disputes between different guilds were settled. It is just possible that there may have been a common chief to settle the quarrels between the foreman of the subordinate

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34. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I. No. 29. p. 395.
35. I—178, 181.
36. *Buddhist India*, p. 93.
37. *Jāt.*, III, 48.
38. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, No. XIV, p. 55.
39. *Ibid*, Vol. XXI. No. 10, p. 55.
40. *Ibid*, Vol. I, No. I, p. 381. E. No. 2.
41. *Vinaya*, IV, 226.

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guilds. In earlier times there was such centralisation as is evident from a *Jātaka*,[42] and the same state of affairs may have continued in the Kuṣāṇa period also.

Guilds in their capacity as Banks :—The guilds in their capacity as banks stimulated religious and pious gifts. Permanent religious endowments were made with these guilds under certain stipulations which were to be fulfilled. There is only one inscription[43] unfortunately, which records the deposit of 500 *purāṇas* each with the Samitikar guild and Rāka guild. The permanent endowment was made with these stipulations that the capital could not be touched, and out of the interest realized from month to month *(māsānumāsaṁ)* the expenses were to be covered for serving hundred Brāhmaṇas in the hall *(puṇyaśālā)*, and for daily keeping some provisions at the door for the benefit of hungry thirsty and indigent people and distributing to them on the same day. The two guilds were thus entrusted with the management of the *puṇyaśālā*. It is doubtful whether these guilds charged anything for the management ; for the entire interest that accrued was to be spent from month to month on feeding the indigent and thirsty. Being a pious and religious purpose, the guilds encouraged such endowments and possibly they did not charge anything for the management. It is not known what rate of interest they had to pay for such permanent endowments *(Akṣayanīvī)*.

Mobility of labour.:—There is no apparent Kuṣāṇa record which may show that it was possible for a member of a certain guild to change his guild and take to certain other profession. But this one is clear that caste did not interfere in the selection of a craft, as we find a Maṇikāra or a jeweller giving his daughter to a black-smith. Possibly he may have been a black-smith when he gave his daughter in marriage. He made his fortune as a jeweller which profession may have attracted him. Unfortunately the *Kula* and *Gaṇa* of both families are not mentioned. Probably they belonged to the same caste, but had different crafts.

Thus from the epigraphic records, it is obvious that the Kuṣāṇa period exhibited a highly developed, and flourishing economic life. There were trade and craft guilds which looked after the interest of their individual members, and at the same time encouraged pious and religious deeds. There was no financial bankruptcy and even an ordinary trade guild had a stable and firm status. This attracted even foreigners who wanted to make any endowment for acquiring

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42. *Jāt.*, II, 12. 52.

43. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, No. 10, p. 55.

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religious benefit, and for that they deposited their sums permanently with these guilds under certain stipulations regarding the distribution of money that might accrue, without touching the capital. There were numerous craftsmen guilds. Though the entire list of craft guilds is unavailable because of the paucity of evidence, yet much can be said about these craft guilds. National as well as international commerce was carried on by caravan traders not in a spirit of isolation but in a spirit of co-operation under the leadership of a Sārthavāhana who directed them in the way. In view of whatever information that is available, it would not be going too far to say it was an age of prosperity, happiness and contentment.

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NOLAMBA POLALCORA II

By G. N. Saletore

The Āvani stone inscriptions styled Muḷbāgal (Mb) 38 and 50 contain certain chronological and genealogical peculiarities. Although they have been assigned by Rice to about the end of the 9th century A.D., an examination of their contents shows that they have to be referred to the end of the tenth century and the early years of the 11th century A.D. This date can be determined by an identification of three Noḷamba rulers mentioned in them, viz. Poḷalcora, Mahendra and Iṛiva-Noḷamba.

The inscription Mb. 38 supplies interesting details about Poḷalcora and his queen Dīvalabbarasi who was a Kadamba princess.[1] It gives her description in the following words: "The goddess of Fortune and the Earth, with Poḷalcora's senior queen, the equal of Bhuvanāmbike and the Speech Goddess, Dīvalabbarasi may compare, but do they surpass her?[2] Queen of a king who was Manōja (the god of of love) among kings—otherwise, of the king Rāja Manōja, she was born famous, pure, praised and with the quality of devotion to her husband...[3] Having done fully sufficient in her own name, she made as an indestructible grant, a famous agrahāra in her husband's name while her son was acting worthily in the kingdom.[4].... After the death of the Walker according to Manu (i.e. a follower of Manusmṛti) the king Mahendra, that great one's mother made in the name of Mahendra a pond, in her own name also a tank, with the temples of Īśa and Mukunda, and promoting *Dharma* was looking forward to the time when her younger son should come to the kingdom.[5] The

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1. *E. C.*, X, Mb. 38, pp. text, pp. 91-92.

2. *Ibid: Śrī vadhu Dhare Poḷalcorāvanipang agramahīṣi Bhuvanāmbike Vāgdeviyara doreya enisida Dīvalabbarasiyam doreg eḷdar peṛar Oḷare.*

3. *Ibid: Śrīmad Rāja Manōja Bhūpamahiṣī Dīvāmbikā viśrutā .. pūtā nūta pativratā stutuaguṇā dēdīpya mānājani.*

4. *Ibid: atiśyamāge tamma pesaroḷ neṛe tat-patināmadiṁ yaśorjjitaṁ enipp-agrahāraṁ avināśi ṇamasyame māḍi rājyadōḷ sutaṁ anukūlanāgi besekeyye.*

5. *E. C., op. cit.: Manucaritaṁ Mahendra nṛpaninde parōkṣadōḷ ā mahātmanā janani Mahendranāmāde koḷaṁ nijamāmadoḷiṁ taṭākaṁ Īśānabhavanaṁ Mukunda bhavanangalan imbine māḍi dharmavardhanade kanīya nandaṇana rājyaman īkṣisug āva-kālamuṁ.*

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Kadaṁbavaṁśa being the house in which she was directly born, the Pallavendra Iṛiva Noḷamba being the son born to her, the greatness of Dīvalabbarasi extended to the skies."[6] The record then registers two grants : first she made a temple and devoted it to Maheśvara and then gave a sin-destroying bell to that Noḷaṁba Nārāyaṇeśvara. Secondly, on the death of her son Śrī Vīra Mahendra Noḷambādhirāja she caused to be built in Poḷalcoramaṅgaḷa the *Dīvabbesamudra* and had a Viṣṇu temple made there and (further) having Noḷamba Nārāyaṇeśvara made in Āvani for these gods granted Yeḷanagara, free of all imposts.

The second Āvani inscription, Mb. 50, confirms these details by saying that Dīvalabbarasi caused to be made the Noḷamba Nārāyaṇśvara and granted for it Yeḷanagara.[7] It says that she was the queen of Rāja Manōja Bhūpa and that she was born in the virtuous Kadamba lineage. The following facts may be inferred from this account of Dīvalabbarasi :

1. That she was a Kadamba princess.
2. That her husband was the Noḷamba Poḷalcora, with the second name of Rāja Manōja Bhūpa.
3. That her sons were named Mahendra and Iṛiva Noḷamba.
4. That Mahendra appears to have reigned for a short time before his death. At this time his younger brother being still a child his mother looked forward to the day when Iṛiva Noḷamba would assume the mantle of government.
5. The birth of Iriva Noḷamba, it is said, increased the greatness of his mother.

Rice assigns both these undated records to *circa* A.D. 890. His opinion on them may be reduced to the following statements : In the first place he suggests that Dīvalabbarasi was the queen of Noḷamba Mahendra. He observes. "His mother (the Gaṅga princess) on his death, had a pond made in his name. She seems to have survived both her son and grandson, for it says that by the erection of temples to Śiva and Viṣṇu she was promoting Dharma and looking forward to the time when her younger son (probably her grandson) should come

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6. *E. C., Ibid : neṭṭane Kadambavaṁśaṁ puṭṭidamane Pallavendran Iṛiva Noḷambaṁ puṭṭidamagan ene mugilaṁ puṭṭipuduṁ peṁpu Dīvalabbarasiyara.* Cf. *svasti śrīmad anēka divyaguṇasaundaryālayāsāyatobhūlokāgrya Kadaṁba vaṁśa tilakā sadbhissadāvanditā. Ibid* text p. 91.

7. E.C., X, Mb. 50, p. 88, text, p. 103.

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to the kingdom. Mahendra's wife was a Kadamba princess, named Dīvalabbarasi."[8]

Secondly he identifies Iṛiva Noḷamba with Iṛiva Noḷamba I in the following words: Her greatness was increased, it says, on the birth of a son, Iṛiva Noḷamba. But this must have been her grandson. For according to the Hemāvati pillar inscription, Mahendra's son was Naṇṇiga or Ayyapa, whose sons were Aṇṇiga (Bīra Noḷamba) and Dilīpa or Iṛiva Noḷamba.[9] Mr. H. Krishna Sastri in this connection observes that Iṛiva Noḷamba of Mb. 38 was a brother of Mahendra "born of a different mother" named Dīvalabbarasi. This step-brother of Mahendra appears to have succeeded him under the name of Noḷambādhirāja Noḷipayya.[10]

If we accept these arguments we have to place Dīvalabbarasi during the reign of Noḷamba Mahendra—*circa* A.D. 878-95. This Mahendra may be styled Mahendra I and his distinctive *birudas* were *Tribhuvanadhīra*[11] and *Mahābalikulavidhvaṁsanaṁ*.[12] The contemporaniety of Dīvalabbarasi, Mahendra I and Iṛiva Noḷamba is, however, beset with a few yet serious inconsistencies which make this identification impossible.

The following are the difficulties. Three records of Mahendra I enumerate his ancestry in identical terms. These are the Baragūru pillar inscription dated A.D. 878,[13] the Hemāvati pillar inscription dated c. A.D. 900,[14] and the undated Dharmapuri record.[15] All these state that the Gaṅga emperor Rācamalla Satyavākya Koṅguṇivarma Dharma Mahārāja's daughter, the younger sister of Nītimārga named Jāyabbe was married to Noḷambādhirāja whose son was Mahendrādhirāja.[16] But from Mb. 38 and 50 it is clear that Mahendra's mother

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8. *E.C.*, X. Intr. p. 19. *Cf. ibid*, p. 21.
9. *Ibid*, p. 19.
10. *Ep. Ind.*, X, No. 14, pp. 61. 62.
11. *E.C.*, X, Intr. p. 19.; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 27, 57.
12. 91 of 1913; *S.I.I.*, IX, Pt. I, No. 18, p. 8.; *E.I., Ibid*, pp. 60, 65, 68.
13. *E.C.*, XII, Si. 38, pp. 94-95, text, p. 279.
14. *Ibid*, Si. 24, p. 91, text, p. 279.
15. *E.I.*, op. cit.
16. *Śri Noḷambadhi ṛājarātaṅge svasti Satyavākya Koṇguṇivarma dharma mahārājādhirāja Kovaḷāla puravareśvara Nandigirinātha śrīmat Rājamalla Per māḍigaḷa Mahādeviyara magaḷ Nītimārga Permāḍiya taṅge Jāyabbeyembōḷ mahā deviyākeya magaṁ .. śrī Mahendrādhirājaṇ*. Mr. Krishna Sastri rightly points out that Rice connects the words *Jāyabbey-emboḷ mahādevi* with *Noḷambādhi-*

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was a Kadamba princess. They moreover mention that her husband was Poḷalcora or Rājamanōja Bhūpa. The words in Mb. 38 that "after the death of the walker according to Manusmṛti, (i.e. a follower of) that great one's mother made a pond etc.," *(Manucaritaṁ Mahendra nṛpaninde parōkṣadoḷ ā mahātmyana janani)* imply that Dīvalabbarasi was the mother of Mahendra. Again the phrase "while her son was acting worthily in the kingdom" *(rājyadoḷ sutan anukūlanāgi besekkeyeye)* refers to Mahendra showing thereby that he was ruling. There is nothing in the Āvani records to indicate that Dīvalabbarasi was the mother of Mahendra I. Finally Mr. Krishna Sastri's view that Dīvalabbarasi was a quite different mother of Mahendra I and that Iṛiva Noḷamba was his step-brother cannot be supported by any evidence.

It is also not possible to maintain that Dīvalabbarasi was the queen of Mahendra I for his queen was named Gāmabbe Mahādevī. We prove this by the Dharmapuri stone inscription dated A.D. 929. It affirms that Rācamalla I married Mahādevī. Their daughter called Jāyabbe was given in marriage to Noḷambādhirāja, to whom was born Mahendrādhirāja. Mahendra obtained for his queen the Gaṅga emperor's daughter named Gāmabbe Mahādevī. To them was born Ayyapadeva who married the Gaṅga emperor's daughter Bollabbarasi. The queen of Ayyapa's son, Aṇṇiga, was Attiyabbe whose father was a Caḷuki (Cālukya) king and their son Iruḷacora made a grant in A.D. 929.[17] This record therefore proves that Mahendra's queen was a Gaṅga princess named Gāmabbe-mahādevī and since Ayyapadeva was their son, Iṛiva Noḷamba, the grand-son of Mahendra, could have claimed only a Gaṅga descent on his mother's side. Consequently

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rājarātange in Si. 24 and 38 and arrives at the conclusion that the sister (tange) of Noḷambādhirāja was married to Rācamalla I. He suggests that Rice's interpretation is grammatically wrong and that the words should be divided into *Noḷambādhirājar* and *ātange*. This suggestion is correct as it is in accordance with the details given in the records enumerated above that Mahendra was born to Noḷambādhirāja and to Jāyabbe. *(E.I.,* X. p. 59. n. 2). Therefore the statement that Cāruponnera's grand-daughter, the daughter of Siṁhapota and younger sister of Nolambādhirāja (Poḷalcora) married Rācamalla I is to be rectified. *(E.C.,* XII., Intr. p. 6; *Ibid,* X., Intr. p. 19. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg,* pp. 42, 55.)

17. 198 of 1910; *S.I.I,* IX, No. 23, p. 12 : *Rācamalla Permanāḍigaḷa Mahādeviyargaṁ puṭṭidoḷ akhila bhuvana taḷa ratna (bhū) teyar appa (Tāya) bbarasiyarggaṁ puṭṭidaṁ śrī Mahendrādhirājaṁ Mahendrādhirārggaṁ Gaṅgagara magal Gāmabbe mahādevigaṁ puṭṭidon Ayyapadvan Ayyapadevaṅgaṁ Gaṅgara magaḷ Bollabarasigaṁ puṭṭidon Aṇṇigan Aṇṇigaṅgaṁ Caḷukīyara magaḷ Attiyabbarasigaṁ puṭṭidon ... śrīmad Iruḷacora niṣkaṇṭakaṁ. ..*

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Dīvalabbarasi was not the queen of Mahendra I and neither was Iṛiva Noḷamba I her grandson.

If these arguments are tenable, we may attempt an identification of the rulers mentioned in Mb. 38 and 50. These are Poḷalcora, Mahendra and Iṛiva Noḷamba all of whom may be styled as the II of these names. The date of Poḷalcora II can be settled on the basis of the Kambadūru record of Noḷambādhirāja dated A.D. 965. This inscription registers a grant of Poḷalcoradeva, the grandson of Noḷambādhirāja. It does not give the name of the eldest son of Noḷambādhiraja, but merely gives his *biruda* as *Chaladankākāṛa,* and affirms that he was Noḷambādhirāja's feudatory. Poḷalcoradeva was the eldest son of *Chaladankakāṛa,*[18] *(tat-pāda padmōpaj=agraputraṁ Chaladankakāraṁ ātanagratanujaṁ)* and he is given the following high-sounding *birudas : samādhigata pañca mahāśabda Pallavānvaya śrī pṛthivī vallabha Pallava Rāmacaraṇa kamala yugalāmōda vikrama Rāmaṁ turaga vidyādhara dhaṛa dankakāraṁ Rājamanōjaṁ drohacaṛakkaṁ kōmāra viḷāsaṁ tīrddānemalla Noḷambara Bhīmaṁ pusigeyvoṁ Rāja rājāśrayaṁ śrīmat Poḷalcoradevaṁ.*[19] The principal hint as to the identity of Poḷalcora mentioned in Mb. 38 in contained in this inscription. In Mb. 38 Poḷalcora is called *Rāja Manōja Bhūpa.* In the Kambadūra record one of the *birudas* of Poḷalcora is *Rāja Manōja.* This satisfactorily identifies him with the *Rāja Manōja Bhūpa* of Mb. 38 and 50. It follows that these inscriptions have to dated to c. A.D. 965 or much later. This, to some extent, minimises the difficulty of making Dīvalabbarasi the queen of Poḷalcora II, and mother of Mahendra II.

Mb. 38 and 50 give three steps in later Noḷamba genealogy which can be set forth as under :

Poḷalcora *(Rājamanōja Bhūpa)* m. Dīvalabbarasi.

Mahendra — Iṛiva Noḷamba.

18. This Chaladankakāṛa may be identified with Nanni Noḷamba on the following grounds. Mb. 59 says that Chaladankakāṛa was a "bee at the lotus feet of Pallava Rāma." *E.C.,* X. Mb. 59, p. 9. The title *Pallava Rāma* as will be shown presently was borne only by Iṛiva Noḷamba Dilīparasa. This evidence together with that of the Kambadūru record of A.D. 965 shows that Chakadankakāra was Nanni Nolamba. The Beḍakūru record also mentions Chaladaṅkakāra *(E.C.* XII Mi 102, p. 114.) Here the words appear to be Chaladankāṛaṁ Coḷiga Moḷav Eṛeyārmā, the latter being a different name altogether. This was a title also of Indra IV *(E.C.,* II., SB. 133 (57), p. 61. Rev. Edn.)

19. 93 of 1913; *S.I.I.,* op. cit., No. 30, p. 17.

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The Kambadūru record mentions the predecessors of Poḷalcora *Rāja Manōja* as follows :

Noḷambādhirāja
|
Son (unnamed)=*Chaladankakāṛa*
|
Poḷalcora.

It now remains to be seen if this genealogy can be verified from other sources. Here also our views are different from those of Rice who maintains that Iṛiva Noḷamba of Mb. 38 is to be identified with the great-grandson of Mahendra I. Such an identification is not necessary as there is evidence to show that there was another Mahendra and his younger brother Iṛiva Noḷamba whom we shall style as Mahendra II and Iṛiva Noḷamba II. Their genealogical descent is established by two inscriptions. An undated record at Karshanapallí, Punganur Zamindāri, Chittoor district, gives the following Noḷamba names :

Iṛiva Noḷamba
|
Nanni Noḷamba (son)
|
Poḷalcora (son)
|
Mahendra (son[20]

A second record at Nelapalli, Punganur Zamindari, Chittoor district, confirms this descent. It lays down the ancestry of Mahendra as below :

Iṛiva Noḷamba
|
Nanni Noḷamba
|
Poḷalcora deva.
|
Mahendra (son) — Iṛiva Noḷamba Ghaṭeyankakāra Pallavāditya[21]

20. 325 of 1912; *S.I.I., op. cit*, no. 39.
21. 242 of 1913; *S.I.I., ibid*, no. 41.

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The Nelapalli record thus gives the name of Mahendra's younger brother as Iṛiva Noḷamba Ghaṭeyankakāṛa. *Iṛiva Noḷamba Ghaṭeyankakāṛa Poḷalcora devaṁ ātana magaṁ Vīra Mahendra ātan amāgaṁvākya devan ātana tamman Iṛiva Noḷamba Ghaṭeyankakāṛa Pallavādityaṁ.* Here the words *ātan amāgaṁvākyadevan* do not give any meaning. It is however possible that they are the scribe's error for the expression : *ātan Amōghavākyadevan.* The *cognomen* of *Amōghavākya* was borne by Mahendra II.[22] It must be noted that *Amōghavākya* is also a *biruda* of Mahendrādhirāja of Mb. 38[23]

Who is the Noḷambādhirāja of the Kambadūru record dated A.D. 965 ? He may be identified with Iṛiva Noḷamba Dilīparasa, the son of Ayyapadeva, whose dates range from A.D. 943 to 966.[24]

The *birudas* of Iṛiva Noḷamba Dilīparasa were *Pallava Rāma, Palaroḍe gaṇḍan, Ekavākya Ahitara Java, Pallavolgaṇḍa, Pallavāditya* etc.[25] Iṛiva Noḷamba of the Karshanapalli and the Nelapalli records is no other than Iṛiva Noḷamba Dilīparasa himself. The former epigraph gives him the title of *Ekavākya Satya Dilīppa* and *Pallava Rāma,*[26] while the latter calls him *Ekavākya.*[27] The son of Iṛiva Noḷamba, according to the Karshanapalli and Nelapalli records was Nanni Noḷamba. From other sources, too, we know that Nanni Noḷamba was the son of Iṛiva Noḷamba Dilīparasara[28] and his records are dated A.D. 943 to 969,[29] 975,[30] c. 980[31] and 981.[32] His queen was named Revaladevī[33] and he assumed the *biruda* of *Chaladankakāṛa.*

According to the Karshanapalli and the Nelapalli records, Nanni Noḷamba's son was Poḷalcora II. He is plainly to be identified with Poḷalcora *Rāja Manōja* of Mb. 38 and 50 and his namesake mentioned in the Kambadūra inscription. His son is Mahendra II who is called *Amōghavākya* and *Pallavābharaṇa* in the Karshanapaḷḷi reocord, and

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22. 325 of 1912; *S.I.I., ibid.,* no. 39; 242 of 1913, *S.I.I., ibid.,* No. 41.
23. *E.C.,* X, Mb. 38, p. text, p. 92.
24. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg,* p. 57. He married according to a record dated A.D. 966-97 Piriyabbarasi and had a son named Ayyapadeva. : 17 of 1919; *S.I.I.,* ibid. No. 31.
25. 728 of 1916; *S.I.I., op. cit.,* No. 25, p. 13; 726 of 1916; *S.I.I., Ibid.* No. 26 p. 14; *E.C.,* Ct. 49, p. 252, text, p. 318; 733 of 1917; *S.I.I., ibid,* No. 34, p. 20; 755 of 1916; *S.I.I., ibid,* no. 37, p. 21; 731 of 1917; *S.I.I., ibod,* no. 28.
26. 325 of 1912; *S.I.I., ibid,* no. 39. 27. 242 of 1913; *S.I.I., ibid,* no. 41.
28. Rice, *op. cit,* p. 57. 29. *Ibid*
30. *E.C.,* IX, Hr. 1, p. 104, text, p. 288.
31. *Ibid,* Ht. 47.
32. and 33. 710 of 1919; *S.I.I., Ibid,* no. 74, p. 46.

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merely *Amōghavākya* in the Nelapalli record.[34] Mb. 38 as we have already seen, gives him the titles of *Pallavābharaṇa* and *Amōghavākya*.[35] This confirms our supposition that the Mahendra of Mb. 38 and 50 is Mahendra II.

It can thus be maintained that Iṛiva Noḷamba of Mb. 38, who is called the younger son *(kanīya nandana)* of Dīvalabbarasi and the younger brother of Mahendra, was no other than Iṛiva Noḷamba Ghaṭeyankakāṛa Pallavāditya, who was, on the testimony of the Nelapalli inscription, a younger brother *(tamma)* of Mahendra II.

The Noḷamba records do not throw any light on the duration of the reigns of Poḷalcora II. and Mahendra II. Rice opined that Nanni Noḷamba of Mb. 122 dated A.D. 969 was perhaps the same as the Noḷambadhirāja Corayya of Mb. 84 dated A.D. 974 and Cb. 45 dated A.D. 977 and Ct. 118 of A.D. 1010.[36] Though Nanni Noḷamba was not identical with Noḷambādhirāja Corayya, but only his father, the other facts may be accepted as correct. It is not at present possible to arrive at any correct date regarding the death of Poḷalcora II. His earliest date is A.D. 965. That he was sufficiently old at this time is revealed by his *birudas*. Supposing that he was twenty years old in A.D. 965, he may be placed during the years c. A.D. 945 to 1010. His actual reign may have commenced in A.D. 981, which is the last date for Nanni Noḷamba.

As regards Mahendra II. an inscription dated A.D. 977 refers to him as ruling when Ayyapadeva, son of Kāmarāditya, made a gift of *Kalnāḍu*.[37] In addition to this we must take the evidence of of an undated record which speaks of him as journeying from Coḷnāḍu to Noḷambavāḍi, and while staying at Koḷāla, he is said to have installed Kīrti Gāmuṇḍa's son and made a gift.[38] Then again Mb. 38 says that he was "acting worthily in the kingdom."[39] These references imply that he was ruling in some capacity, but whether it was as a *Yuvarāja* under Poḷalcora II. or independently, it cannot be made out at present. This

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34. 325 of 1912.

35. 242 of 1913.

36. *E.C.*, X, Intr. p. 20. p. 17. A Noḷambadhirāja appears also in A.D. 977. (Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese districts*, p. 332). He is again mentioned under Rājarāja the Great in A.D. 1000 *(E.C.*, X. Mb. 208, p. 123). Another record refers to Corayyadeva's war *(E.C., Ibid*, Sp. 14, p. 274.) See also *M.A.R.*, 1922, p. 10 for details regarding this ruler.

37. 442 of 1923; *S.I.I., op. cit*, no. 40.

38. 325 of 1912; *S.I.I., ibid*, no. 39.

39. *E.C.*, X, Mb. 38.

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is a point which can be solved only when the first regnal year of Iṛiva-Noḷamba II. is determined.

No details are available regarding the first regnal year of Iṛiva Noḷamba II. The earliest epigraph which mentions him is the Ālūr inscription of Vikramāditya V, dated A.D. 1010, which says that under him Iṛiva Noḷambādhirāja was ruling over Noḷambāvāḍi 32,000 and other districts.[40] In A.D. 1014 he is mentioned again in a record which preserves the mutilated name of his queen as...vabbarasi.[41] He had the titles of *Ekavākya, Kāñcīpureśvara, Rājavidyādhara, Kandukācārya* and *Iṛivabeḍaṅga.*[42] It is not improbable that the death of Poḷalcora II took place in about A.D. 1010. In all likelihood this was soon followed by that of his son, Mahendra II. It was on this occasion that his mother Dīvalabbarasi made the gifts as recorded in Mb. 38 and 50. These records must, therefore, be assigned to c. A.D. 1010.[43] The relation between Poḷalcora II and Iṛiva Noḷamba Ghaṭeyankakāṛa is as set forth below :

Iṛiva Noḷamba I (*Ekavākya Dilīpa etc.*)

|

Nanni Noḷamba (Chaladankākāṛa.)

|

Poḷalcora II *Rājamanōja* m. *Dīvalabbarasi.*

|

Mahendra II (*Amōghavākya*) — Iṛiva Noḷamba II (*Ghaṭeyankakāṛa Pallavāditya*)

40. *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 28, 29-30.

41. 722 of 1922; *S.I.I., op. cit,* no. 79.

42. 443 of 1914; *S.I.I., ibid,* no. 101, p. 7.

43. It is to be regretted that Rice did not give a facsimile of these inscriptions. But palæography alone is insufficient to prove a case in spite of the difference of a century.

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ALAṄKĀRASUDHĀNIDHI

By M. P. L. SASTRY

Alaṅkārasudhānidhi is a work on poetics written by Sāyaṇācārya who stands out pre-eminent as a great commentator and exegetist. A copy of the manuscript is found in the Oriental Library, Mysore. The work deals with the forms of poetry with its various subdivisions and figures of speech.

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE

This important work on poetics throws incidentally some light on certain historical facts; especially on Kamparāja who was ruling at Nellore as the Viceroy, and his son Immadi Saṅgama, who succeeded him there and also Bukkarāja and Immadi Harihara who were kings of the Vijayanagar empire ruling over the kingdom between the years 1340 and 1404 A.D. From the work we understand that Kamparāja had died while his elder brother Harihara I was alive. Otherwise the kingdom would not have passed on to Bukka who was younger to Kampana. The second information we get, is that Saṅgama II was still a child when his father Kampana died. We can infer this from the following stanza found in the Alaṅkārasudhānidhi :—

संगमेंद्र नरेंद्र त्यय्यकृतास्त्रपरिग्रहे ।
विधायोर्वीधुरमगात् स्वाराज्यं कंपणः कथं ॥

Sāyaṇa, the author of this work, must have been entrusted with the work of teaching and training the young prince, meanwhile looking after the administration of the province. Sāyaṇa was not merely a tutor to the prince but a Regent in whose hands the reigns of administration had fallen. We find at the end of each Colophon of the Alaṅkārasudhānidhi the following statement.

इति श्रीमत्पूर्वपश्चिमदक्षिणोत्तरसमुद्राधिपतिबुक्करराजप्रथमदेशिकमाधवाचार्यानुजन्मनः श्रीमत्संगमराजसकलराज्यधुरंधरस्य सकलविद्यानिदानभूतस्य भोगनाथाग्रजन्मनः श्रीमत्सायणामात्यस्य कृतौ etc.

Sāyaṇācārya was a great commander and he had won a number of battles. He had conquered the king Campa of the Cōla dynasty.

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It is further supposed that this Campa who has been spoken of in the stanza "दिष्ट्या दैष्टिकभावसंभृतमहासंपद्विशेषोदयं। जित्वा चंपनरेंद्रमूर्जितयश प्रत्यागतस्सायणः॥" was the grandson of Vīracampa of the Cōla line ruling at Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District of the Madras Presidency.[1] The other king that had suffered defeat at the hands of Sāyaṇa was the king of Garuḍanagara.

The stanza that refers to this battle is as follows :—

श्रीमत्संगमभूमिपाल भवतस्संग्रामलीलाविधौ।
साक्षादास्थितपुण्यकोटिशिखरस्साक्षी हिरण्यांतकः॥

The poem as well as the explanatory note on it are incomplete. Therefore it has not been possible to locate this Grauḍanagara. Both Saṅgama and Sāyaṇa seem to have taken part in this battle.

The Peculiarity of the Work

Generally we find in Sanskrit that the works dealing with Alaṅkāra or poetics contain quotations from other authors taken as illustrations for the various definitions and explanations that the author proposes to give. Even in such works where **लक्षण** and **लक्ष्योदाहरण** are being written by the same man, the history of either his patron or deity is given. In this work, Alaṅkārasudhānidhi, not only we have the **लक्षण** and the **लक्ष्योदाहरण** from the same hands, but the examples cited deal with the life-history of the author himself. This seems to be the first of its kind found so far in the Alaṅkāra literature.

Date of the Work

About eight works have been attributed to the authorship of Sāyaṇācārya. These works were written at variuos periods of his life. Sāyaṇa seems to have written four works namely **यज्ञतन्त्रसुधानिधि प्रायश्चित्तसुधानिधि, धातुवृत्ति** and **अलंकारसुधानिधि** when he was in active service under Saṅgama the son of Kamparāja. Dhātuvṛtti and Prāyaścittasudhānidhi must have been written while Saṅgama had taken up the reigns of Government in his hands. Perhaps Sāyaṇa was merely a minister then under him. The following introductory

1. Late Mr. R. Narasimhacharya in the Indian Antiquary for February 1916, Vol. XLV, Pages 23-24.

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stanzas found in the Dhātuvṛtti and Prāyaścittasudhānidhi may be taken to support this view :—

अस्ति श्रीसंगमक्ष्मापः पृथ्वीतलपुरंदरः ।
तस्य मन्त्रिशिरोरत्नमस्ति मायणसायणः ॥

(Dhātuvṛtti)

(संगमस्य) तस्य मन्त्रिशिरोरत्नमस्ति सायणमायणः ।
तेन मायणपुत्रेण सायणेन मनीषिणा ॥

(Prāyaścittasudhānidhi)

In the other work Yajñatantrasudhānidhi, it is said that Sāyaṇācārya was merely a family preceptor. The word minister does not at all occur in it :—

तस्याभूदन्वयगुरुः तत्त्वसिद्धांतदर्शकः ॥

This must have been written when Sāyaṇa had ceased to be the minister of Saṅgama or while he was still a tutor to the young prince.

Alaṅkārasudhānidhi must have been written by Sāyaṇācārya while Saṅgama was still a child. The stanza that is referred to above संगमेंद्र.....कंपनः कथम् ॥ leads us to the inference that this work was written just after the death of Kamparāja. We know that Kampana died about the year 1354 A.D. It is also certain that Sāyaṇa after the death of Kampana was appointed as the Regent. Sāyaṇa mentions it :— श्रीमत्संगमराजसकलराज्यधुरंधरस्य । Therefore we can easily suppose that this work was written about the year 1358 A.D.

The Text

The work that we have at present has only three chapters in it. The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar opined that it must have been a work of ten chapters. Each chapter is called an Unmeṣa. We find the following at the end of the first chapter.

इति श्रीमत्पूर्वपश्चिमदक्षिणोत्तरसमुद्राधिपतिबुक्कराजप्रथमदेशिकमाधवाचार्यानुजन्मनः श्रीमत्संगमराजसकलराज्यधुरंधरस्य सकलविद्यानिदानभूतस्य भोगनाथाग्रजन्मनः श्रीमत्सायणामात्यस्य कृतौ अलंकारसुधानिधौ काव्यमार्गप्रतिष्ठापनं नाम प्रथम उन्मेषः ।

The second chapter deals with गुणीभूतव्यंग्य. The third chapter

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is dedicated to the Alaṅkāra. First he takes up the **शब्दालंकार** and brings **वक्रोक्ति, अनुप्रास, यमक, श्लेष, चित्र, पुनरुक्तबदाभास** under it.

Sāyaṇācārya in this work discusses the various theories regarding the definition of poetry and at the end agrees with that of Ānandavardhana.

Critics from the time of Bharata have given their definitions of poetry. Bharata no doubt recognised the importance of Rasa for literature, but we must remember that in his work Nāṭyaśāstra, the discussion of Rasa is carried on with reference to dramatic compositions only. Bhāmaha, the author of Kāvyālaṅkāra, gave a subordinate place to Rasa and laid stress on the importance of the figure of speech. Daṇḍin and Udbhaṭa belong to the same Alaṅkāra school. Though Rudraṭa treats of Rasa in sixteen long chapters of his work Kāvyālaṅkāra he is dubbed as a follower of the Alaṅkāra school. The first man that propounded the theory of Kāvyarasa was Rudraṭa and it was he who said that Bhāvas in an intensified form developed into Rasa.

However, it was Ānandavardhana who took a new and striking path differing from all his predecessors. It was he who propounded for the first time the theory of Dhvani or suggestion as constituting the essence and charm of literature. Abhinavagupta, the famous commentator on the Dhvanyāloka expressed that the first place is to be given to Rasa and this is derived by means of Dhvani.

Pratīharendurāja, who appeared after Ānandavardhana, did not subscribe to this view of Ānandavardhana, and he refused to believe that Rasa is suggested. He said that all the three varieties of Dhvani **वस्तु, अलंकार** and **रस** could be easily brought under figures of speech. Mahimabhaṭṭa, another later writer, agreeing with the view that Rasa is the soul of poetry, refuted the idea held by Ānandavardhana that the enjoyment of Rasa is through Dhvani or suggestion. This thoery of Dhvani had become well known by the time of Dhanañjaya who wrote the Dasarūpa, or Dhanika who wrote the commentary on it. But it is a matter worthy of note that the doctrine of Dhvani is rejected in this work.

Even after the lapse of four or five centuries, Ānandavardhana's theories did not find universal support and a number of important writers rejected his view.

It is at this time that the Alaṅkārasudhānidhi of Sāyaṇācārya appeared, upholding Ānandavardhana and supporting a theory that was perhaps not widely favoured. The author of the Dhvanyāloka finds a great supporter in Sāyaṇa. The following definition of poetry is laid down by Sāyaṇa in his work :—

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तद्व्यंग्य एव वाक्यार्थः काव्यजावितमिष्यते ।
वाक्यार्थवित्सहृदयग्राह्यः पक्षोयमेवहि ॥

प्राधान्येन ध्वनिकृता तदेवं स्थापितो ध्वनिः ।
निरस्य मतमन्येषामालंकारिकमानिनाम् ॥

प्रधानगुणभावाभ्यां व्यंग्यस्योत्तममध्यमे ।
काव्ये ध्वनिर्गुणीभूतव्यंग्यमित्युदिते उभे ॥

तस्यास्फुटत्वेलंकारप्राधान्ये काव्यमिष्यति ।
चित्रशब्दार्थविषयमधमं चित्रमित्यपि ॥

यस्मिन् काव्ये वाच्याव्यंग्यस्य प्राधान्यं तत्काव्यमुत्तमध्वनिरिति च व्यपदिश्यते । यत्र पुनर्व्यंग्यो वाच्यादेरुपसर्जनीभवति तन्मध्यमं गुणीभूतव्यंग्यमिति चोच्यते । यत्र तु व्यंग्यस्यास्फुटत्वं चित्रशब्दार्थविषयालंकारप्राधान्यवत्तत्काव्यमधमम् ॥

दोषा गुणा अलंकारास्सर्वेपि रसगोचराः ।
काव्यस्यात्मा रसो यस्मादात्मधर्माश्च ते यतः ॥

माधुर्यौजःप्रसादाख्यास्त्रय एव गुणा इह ।
त्रैगुण्यमेतदवलंब्य गुणांतराणा-
मुत्पत्तिमूलमुपकल्पितवैश्वरूप्यः ॥

The suggestion is the very soul of poetry. The greatness of poetry depends upon the degree of the suggested sense it contains. On this basis, poetry could be brought under three classes : **उत्तम, मध्यम** and **अधम**। In the **उत्तमकाव्य** we find Dhvani or the suggested sense more than the expressed one (**वाच्य**)। In the **मध्यमकाव्य** the suggested sense is not more striking than the expressed one. The suggested sense here helps the **वाच्यार्थ**। In the **अधमकाव्य** it is the figure of speech that is important. Dhvani plays here a minimum part.

Rasa is the soul of poetry. Doṣa, Guṇa and figure of speech depend upon Rasa and therefore they can be considered as the essential qualities of Rasa.

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माधुर्य, ओजस् and **प्रसाद,** —these three are the essential qualities. Mammaṭa however recognised these three after discussing and criticising the views of others.[2]

The soul (**रसध्वनि**) Rasadhvani living in the body of poetry takes manifold forms with the help of these qualities and shines forth with all fame.

Sāyaṇa further speaks of the greatness of a poet, after narrating the necessary requirements to create poetry, in the following terms :—

कवीनां लोकोत्तरत्वं वेदेपि विशिष्ट देवतावाचकत्वेन ॥ "अनंतमव्ययंकविं । कविं कवीनामुपमश्रवस्तवं । कविं सम्राजमतिथिं जनानाम् ।"—इत्यादौ प्रतिपादितत्वात् ॥ व्यासवाल्मीकिप्रभृतिषु ब्रह्मणो मुखेन प्रतिपादनात् क्रांतदर्शिनां कवीनां लोकोत्तरत्वं ॥ एवं लोकवृत्तांतशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवलोकनरूपव्युत्पत्तिभेदं व्याख्याय, सांप्रतं काव्य ज्ञानामुपदेशेन तैस्सहाभ्यासरूपं व्युत्पत्तिभेदं प्राक्प्रतिपादितार्थप्रदर्शनपुरस्सरं विवृणोति ॥

एवं लोकस्य शास्त्राणां काव्यानामपि वेदिता ।
प्रतिभावान् प्रवर्तेत काव्यज्ञैः काव्यकर्मणि ॥

These ideas about the qualifications of a poet are in accordance with both the eastern and the western conception on the point.

The Auto-biographical element in the Work

As has been said already, the work contains a number of examples which give us glimpses of the life that was led by the author. Sāyaṇa was not merely a teacher or a minister or a Regent. He had to lead an extensive army, conquer the enemies and extend the empire. The extraordinary power that Sāyaṇa possessed is described in the following stanza which also speaks of the vastness of the army he had to lead. Sāyaṇa describes his victorious march thus :—

गर्जद्गुर्जयगंधसिंधुरघटासंघट्टनष्टाष्टदिक् ।
क्रुद्धस्सांद्रतुरंगहेषितरवैर्ग्रस्तान्यघोषोदयः ॥
धाटीमोटन लंपटोद्भटभटव्याधूतधूलीभर-
च्छन्नव्योमपथो विनिर्जिगमिषत्युर्वीजये सायणः ॥

All the eight quarters used to tremble, the neighing of the horses

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2. माधुर्यौजः प्रसादाख्याः त्रयस्ते नपुमर्दश ।

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would completely submerge the sound of the whole world ; the dust raised by the hoofs of the horses and the infantry covered the whole sky, when Sāyaṇa marched out on a conquest.

That Sāyaṇa was a man of charming personality could be inferred from the stanza

आविस्मिताननसरोरुहमायताक्ष-
माजानुलंबभुजमप्रतिमानरूपम् ॥
आलोक्य सायण भवंतममंदकांतिम्
अक्ष्णोरुपैति फलमायतयोर्ममाली ॥

The following were the daily duties of our author :—

मातर्मानय पादपद्मरजसा मौलीमाश्लिष्यतां ।
तात त्वं च समेधयालकगतां प्रीतिं नखज्योत्स्नया ॥
अंब त्वं कपिले गृहाण यवसग्रासान्ममार्घ्यानुगान् ।
इत्याराधयतीश्वरं गुरुजनं गां चान्वहं सायणः ॥

Sāyaṇa had three sons, Kampana, Māyana and Siṅganna. One was a musician, the other was a poet and the third was a scholar. Sāyaṇa used to give all encouragement to his sons and spend a happy time in their company.

वत्सव्यंजय कंपणव्यसनिनः संगीतशास्त्रे तव ।
प्रौढिं मायण गद्यपद्यरचनापांडित्यमुन्मुद्रय ॥
शिक्षां दर्शय शिंगण क्रमजटाचर्चासु वेदेष्विति ।
स्वान् पुत्रानुपलालयन् गृहगतस्संमोदते सायणः ॥

His charity was equal to that of Paraśurāma :—

युद्धेष्वायुधसादरिर्वितरणे
क्षोणीतलं विप्रसात् ।
रामेण द्विजपुंगवेन रचितं
श्रीसायणार्येण च ॥

He made gifts of lands to a large number of Brahmins. He was always the protector of the oppressed and the orphans :— दीनानाम-
भयार्थिनां च शरणं.

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That his house was always filled with scholars, poets and musicians is seen in the following stanza :—

क्वचिव्याख्यातृणां विविधपदवाक्यादिपदवी ।
विमर्शः काव्यानां क्वचन सरसानां विरचितं ॥
क्वचिद्वीणावाद्व्यसनशिशुशिक्षाविलसितं ।
कथं वाचां भूमिर्भवति भवनं सायणविभोः ॥

In short the following verses would sum up the character of Sāyaṇa :—

मेरुणा सदृशं रूपं सत्यं सायणमन्त्रिणः ।
तव रूपमिवाचार आचार इव ते यशः ॥
पावकस्य यथा तेजः प्रसादः शशिनो यथा ।
तथा तवापि मन्यंते सायणार्य मनीषिणः ॥
त्यागे भोगे तथाचारेष्वाहवेषु हवेषु च ।
सायणार्यसमो लीके सायणार्यो न संशयः ॥

His was a great and a charming personality. Keeping with it were his conduct and fame. People compared his brilliance to that of the fire-god and the moon-light. There was no equal to Sāyaṇācārya either in charity or self-enjoyment, or in coduct or in fighting or in performing sacrifices.

However, we have to bear in mind that most of the references to his private life come from Sāyaṇa himself and that these had to be woven into a pattern to illustrate certain definite points in Alaṅkāra. Still, they give us insight into his character and show glimpses of his family-life, and, as we see it, there were both charm and happiness.

References to earlier writers

Sāyaṇācārya in his Alaṅkārasudhānidhi mentions the following writers :—

Abhinavagupta	Bhaṭṭanāyaka
Ānandavardhana	Bhāmaha
Udbhaṭa	Bhāsa
Kāvyaprakāśakāra	Bhoganātha
Kuntaka	Bhoja
Gopālasvāmī	Mahima
Bhaṭṭa	Mādhava
Bhartṛhari	
Rudraṭa	Vidyādhara
Śrī Śaṅkuka	Ṣatsāhasrīkṛt

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The following is the list of the works that he has mentioned in his book —

Udāharaṇamālā	Gaurināthāṣṭakam
Mahimnastotra	Mālatīmādhava
Tripuravijaya	Locana
Bṛhatkathā	Vyaktiviveka
Mahāgaṇapatistotra	Vākyapadīya
Mahāvīracarita	Śṛṅgāraprakāśa

Śṛṅgāramañjarī

The works of Viśvapatikavi, Gopālasvāmī and Ṣatsāhasrīkṛt[3] have not come down to us. Nor have the works from which he has quoted, such as Camatkārajyotsnā, Udāharaṇamālā, Tripuravijaya and Śṛṅgāramañjarī.

That these works had attracted the attention of such a great poet and critic as Sāyaṇa is a proof positive that they were important works indeed. We shall look to the day when they will be unearthed and put into the hands of Sanskrit scholars.

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3. Ṣatsāhasrīkṛt is more a title than a proper name. His original name is not mentioned in the work.

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HARṢA'S WAR WITH PULAKEŚIN II.

By NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA

Harṣavardhana assumed, at about sixteen,[1] the royal office at Kanauj, with the title *Rājaputra* and the style *Śīlāditya,* in October, 606 A.D., while the *rājyābhiṣeka* or coronation of Pulakeśin II took place in October, 610 A.D.[2]

With reference to Harṣa, Hiuen Tsang says, "Proceeding eastwards, he invaded the states that had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the Five Indias."[3] Whatever might be the precise import of the pilgrim's 'Five Indias,' the very clause that 'he had fought the Five Indias' renders the theory ineffective that "these six years were spent by Harṣa in fighting with his opponents exclusively in Eastern India."[4] Hiuen Tsang, however, it will be observed, does not disclose the fact of Harṣa's ill-fated campaign against Pulakeśin until he comes to record the account of Mahārāṣṭra. "At the present time," relates he, "Śīlāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country (Mahārāṣṭra) alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops."[5] What really induced Harṣa to contend with Pulakeśin remains unknown. Hiuen Tsang's testimony tends to indicate that it was but his yearn for further conquests, generated by previous successes in battle-fields. The *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* also tells us that, "Śīlādityarāja, boasting of his skill and invariable successes of his general, filled with confidence himself marched at the head of his troops to contend with this prince *(i.e.* Pulakeśin)—but he was unable to prevail or subjugate him."[6] It is important to note that Harṣa had to proceed in person, and make

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1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 556.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 261.
3. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, i. p. 343.
4. *An. Bh. Or. Res. Soc.*, 1931-32, Vol. XIII, p. 302
5. Beal, *Records*, ii. p. 256; also Watters, ii, p. 239.
6. Beal, *Life*, p. 147.

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elaborate preparations, to fight the Mahārāṣṭra king. But both the *Life* and *Records* of Hiuen Tsang leave us in the dark as to when, even approximately, Harṣa measured swords with Pulakeśin II, and if it was within the six years of his so-called *dig-vijaya*.

Hiuen Tsang's reference to Harṣa's Ganjam expedition, which dates from 642-43 A.D., points to another period of Harṣa's military activity during about this time. This is doubtless in keeping with the pilgrim's own statement that having fought in six years the Five Indias, Harṣa "reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon",[7] although the statement cannot be seriously taken in view of the epigraphical evidence that we have of his expedition against Dhruvasena II of Valabhī, which was led, as will be seen below, sometime between *circa* 629 A.D. and 639 A.D. Again, we have against that statement also the evidence of Ma-twan-lin[8], which demonstrates yet another period of Harṣa's military activity between 618 and 627 A.D. "In the *Wu-te* period (in the reign of Kaotsu) of the Thang dynasty (618-627)," the account of Ma-twan-lin has it, "serious disturbances broke out in India. King Shi-lo-y-to (Śīlāditya) raised a great army and fought with irresistible valour. The men neither took off their own armour nor the elephants their housings. He punished the kings of four parts of India, so that they all with their faces turned towards the north acknowledged his superiority."

Of these three periods under review, the last one, which fell on this side of 640 A.D., is out of question for the Harṣa-Pulakeśin war, as the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II, dated in 634 A.D., refers in eloquent terms to the defeat of the mighty Harṣa by Pulakeśin (v. 23).[9] It is curious that this verse should have escaped the notice of both M. Dubreuil[10] and Mr. Panikkar,[11] who labouring under the impression that no such reference to the event occurs in that inscription attributes it to a period after 634 A.D.

The geographical positions of Valabhī and Mahārāṣṭra seem mainly to be responsible for that almost a common belief has developed amongst scholars that the Northern emperor met the kings of

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7. Watters, i, p. 343.

8. I am grateful to Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri for his having kindly drawn my attention to this valuable piece of information. I have derived much benefit from the savant by a lengthy discussion over the subject of this paper.

9. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 6 and 10.

10. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 113.

11. *Sri-Harsha of Kanauj*, 1922, pp. 23-24.

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these two lands during one and the same expedition, and the Valabhī incident was followed by the Harṣa-Pulakeśin war. But the difficulty of proving this has sometimes resulted in keeping clear of the question of dates altogether. There has even been offered an ingenious explanation, on the basis of two stray historical analogies, as to why the Valabhī expedition of Harṣa, too, should have taken place first[12].

Our knowledge of the protection given by Dadda II, *alias* Praśāntarāga, the Gurjara king of Bharoach, to Dhruvabhaṭa or Dhruvasena II of Valabhī, when the latter was "defeated by the great lord or Parameśvara, the illustrious Harṣadeva", is derived from the Nausāri grant of Jayabhaṭa III of the year 706 A.D.[13] The earliest known dates of Dadda II are furnished by his two Kaira (Kheda) grants of 629 and 634 A.D.[14] When, *circa* 640-41 A.D., Hiuen Tsang visited Valabhī, Dhruvabhaṭa was reigning there, and he is described as the son-in-law of Śīlāditya (-Harṣa)[15]. If we may count upon the evidence of the Nausāri grant of 706 A.D., Hiuen Tsang's testimony would mean, and can only mean, that despite the protection given to him by Dadda for sometime, Dhruvasena eventually came into terms with Harṣa, married his daughter and continued to rule in Valabhī, either as a vassal of his father-in-law or as an independent king[16].

In consideration of that the two Kaira grants of Dadda, referred to above, are silent about the protection given by him to Dhruvasena, Ettinghausen assigns the date of Harṣa's expedition against Valabhī to a period between 633-4 and 640 A.D. (which is the approximate date of Hiuen Tsang's visit to Valabhī)[17], and Vincient Smith accepts it[18]. Some others prefer a more precise date, viz. *circa* 636 A.D. But since no grant, genuine or otherwise, of Dadda II alludes to his help rendered to the Valabhī king, attempts at precision only involves great risks of error, and as such, Harṣa's expedition against Valabhī and Dhruvasena's consequent flight to the territory of Dadda, should, as the safest course, be placed between *circa* 629 A.D. and 639 A.D., until a positive evidence to this effect is forthcoming.

As regards Harṣa's conflict with Pulakeśin, it has been suggested on the ground of the silence about the defeat of Harṣa of the Lohaṇera plates of Pulakeśin II, supposed perhaps rightly to have been issued

12. *An. Bh. Or. Res. Soc.*, XIII, pp. 304-305.
13. *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 77.
14. *Ibid*, pp. 82-9'
15. Watters, ii, pp. 246-47.
16. *Cf.* on this point N. R. Ray, *I.H.Q.*, III, pp. 776-77.
17. *Harṣa Vardhana, Empereur et Poète*, 1906, p. 49 and footnote.
18. *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 354.

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in 630 A.D., that, "Harṣa must have planned his offensive against Pulakeśin sometime between 630 and 634 A.D."[19], although in spite of the absence of any reference whatever to Dhruvasena in the grants of Dadda II, the Gurjara-Cālukya alliance has been assigned right to *circa* 628 or 629 A.D. ![20] Silence about Harṣa's defeat in one particular grant of Pulakeśin must not be viewed with any grave concern, for all genuine official records, hitherto discovered, of Pulakeśin, except the *praśasti* of Ravikīrtti, I beg to point out, do not recount any of his exploits or victories, but are only characterised by a delineation of his valour and manifold qualities in general terms of poetry[21]. But in the Karnul District plates of the very third year of Vikramāditya I, the son and immediate successor of Pulakeśin II, occurs, in relation to the vanquisher of Harṣa, the expression, *samara-saṁsakta sakal=ottarāpath=eśvara-śrī-Harṣavardhana-parājayopātta-Parameśvara-śabdas-tasya,*[22] which means that Pulakeśin II obtained the title of *Parameśvara* by defeating the glorious Harṣavardhana, the warlike lord of the *Uttarāpatha.* The recurrence of this expression is a commonplace feature of the inscriptions of the successors of Pulakeśin II[23]. If we doubt its veracity by reason of the late character of evidence, the so-called Valabhī expedition of Harṣa, too, is all but a moonshine, as the single charter upon which our knowledge of it is based is also late in time. In a rather defective language, the expression in question is to be found in the Kāndalgām copper-plate grant which purports to have been issued in the fifth year of Pulakeśin's reign, but on account of "the very irregular formation of the characters, and the great inaccuracy of the language of the inscription", the grant has been declared spurious.[24] Another inscription, alleged to have been issued by Pulakeśin II, describes him as *Harṣavardhana-jita,* 'the conquereor of Harṣavardhana', and this is also a forged grant.[25] But in the Haidarābād grant of the third year of Pulakeśin's reign (August, 612 A.D.), we have that significant clause which reads that he "acquired the second name of *Parameśvara* (Supreme Lord) by victory over

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19. *An. Bh. Or. Res. Soc.,* XIII, p. 305. 20. *Ibid.*

21. *Cf. Ep. Ind.,* III, p. 51; V, pp. 7-8; XVIII, pp. 258-60; *Ind. Ant.,* VIII, pp. 43-44. It is only the Haidarābād grant of the year 3 that specifically refers to "the hostile kings of Vanavāsī and other countries", *Ind. Ant.,* VI, pp. 73-74.

22. *Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.,* XVI, p. 234.

23. *Cf.,* for instance, *ibid,* pp. 234, 238; *Ind. Ant.,* VI, p. 86; VII, p. 163; VIII, p. 46; IX, p. 127; *Ep. Ind.,* V, p. 202; XXV, p. 22.

24. *Ind. Ant.,* XIV, pp. 330-31. If the arguments advanced are not up to the mark, the evidence of this grant alone conclusively proves the point at issue.

25. *Ibid,* VIII, pp. 96-97.

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hostile kings who applied themselves to the contest of a hundred battles" *(samara-śata-saṁghaṭṭa-saṁsaktapara-nṛpati-parājay=opalabdha Parameśvarāpara-nāmadheyaḥ).*[26] As Dr. Fleet has observed, "That all the earlier events recorded in it (the Aihole inscription) took place before August, A.D. 612, is established by the Haidarābād grant, which shews that Pulakeśin II was then in possession of Bādāmi, and though it does not mention Harṣavardhana by name, implies, by the title which was acquired by the victory over him, that that victory had then already been achieved,"[27] Dr. Altekar in his effort to propound a theory based on negative evidence has essayed to explain away Fleet's date[28] but the two points of the Haidarābād grant, viz. the possession of Bādāmi and the use of the title of *Parameśvara* by Pulakeśin do not deserve to be ignored or rejected so easily. Negative evidence can, at best, have corroborative value, but cannot serve as an instrument to be set up against even an iota of a proof positive. The clause, as it is, nevertheless, brings home that the title *Parameśvara* was adopted by Pulakeśin not by his victory over one king (Harṣa), as the later dynastic records of the Western Cālukyas claim to be, but by victories over some others, too. There is, on the surface of things, no inherent improbability in Pulakeśin's successfully warding off, early in 612 A.D. or sometime in 611 A.D., an invasion of Harṣa, of whom Hiuen Tsiang expressly states that "the king's conquests were completed within six years."

Fleet, however, added that the early achievements of Pulakeśin, including the defeat of Harṣa, "are probably to be placed in A.D. 608-609."[29] Vincent Smith holds, "Fleet's date 609 or 610 is impossible, Harsha being then engaged in the subjugation of Northern India."[30] He, therefore, suggests that, "This campaign (against Pulakeśin) may be dated about the year A.D. 620.", which accidentally coincides with the second period of Harṣa's military activity, as is evinced by the account of Ma-twan-lin. From the point of view of the general political situation of India, the date 618-627 A.D. for the Harṣa-Pulakeśin war does not militate against anything, save Hiuen Tsang's report, and this may be, if we do not suffer ourselves to go beyond evidence, adopted as the alternative date for the event, in case Fleet's conclusion really fails to hold out. In any case, however, Harṣa's war wih Pulakeśin II had nothing to do with his expedition

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26. *Ibid,* XI, pp. 73-74.
27. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,* 1806, p. 351.
28. *An. Bh. Or. Res. Ins.,* XIII, pp. 300-302.
29. *Op. Cit.* 30. *Op. Cit.,* p. 353, footnote

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against Dhruvasena,—the two incidents being separated from each other by a length of a good many years, if not by two decades or more. There is also no quesion of the formation of a confederacy of in and round the Gujrāṭ peninsula against Harṣa, as is proposed.[31]

In this connection, one cannot help reproducing a remark of Dr. R. K. Mookerji here : "It is thus reasonable to conclude with Fleet, and against Vincent Smith *(Early History,* p. 340, n.), that Harṣa's wars with Valabhī and Pulakeśin took place within A.D. 612."[32] Apart from that Fleet is misrepresented here so far as the war with Valabhī is concerned, the statement does not give a thought to the probable regnal years of Dhruvasena II and Dadda II, and, what is worse, presupposes a daughter of Harṣa, who became king at about sixteen in 606 A.D.[33], to be married with Dhruvasena II within 612 A.D. It is not of course true to say, as a writer wants us to believe, that Harṣa did not marry till 606 A.D., and his *rājyābhiṣeka* ceremony, which required the presence of a *Mahiṣī,* had to be deferred on that account, till six or seven years later his position was regularised by his marriage[34]; there does occur in the sixth *ucchvāsa* of the *Harṣa-carita* a reference to Harṣa's wife *(kalatraṁ rakṣatviti Śrīs=te nisriṁśehdhivasati).*[35] But Harṣa could not have a son-in-law in the king of Valabhī when he himself was only 21 or so.

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31. *Cf. J.B.O.R.S.,* IX, p. 319.
32. *Harsha,* p. 36, footnote.
33. *Cf.* also *ibid,* p. 69.
34. *I.H.Q.,* XII, p. 142.
35. *Harṣa-carita,* ed. Gajendragadkar, Poona, p. 118; ed. A. A. Führer, Bombay, p. 253; tr. Cowell and Thomas, p. 175.

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MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON THE JAGAT INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1306 AND THE IDENTITY OF PRINCES MENTIONED THEREIN

The inscription as published by Pandit G. H. Ojha runs thus:—

Oṁ Saṁvat 1306 *varṣe Fāguṇa (Fālguna) sudi 3 Ravidine Revati (tī) nakṣatre Mīnathite Caṁdre devī Aṁvikā [yai] suvana (suvarṇa) ḍaṁ(daṁ) ḍa(ḍaṁ)pratiṭhi(ṣṭhi)ta(taṁ) Guhilavaṁse (śe) Rā°-(Rāvala) Jayatasī (siṁ) haputraSīhaḍapautra Vī(Vi)jayasyaṁgha (Siṁha) devena kārāpitaṁ .....*[1].

Pandit Ojha takes Vijayasiṁha to be a *son* and immediate *successor* of Sīhaḍa and regards the name as a variant of Jayasiṁha[2]. In view of the explicit reference to Vijjayasiṁha as a *pautra* (grandson) of Sīhaḍa in the original record the relationship stated by Panditji is difficult to accept. Nor can the identity of Vijayasiṁha with Jayasiṁha be regarded as *certain* in the absence of clear and unambiguous evidence on the point. Besides the difference of names, it is to be noted that Jayasiṁha occurs as the name of a *ruling* chief or king *(Mahārājakula)* in an inscription of this period.[3] On the other hand Vijayasiṁha is not mentioned as an actual ruler in any record hitherto discovered and he may have lived and died as a mere prince. It is well known that *Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Sīhaḍadeva* ruled in Vāgaḍa in V.S. 1291.[4] Seventeen years later we find the throne of Vāgaḍa occupied by *Mahārājakula-Śrī-Jayasiṁhadeva.*[5] As already stated there is no real ground for supposing that this Jayasiṁha is identical with Vijayasiṁha who bears a different name. It is not altogether improbable that

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1. *History of Rajputana,* Vol. III, pt. 1, p. 36n.

2. *Apane pitā Sīhaḍadevake piche Mahārāvala Vijayasiṁhadeva, jisako Jayasiṁhadeva bhi likhā milatā hai, Vāgaḍa kā svāmī huā/ Ibid.,* 56.

3. Jharole (Udayapura) Inscription of the time of *Mahārājakula* Jayasiṁhadeva, V.S., 1308., *Ibid.,* p. 36.

4. *Saṁvat* 1291 *varṣe pauṣa sudi 3 ravau// VāgaḍaVaṭapadrake Mahārājādhirāja-Sīhaḍadeva(vo)vijayodayi/, Ibid.,* p. 36.

5. *Om Saṁvat* 1308 *braṣe (varṣe) kātī(rtti)ka sudi* 15 *somadine adyeha* ....Ibid., p. 36 n.

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Mahārājakula-Śrī-Jayasiṁhadeva is the individual whom we have to identify with the son and immediate successor of Sīhaḍa and the father of Vijayasiṁha, who is referred to in our inscription as the *grandson* of Sīhaḍa, provided the reading *pautra* given by Pandit Ojha is correct. The fact that Sīhaḍa's father has the name Jayatasiṁha (variant Jayasiṁha) adds strength to our suggestion. For it is well known that among Hindu rulers, the grandson was not unoften named after the grandfather.

Jayatasiṁha, father of Sīhaḍa, referred to in our inscription, is perhaps to be identified with the famous Jaitrasiṁha (variants Jayatasiṁha, Jayasiṁha, Jayatala[6] of Mewār, who ruled from *circa* V.S. 1270 to *circa* V.S. 1309 (?), and who is described as "decorated by a row of kings" *(samasta-rājāvalī-samalaṅkṛta)* in a manuscript of *Oghaniryuktisūtra,* dated V.S. 1284.[7] The earlier date of Jaitrasiṁha thus falls seven years before the earliest known date of Sīhaḍa(V.S. 1277). That Jaitrasiṁha was actually in possession of Vāgaḍa is proved by the Kumbhalgaḍh inscription of V.S. 1517.[8] Apparently Sīhaḍa and after him Jayasiṁha governed Vāgaḍa as co-ordinate rulers or sub-kings during the lifetime of Jaitrasiṁha, the reigning sovereign.

The genealogy according to our view would stand thus :—

Mahārājādhirāja Rāvala Jayatasiṁha, V.S. 1270-1309 ?
(alias Jaitrasiṁha, Jayasiṁha, Jayatala)
|
Mahārājādhirāja Sīhaḍadeva, V.S. 1277-1291
|
Mahārājakula Jayasiṁhadeva (son ?), V.S. 1308
|
(Prince) Vijayasiṁha (son ?), V.S. 1306
(grandson of Sīhaḍa)

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

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6. *Cf.* Kumbhalgaḍh Inscription of 1517 *(Ep. Ind.,* XXIV, p. 325); *History of Rajputana,* Vol. I, 470 n, 463.

7. *History of Rajputana,* Vol. I. p. 471 n.

8. *Durgaṁ Śrī-Citrakūṭaṁ samapa [ramaparaṁ bhīṣaṇaṁ bhīma durgaṁ] Cāghāṭaṁ Medapāṭaṁ varaṁ Vāgaḍaṁ . . . . . |*
Śrimannāgahrade'sau vilasati nijadorddaṇḍa sā(ma)rththato yaḥ
. Khyātaḥ so'yam [jagatyā chira]miha jayatā Jai(Jjai)trasiṁho
nara(re)dra(ndraḥ) ||
Ep. Ind., XXIV, p. 325.

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A UNIQUE IMAGE

Happening to go to the Jogisahi causeway on the 21st April 1940, on my way back I was attracted by the statue of Mahiṣāsuramardinī on a raised platform about 15 miles to the south of Cuttack on the Cuttack-Puri road. The statue is of black chlorite, six handed with a weapon in each hand, and striding across the Mahiṣāsura (buffalo-faced demon).

It was while I was trying to take a snap of this statue that a villager drew my attention to the much more beautiful image of Śrī Kṛṣṇa which is the subject of this paper. The Kṛṣṇa image is about two furlongs from the Mahiṣāsuramardinī on the bank of Kuśabhadra river. I have never seen a more beautifully and lavishly sculptured idol, anywhere in India. It has been chiselled out of a solid block of black chlorite and measures $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. The main image is Śrīkṛṣṇa but he is surrounded by eight milk-maids four on each side. Kṛṣṇa stands in Tribhaṅga pose with a tiara on his head with the *mohanavaṁśī* (flute) in his hands and sandals in his feet. The milkmaids are waving *cāmaras,* playing on *Jhanjas* and in other ways expressing their joy. Under the feet of Śrīkṛṣṇa is a full blown lotus and a dozen cows, calves and oxen. In between the kine are *Bhāriās* carrying loads.

Above the image are two Gandharvas with garlands in their hands and deities on their back. Two figures are blowing on conches and two more are beating Mṛdaṅgas. There are also images of four handed Viṣṇu, five-faced Brahmā and a couple of lions. The branches of Kadamba tree with two monkeys on them are also to be distinctly seen.

The unique thing about the statue is the delicacy and beauty of the ornamentation and the exquisite expression on the face of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs. The similarity between the faces and breasts of the Gopīs and those of the female devotees sculptured on the Siṁhāsana of the black pagoda at Konarka is so striking that I am inclined to think that the same sculptor might have been responsible for both the set of figures.

The image seems to have been brought to its present place by a few fishermen trying to catch fish in the Tankapani river. That was ten years back. Soon after the image was brought ashore from the river it was declared Government property and auctioned. A *sādhu* of the locality seems to have bought it for a few rupees with the intention perhaps of building a suitable temple for it. The image is now in a small thatched building, though near by stands a pucca construction, where, one gathers, the *sādhu* meant to lodge the image. But he died before he could do this.

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It is curious that the image of Rādhā should not figure anywhere in this group of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs. Could this be because the image was sculptured before the cult of Rādhā worship was brought into Orissa? Or could it be that a separate image of Rādhā was sculptured by the same artist or by another but has been lost in the river bed? It will be a very hard exercise of faith to endorse the above opinion, as all the figures from the eight female attendants to the menials like *Bhāriās* are very carefully preserved with the only exception of Rādhā who is never represented in any of the known sculptures or carving as physically separated from her Lord Śrīkṛṣṇa. There must be some motive behind this unique way of representing Śrīkṛṣṇa and the company of his eight Sakhis or female attendants or the artist must be an exponent of a kind of Vaiṣṇava doctrine which was all his own and did not find favour with the majority of Vaiṣṇavas.

Such a fine statue must have been made for worship in a temple. About twenty miles from Cuttack in the river of Tankapani, traces of an ancient temple are to be found near its bed. It will be worth while of some museum authorities to acquire this image for their Provincial Museum, where the great beauty and uniqueness of the image will be much better appreciated than it can be in its present out of the way location.

G. S. Das.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE KĀMARŪPA KINGS

In the *Indian Culture,* Vol. V, No. 4, April, 1939, Mr. Dhirendra Nath Mukherjee has evolved a new chronological table of the Kāmarūpa kings mainly with a view to support his theory of the epoch of the Gupta era being identical with the Vikrama era of 58 B.C.

In this, Mr. Mukherjee has dwelt at length on the identity of Vajradatta and his relation with Bhagadatta. While the *Mahābhārata* (Aśvamedha Parva, 76-4), the Nidhānpur plate of Bhāskara Varman (7th century A.D.) and the Gauhāṭi plate of Indra Pāla (11th century A.D.) clearly mention Vajradatta as the son of Bhagadatta, the Tezpur plate of Vanamāla (8th century A.D.), the Nowgong plate of Bala-Varman (9th century A.D.) and the Bargaoñ plate of Ratnapāla (11th century A.D.) mention him as the brother of Bhagadatta.

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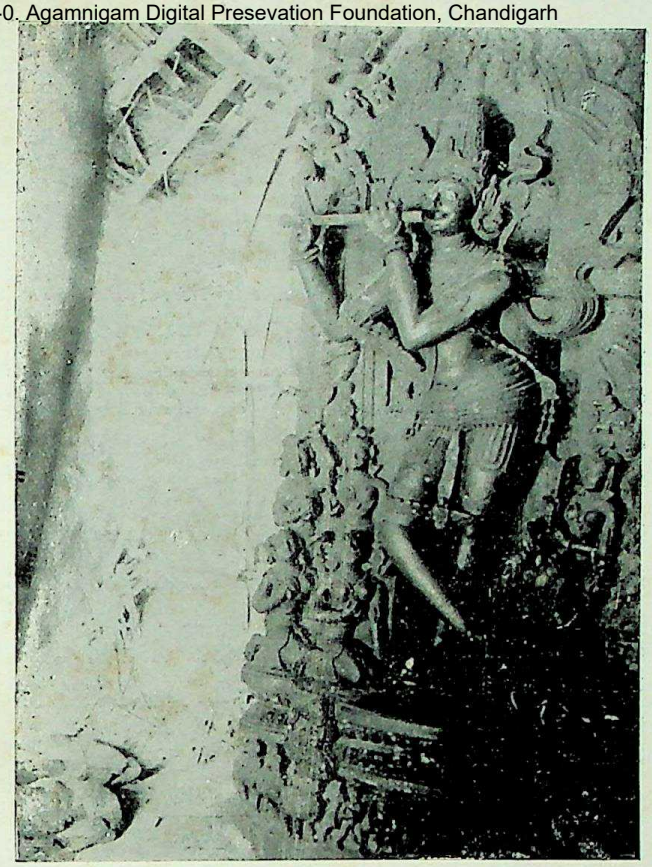

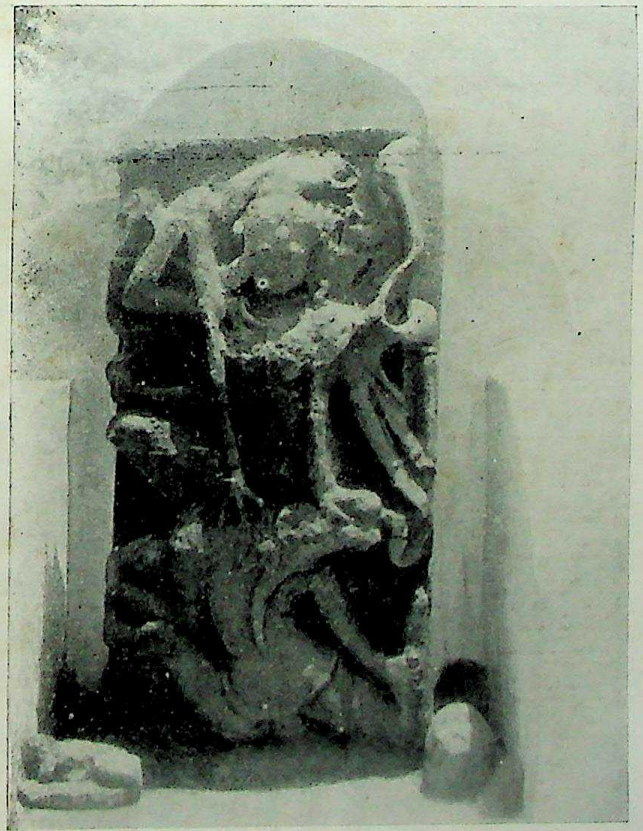

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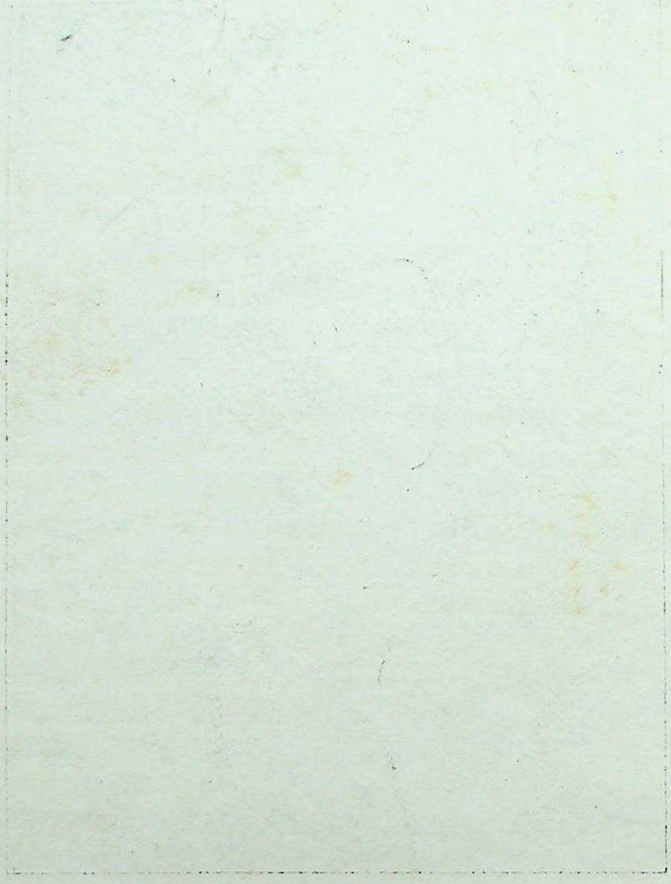

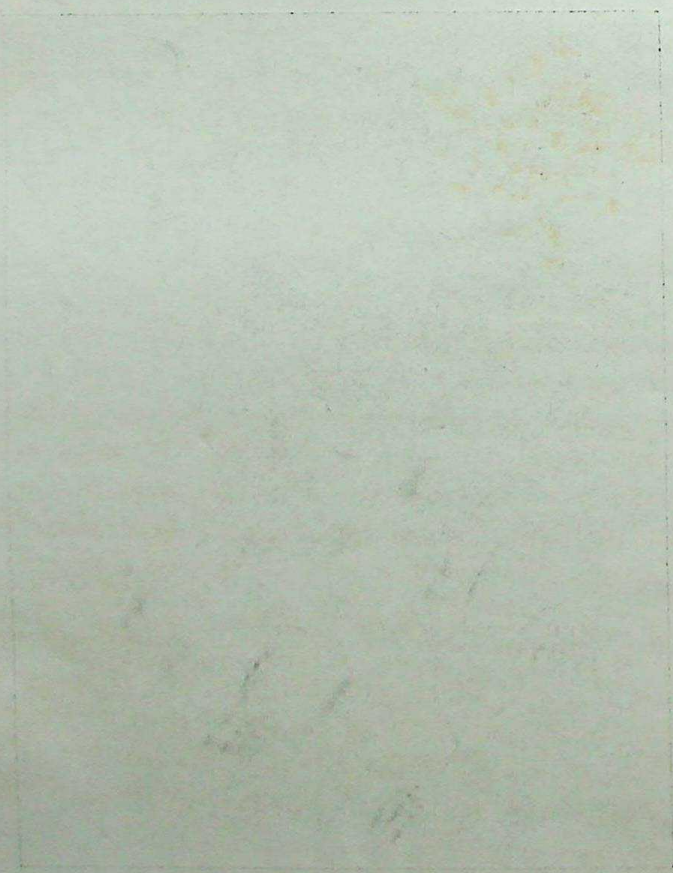

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Advantage has been taken of this anomaly, and the word VINAYABHARO in the 5th *śloka* of the Vanamāla plate has been taken by Mr. Mukherjee to refer to Vajradatta, and according to him the meaning of the *ślokas* 4-6 would be that when Narakāsura was killed by Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, on the prayer of his wife, Bhagadatta was restored to the throne of Prāgjyotiṣapura, and Vinayabharo also prayed to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, and being pleased with his prayer, the lord made him the ruler of Uparipattana—'evidnetly the upper valley of the Brahmaputra or the high hilly tracts north and east of Prāgjyotiṣa,' and 'reserved for future the lordship of Prāgjyotiṣa also for his descendents.' Mr. Mukherjee believes that two lines of kings belonging to the same stock ruled contemporaneously in two different parts of the country : Bhagadatta's family consisting of Mahābhūti Varman, Bhāskara Varman etc. was ruling in western Assam, while Vajradatta's family consisting of Sālastambha, Harjara etc. was ruling in Eastern Assam consisting of a series of hills inhabited by numerous aboriginals or Mleccha tribes, wherefore, this line of kings was also known as the Mlecchādhinātha kings. When, as Mr. Mukherjee continues to hold, Bhāskara Varman of Bhagadatta's line died without any issue, and so was also the case with Tyāgasiṁha of Vajradatta's line, both the dynasties coalesced, and Brahmapāla became the king of both the territories.

Here, however, the interpretation of Mr. Mukherjee regarding the assurance of Śrī Kṛṣṇa to Vinayabharo does not appear to have matured, as the Bargāoñ plate of Ratnapāla, the son of Brahmapāla, clearly states that when Tyāgasiṁha died without any issue, his subjects thought it necessary to have again a king from the Bhauma family *(Punaraho Bhaumo hi no yujyate svāmīti)* as the family of the Mlecchādhi-nātha, Sālastambha, who by a stroke of luck*(Vidhi calana vaṣādevo)* got the kingdom, was now extinct. Ratnapāla, evidently did not himself claim to have belonged to the same family as Sālastambha.

The *Kālikāpurāṇa,* chapters 38 and 40, gives a detailed description of Naraka and his battle with Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. Naraka was the king of the whole territory from the Karatoyā in the west to the place where the goddesses Lalitā and Kāntā, were located to the east, i.e. upto modern Sadiya, and this country was known as Prāgjyotiṣapura.

When Naraka was killed by Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the latter was approached by Naraka's mother, Earth, wife of Viṣṇu, to safeguard the interest of Naraka's descendants, and Śrī Kṛṣṇa assured her that he would instal his grandson *(naptāraṁ),* Bhagadatta, on the throne of Prāgjyotiṣapura ; but he entered the royal treasury and began to plunder all the valuable jewels and weapons including the Vaiṣṇava weapon which was *para-*

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virahā. After finishing his plunder which he sent to Dvārakā along with 14,000 elephants, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa installed Bhagadatta on the throne of Prāgjyotiṣapura. After the formal installation, Naraka's mother again prayed to the Lord to kindly part with the Vaiṣṇava weapon for the grandson, which Śrī Kṛṣṇa did, being pleased with the prayer.

The last line of the 5th *śloka* of Vanamāla's plate, therefore, seem to refer to this grant of the Vaiṣṇava weapon which is also known as the weapon of Śiva (vide *Liṅga purāṇa*, chs. 97, 98). Vinayabharo, therefore, as Mm. Padmanath Vidyavinode originally interpreted, is not a name, but a mere adjective.

There was no such country as Uparipattana, and arguing on the same line as Mr. Mukherjee does, one may ask that when Bhagadatta was installed as the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa, how could this kingdom, which extended from the Karatoyā to Dikkarovāsinī, be divided again and a portion given to another man, and how could Vajradatta, if he was a faithful brother, approach Śrīkṛṣṇa, in the presence of his grandmother to apportion his paternal kingdom?

When Puṣya Varman, the forefather of Bhāskara Varman was on the throne of Kāmarūpa, there appears to have been another independent king in a portion of the ancient Prāgjyotiṣapura. This was Ḍavāka. Kāmrūpa and Ḍavāka appear to have formed two independent *pratyanta* (frontier) kingdoms of Samudra Gupta. In the later period, during the reign of KumāraGupta, the king of Ḍavāka, whose name was Yue-Ai (Moon-loved), very likely Candra Vallabha, sent an embassy to the emperor of China in 428 A.D. This was perhaps due to some quarrel or bad feelings with the king of Kāmarūpa. From various archæological finds, Ḍavāka has been identified with the place now known as Davakā in the Kapili valley in the Nowgong District in Assam, about 90 miles to the north east of Gauhati in the border of the Mikir Hills. The Ḍavāka king could not withstand the prowess of the Kāmarūpa king, and his kingdom appears to have been annexed to the Kāmarūpa empire, so that in the seventh century Yuan Chwang found the Kapili valley included in the Kāmarūpa empire.

The discovery of a rock inscription at Baḍagaṅgā, near Davakā, made by the present writer, throws further light on the subject.

The inscription has been deciphered recently by the joint efforts of Dr. N. K. Bhattasali and Dr. R. C. Majumdar (a short note published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, December, 6, 1939), and the purport is that Mahārājādhirāja Paramabhāgavata Mahābhūti Varman established an *āśrama* at the place on the 20th of Māgha in the year 234 Gupta era.

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This Mahābhūti Varman is fifth generation upwards of Bhāskara Varman, and according to Fleet's epoch he is placed in 553 A.D. Mr. Mukherjee also would place him near about this date, but if his theory of the Gupta era is to be followed, then Mahābhūti Varman is to be placed in 176 A. D., which is on the face of it absurd.

Further, Mahābhūti Varman brought the Nāgara Brahmins mentioned in the Nidhānpur plate. The tutelar deity of these Brahmins is said to have been Hāṭakeśvara Śiva, and the huge temple of this god which had been razed to the ground due to decay *(Patitaṁ kālāntarādālayaṁ saudhaṁ xx hāṭaka—sulina)* was reconstructed by Vanamāla, fourth generation downwards of Sālastmbha. Even to this day, this huge *liṅgaṁ,* about 12ft in height and about 6ft in diameter, with five faces of Śiva carved on the top (which were originally gold plated), is lying in the village Ketakibāri, about a mile to the west of the place where the famous Harjara Varman inscription is lying on the bank of the Brahmaputra near Tezpur. It thus appears that this area where the Sālastambha line of kings had their domination was also included in the kingdom of Bhūti Varman, and the temple constructed by one of the kings of that line was reconstructed by Vanamāla Varman.

R. M. NATH.

CHAND RAI OF NADIA

Many are familiar with Chand Rai of Sreepur, but Chand Rai of Nadia is an obscure personage. This is a humble attempt at bringing him out of the limbo of oblivion and establishing his identity.

Chand Rai had a temple of Siva erected at Baganchare, a village to the west of Santipur in the district of Nadia. This was the biggest of the four temples that he built. It stands even to this day as an enduring monument to his piety. The temple is set with ornamental bricks and bears an inscription which we quote below.

"श्रीशिवः।

शाकेवारमतङ्गवाण हरिणाङ्के नाङ्किते शङ्करं
संस्थाप्याशु सुधासुधाकर करक्षीरोद नीरोपमं ॥

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तस्मै साधमिदं मुदासुजलदा निलीन लोलध्वजं ।
तत्पादेरित धीर धीर विरतं श्रीचाँदरायो ददौ ॥

Freely rendered, this says – Chand Rai, engaged in the worship of Sankara and having a complacent mind, in his eagerness having placed the milk-white image of Sankara, gladly dedicated this temple, shooting its spire into the sky in 1587 of the Saka era.

Three or four theories are advanced about the identity of Chand Rai. The first one is that he was a relation of Maharaja Krishna Chandra Rai of Krishnagar. The second is that he was Dewan of Raja Rudra Rai of whom Krishna Chandra was the fifth in descent, and the third is that he was one of the twelve Bhuiyas viz., Chand Rai of Sreepur. The fourth view is that Chand was the head of a gang of bandits. Let us examine the views.

Bharat Chandra, the court poet of Krishna Chandra, mentions, in his "Ananda-mangal," Chand Rai as a relation of the Maharaja ('प्रियज्ञाति जगन्नाथ राय चाद राय')Krishna Chandra lived from 1710 A.D. to 1782 A.D. and the poet finished his book eighty-seven years after the temple had been built (1674 Saka era). Chand Rai could not possibly live up to that time and, for the matter of that, to the time of Krishna Chandra. The poet might have referred to some other Chand Rai, living at Chandsarak, a part of Krishnagar, the very name Chandsarak being indicative of that. A negative proof is that there is no mention of Chand Rai in "Kshitisbansabali-charit," an authoritative book which discusses everything of importance about the family of Krishna Chandra.

About the second view, we find that Rudra Rai obtained a firman from Alamgir in 1676 A.D. It is likely that Chand Rai who dedicated his temple in 1665 A.D. was a contemporary of Rudra Rai. It is said that Chand Rai established a village named Brahmasasan near Baganchara, but the local historians do not give any credit to Chand in founding the village. Hedges in his diary, 1682, says that he came to Rewee (modern Krishnanagar), the capital of Uday Rai—evidently Rudra Rai — by country-boat along the river "De Galgate fe Spruyt" (shown in Vendenbrooke's map).* This river flowed past Chand Rai's temple. The *Kālikāpurāṇa*, chapters 38 and 40, give a detailed descrip-(The river having left its former bed, it is at present known as Gopea's Beel or Bagdevi Beel). Hedges is supposed to have passed by this route seventeen years after the temple had been built. Had he followed this route he must have mentioned Chand Rai, Dewan to Rudra Rai to whom he was going. Hedges is silent about Chand. The natural inference is that either Hedges did not go by this way or

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this Chand Rai was not Dewan to Rudra Rai. If he had been Dewan to Rudra Rai, he would have, according to the prevailing usage, mentioned his chief in the inscription. Again, Hedges did pass along this route as the very word "Spruyt" establishes the identity of the water-course.

If the third view be correct, then Chand Rai must have fought with Man Singha in his youth and after his humiliation settled at Baganchara and dedicated the temple to Siva at the fag-end of his life. If the story of his humiliation at the hands of Isha Khan be a myth, on his way back from Puri, Chand might have erected this temple. We know from his life-story that he built many temples dedicted to Siva. That he was in a hurry perhaps owing to advancing years to build the temple is evident from the word "आशु" in the inscription. He might have selected this place for his final abode of peace after the dust and heat of life had been over, because of its proximity to the Bhagirathi and the seat of the goddess Bagdevi, a place of sanctity. Tradition has it that he used to drive to the Ganges for a holy bath every day ; and people still point to the path used by him. The fact is also significant that only the four temples existed till recently, and little trace of Chand's residence was to be seen. Chand found eternal rest here at the feet of the god Sankara, when his life had run its course. As Babu Anandanath Ray in his "Bara Bhuiya" says, "Tradition tells us that a crore of rupees was put under the altar over which Sivalinga was placed," The local people believe that under the temple built by Chand Rai there is a hoard of coins guarded by "Jaksas' of popular superstition. These nobody ventures to take for fear of extinction. About the end of Chand, it is said that he once tried to disgrace an ascetic. Thereupon the ascetic got cross and brought about Chand's ruin. But we should be careful in giving credence to such legends, especially in view of the facts that ascetics who were spiritually advanced could not act in the manner indicated and that a man of Chand's temperament could not put a sage to shame. The ornamental work at the temple at Baganchara is, to some extent, similar to that at the temple (now extinct) at Rajbari. This shows that both the temples were erected by the same person.

Some, again, have confused Chand Rai of Baganchara with Chand Rai of Rajmahal. Both cannot be identical, as the latter was a powerful zemindar who lived on plunder and latterly turned out to be a Vaisnava. The former, we should remember, was a Saiva.

We should consider another fact which may have some bearing on Chand's residence in Nadia. The goddess Bhubanesvari bearing the name of "Kedar Rai" is still to be found at the house of the Rai

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Choudhuries at Lakhuria, a village on the Bhagirathi in the district of Nadia. The question is how the image could come to Nadia, of all places in Bengal.

It is hazardous to come to any definite conclusion about the identity of Chand Rai; but I am inclined to identify him with the historic figure, Chand Rai of Sreepur.

BHUPENDRANATH SARKAR

*Taken from Dr. N. K. Bhattasali's Account.

SOURCES OF TWO KṚṢṆA LEGENDS

In this paper, we propose to deal with the sources of two Kṛṣṇa-legends, references to which have been traced in ancient literature.

1. The *Syamantaka* legend

Yāska, in his *Nirukta* (II. 2) explains the derivation of the word *daṇḍa* as :—*"Daṇḍo dadater-dhārayati-karmaṇaḥ"*, i.e. the word *daṇḍa* is derived from the verb to *dā(dad)* in the sense of holding or causing to hold. In illustration of this obsolete meaning of the verb, he writes :— *"Akrūro dadate manim-ity-abhibhāṣante," i.e.* "It is said that 'Akrura holds or causes to hold the jewell.'" This illustration seems to be a quotation of a foot of some *anuṣṭubh* verse, referring, no doubt, to the well-known *Syamantaka* story of the *Purāṇas*. But wherefrom ? With our limited knowledge of the Sanskrit literature, we have not been able to trace the exact passage. The *Mahābhārata* does not give the story, but just incidentally refers to it, in the *Mausala-parva* (ch. 3. 79). Some *Purāṇas* have related the story in extenso, but the passage in question is not found in them. The *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (IV, ch. 13) has *"Akrūras-tan-maṇiratnaṁ jagrāha."* While the *Harivaṁśa* says :—

"Yat-tat Satrājite Kṛṣṇa maṇiratnaṁ Syamantakaṁ |
Adāt-tat-dhārayāmāsa Babhrur-vai Śatadhaṇvanā ||
(Harivaṁśa-parva, ch. 40, v. 1).

It is interesting to note although Kṛṣṇa said to have played an important part in the episode, it is not to be found among the many ex-

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ploits of his as are related specially. Everywhere it has been told in connection with Satrājit in the genealogical account of the Vṛṣṇis. This leads us to think that the quoted passage might have formed a part of the family ballad or the *gāthā* of the Vṛṣṇis, which used to be sung on ceremonial occasions. This *gāthā* has been rendered into classical Sanskrit and incorporated in the Purāṇas. In the Paurāṇic period, the verb *dadate* lost its sense of 'holding', so in place of this verb, we have *jagrāha* in the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa,* and *dhārayāmāsa* in the *Harivaṁśa.* It is doubtful if the story existed in the recorded form before the Purāṇas. The verb *abhibhāṣante (it is said)* used by Yāska shows that he did not quote it from any work, but from some oral *gāthā,* which was in a floating state in his time.

But how old is this *gāthā? Gāthās* seem to be older than the Ṛgveda itself. It is said therein that Soma, at the time of purifying, was praised *gāthayā purāṇyā,* i.e. *by ancient gāthās* or songs (IX. 99. 4). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 5. 4 & c) has given some *gāthās,* which are but *dānastutis* or eulogies for gift. Several *dānastutis* are also found in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 126. 1-5), which might have been originally *gāthās,* but being incorporated in the *Ṛgveda,* have come to be known as *Ṛks.* The sources of many stories related in the *Ṛgveda* might have been these oral *gāthās.* Yāska *(Nirukta,* IV. 6), speaks of the *sūkta* referring to the incident of Trita's falling into a ditch *(R.V.,* I. 105) as *"Brahmetihāsamiśraṁ Ṛk-miśraṁ gāthā-miśraṁ",* i.e. "it is" a mixture of *Brahmetihāsa,Ṛk* and *gāthā."* It appears that these stories came to be recorded in the name of *'gāthās'* from the time of the *Brāhmaṇas* till the *Purāṇas.* The *gāthā,* from which Yāska has made the quotation, might not be a very ancient one, but that it is pretty early is evident from the fact of its use of *dadate* in its obsolete sense. The verb must have lost this meaning from before the time of Yāska. Otherwise he would not have taken care to explain this by illustration. The use of the verb in its obsolete sense is found in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 24. 7). It appears that it ceased to have this meaning at a period earlier than Yāska and probably later than the *Ṛgveda.*

Below is given a short account of the story as told in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (IV. ch. 13). Satrājit of the Vṛṣṇis was a friend of the Sun-god, from whom he obtained an effulgent gem named *Syamantaka.* It produced everyday eight *bhāras* of gold and possessed many other virtues. Kṛṣṇa coveted this gem, but Satrājit gave it away to Prasena, his younger brother. One day Prasena went out hunting, putting on this jewell. He was killed by a lion for the gem. The lion again was killed by Jāmbuvān, who took away the *Syamantaka.* As Prasena did not return, people began to suspect Kṛṣṇa of having committed some foul play for the gem. When Kṛṣṇa came to know of it, he at once set out to

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trace Prasena. By following the hoofs of Prasena's horse, the lion and Jāmbuvān, he reached the cave where Jāmbuvān lived. A fight ensued between Kṛṣṇa and Jāmbuvān, in which the latter was vanquished after twenty-one days. Jāmbuvān then gave away his daughter, Jāmbuvatī, in marriage with Kṛṣṇa and returned the gem. Kṛṣṇa went back to Dvārakā and restored the *Syamantaka* to its rightful owner, Satrājit, who being much pleased at it rewarded Kṛṣṇa by giving his own daughter, Satyabhāmā, in marriage.

Now Akrūra, Kṛtavarmā, Śatadhaṇvā and some other Yādavas, who also sued for the hands of Satyabhāmā, took this marriage of hers with Kṛṣṇa as an insult to them. Incited by Akrūra, Śatadhaṇvā murdered Satrājit while he has asleep, and stole the *Syamantaka.* Hearing of this, Valadeva and Kṛṣṇa made war on Śatadhaṇvā. Akrūra, although at first promised help to Śatadhaṇvā, backed out in time for fear of Valadeva and Kṛṣṇa. Śatadhaṇvā thereupon resolved to fly, but before doing this, he deposited the gem with Akrūra, who received this on condition that Śatadhaṇvā would not disclose his name, even on point of death. Śatadhaṇvā then fled on a swift horse, but was overtaken and killed, but the gem was not found with him. Some action of Akrūra aroused the suspicion of Kṛṣṇa that the *Syamantaka* might have been with him. He then convened a meeting of the Yādavas, in which Akrūra was also present. Akrūra then out of fear placed the gem before the Yādavas, with some false excuses. Kṛṣṇa, however, returned it to Akrūra, who thenceforward used to put it on publicly.

2. The *Kālīya Nāga* legend.

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XI. 5. 5-8) refers to a *gāthā* relating to a story of a great snake driven from its place, a lake. This reminds us of the legend of Kālīya Nāga, who was subjugated and ultimately driven by child Kṛṣṇa, from the lake bearing the name of the Nāga. In the *Mahābhārata* (I. 1551; V. 103. 3625), we find the name of the Kālīya Nāga among the names of the important Nāgas, but there is no mention of the incident. The story is, however, recounted in detail in the *Harivaṁśa (Harivaṁśa-parva,* chs. 68-69), and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa (Viṣṇu-parva,* ch. 7).

The story runs that one day Kṛṣṇa went to Vṛndāvana without being accompanied by his elder brother Valadeva. While roaming about on the Yamunā, in company with his dear cow-herd boys, he came to a big lake, infested by a great serpent, named Kālīya, and his family. He found that owing to the poison of these serpents, the lake-water was quite undrinkable to men and beasts alike. To remove the inconvenience of the inhabitants of Vṛndāvana, one day he leapt into the lake, with the object of dislodging the snakes, and forthwith he

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was surrounded by the serpents from all sides. They began to bite him and coil round him, but he disentagled himself and got on to the hood of Kālīya and began to dance on it so violently, that the serpent was vomitting blood and was on the verge of death. The other serpents begged for mercy to save his life. Kṛṣṇa granted this on condition that the serpents must at once leave the lake and go to live in the seas. He further told Kālīya that on showing his foot-prints on the Nāga's hood, Garuḍa will not molest him any longer.

This legend, like the previous one, seems to be old. With the materials before us, we are not in a position to say that they were associated with Kṛṣṇa from the beginning. It may be that they were in existence from before Kṛṣṇa, but at a later period they have been tagged on to the Kṛṣṇa legends to add to his importance and thus catch the popular imagination.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE VARMANS OF EASTERN BENGAL.

It is a good sign of the times that the attention of our scholars has been drawn to the almost neglected history of south-east Bengal. Prof. Paul's article under the above heading (I.C., Vol. VI., 1.) will thus be of interest to many. But unfortunately, I am afraid, it contains some suggestions which may not be acceptable and some arguments which go wide.

Prof. Paul wishes us to believe that Jātavarman ruled at first in Aṅga and this country being under the suzeranity of the Haihayas, the Varman king came in the train of the invasions by his liege-lord. From this he arrives at two important conclusions: As Rājendra Cola I could claim no sovereignty over Aṅga, Jātavarman certainly did not come with him and as Jāta was the first to occupy Aṅga, he (and not his father Vajravarmā) was the founder of the dynasty. The Velāva plate[1] only tells us (in verse 8) that Jāta spread his paramount sovereignty by extending his domination over the Aṅgas —

1. Inscriptions of Bengal, III, p. 17.

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"Yo'ṅgeṣu prathayañchriyam." There is nothing from which we may assume that Jāta ruled over Aṅga before Rājendra Cola I or Karṇadeva of Dahal. He might have occupied Aṅga after the downfall of Karṇadeva. We, of course, agree with Prof. Paul when he suggests that the Varmans came in the train of Kalacuri invasions but on a different ground. The Velāva plate refers to Vajravarmā as *"Yādavīnām camūnām samaravijaya jātrā maṅgala"*[2] and the Kalacuris were descended from Sahaśrajit, a son of Jadu, whereas the Colas were in the line of the sun.[3] So to the evident that Vajravarmā led the victorious army of the Haihayas. As to the second conclusion, it may be pointed out that Lakṣmī Karṇadeva invaded Bengal once sometime about C 1042 A.D. and again about C 1055-59 A.D.

The reference to Divyoka[4] shows that Jāta's reign extended upto 1081 A.D. when the Kaivartta rebel rose into power. C 1042 A.D. —C 1081 A.D. is a period long enough to accommodate both Vajravarmā and Jātavarmā. So there is nothing to support Jāta's claim of being the founder of the dynasty against that of Vajravarmā though the latter claimed no status higher than that of a General.

As to the place of Harivarman in the genealogical table, the problem which Prof. Paul has laboured so much to solve, has already been solved beyond doubt by the corrected reading of the Vejnīsar-grant.[5] Harivarma was certainly "Jātavarmmapādānudhyāta."

We do not understand why Udāyin will be called a younger brother of Bhoja. The panegyrists refered to younger brothers when notable victories or conquests could be assigned to them, as in the case of Jayapāla.[6] The eulogistic verse in the Velāva grant is very vague[7]. Most probably Udāyin was the elder son of Sāmala but predeceased him and so the Crown came down on Bhoja's head.

Whether Trailokya Sundarī was the daughter or the wife of Sāmala is a knotty problem. Thanks are due to Prof. Paul for tying to solve it in the light of Ceylon history. But let us see how it stands the test of reasoning.

If we assume that Trailokyasundarī was the daughter of Sāmala, then Mālavyadevī was the name of Sāmala's wife. Such a name is strange or at least not very common.

Trailokyasundarī, the queen of King Vijayavāhu I, was a princess of

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2. Ibid, verse 6.
3. Nilakantha Sastri—The Colas, p. 25.
4. Velāva Plate, verse 8.
5. Bhāratavarṣa 1342 B.S. The editor of the plate Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, has renamed it as "Sāmantasār Plate."
6. Bhāgalpur Inscription of Nārāyaṇa Pāladeva—I.A., Vol. XV., p. 305.
7. Inscriptions of Bengal, *op. cit.*

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Kaliṅga.[8] Several other kings of Ceylon (Nisaṅkamalla, Sahāsamalla, etc.) came from Simhapura in Kaliṅga.[9] This, of course, points to a close political relation of Simahapura in Kaliṅga with Ceylon. That city may be identical with Simhapura of the Velāva plate. Dr. H. C. Ray may be right in suggesting[10] that this important city supplied two enterprising royal families. But all these lend no strong support to the presumption for the identification of Tilokasundarī of the *Mahāvaṁsa* with Trailokyasundarī of the Velāva plate. Moreover there are some strong points that militate against this theory.

The Varmans were Yādavas while Nisaṅkamalla etc. claimed descent from the royal line of Ikṣvāku (Okkākakulasambhavo). They never called themselves princes of Kaliṅga. The name is not even mentioned in any Varman grant. No Ceylonese tradition or inscription refers to Colas as "rākṣasas."

The verse in the Velāva grant mentioning Laṅkādhipa is certainly "an obscure one."[11] Late Mr. N. N. Vasu read the words in the inscription as "Śaṅkāsvalaṅkādhipa"[12] and gave an interpretation which makes a good sense. The reading given in the *Epigraphia Indica* and in the *Inscriptions of Bengal,* Vol. III, is, however, "Śaṅkāsu." The 'U' and 'Va' written beneath 'Sa' were so similar in appearance in the then script that a mistake in reading might have crept in. This may be too presumptuous a suggestion. But if the *Epigraphia Indica* reading is correct, the occurence of the passage cannot be properly explained as Prof. Paul has said. The identification suggested by him, of course, comes to no help in interpreting or explaining it and there is no strong reason to discard Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion that Mālavyadevī Trailokya-sundarī was the wife of Sāmalavarman.[13]

The Varman king who made submission to (Rāmapāla) was, Prof. Paul writes, "Harivarman or Sāmalavarman." A consideration of the relevant facts makes us differ from him to a certain extent. Jātavarman was a contemporary of Vigrahapāla III (C -055-1081 A.D.). As we have showed earlier, his reign extended up to the end of the reign of that Pāla king. Harivarman then reigned for forty years,[14] i.e., at least

8. Mahāvaṁsa, Ch. 59. 9. J.R.A.S., 1913, p. 518.
10. Dynastic History of N. India, I, p. 334.
11. Ins. Beng., III. p. 20 fn.
12. Vaṅger Jātiya Itihāsa, Rājanya Kāṇḍa, p. 295 fn.
13. Inss. Bengal III—Appendix, p. 191.
14. The MS. of "Laghu Kālacakraṭīkā" is dated in the 39th regnal year of Harivarmadeva, Sastri's Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, page 79 (Vol. I.). As the MS. is with Prof. Tucci for a long time the date could not be verified.

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up to C 1121 A.D. (1081-40). Rāmapāla's reign did not extend long beyond C 1126 A.D.[15], and his conquests are assigned to the earlier part of his reign (C 1084-1126 A.D.). So in all probability it was Hari or his unnamed son (and never Sāmala) who propitiated Rāmapāladeva.[16]

Prof. Paul's theory that "The Varmans were twice compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Pālas" is not backed by any definite evidence. The Kamauli plate[17] records a naval victory in "anuttara-Vaṅga" won by Vaidyadeva during the short reign of Kumārapāla (C 1126-30 A.D.). Attention should be paid to the word "Vaṅga." In those days certainly it did not designate the whole of the province. The battle was fought somewhere in the south of ancient Vaṅga and not on the Ganges. Let us also consider the possibility of the Pāla king sending an expedition against the Varmans. Kumārapāla had no peaceful reign. In Kāmarūpaviṣaya Timgyadeva was gaining strength[18] and Vijayasena, a former ally of the Pālas, was concluding an alliance with Anantavarma Coḍagaṅga[19] who had already subjugated the territory extending up to the Ganges.[20] With so many enemies within and beyond the frontier Kumārapāla could scarcely have found time enough to invade the Varman territory. Nor was an attack from the other side possible. Better we should accept the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee's suggestion that this naval engagement was between Vaidyadeva and Anantavarma Coḍagaṅga.[21]

On the strength of the *"Samvandha tattvārṇava"* Prof. Paul wishes us to believe that the date 1001 S.ES=1079 A.D. "cannot be far removed from the time of Sāmalavarman."[22] Jāta being a contemporary of Vigrahapāla III (C 1055-81) his reign cannot be pushed back earlier than C 1055 A.D. and so Hari's reign could not have ended before C 1095 A.D. There is no room for Sāmalavarma before this date. The book, again, can claim no antiquity.

BISWESWAR CHAKRABARTI.

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15. Ray—D.H.N.I., Vol. I, p. 347.
16. Rāmacarita, Ch. III, v. 44.
17. E.I., Vol. II, pp. 349 ff.
18. Ibid.
19. According to the "Vallāla-carita" Vijayasena was called Coḍagaṅgasakha.
20. Kendupatna plates of Narasiṁha II—J.A.S.B., 1896. V. 1. p. 239.
21. The Pālas of Bengal—M.A.S.B., V. (3) page 101.
22. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, who first made this suggestion (Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, Vol. XXXIX.) tells me that he has revised his opinion.

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THE CHANDOMAKHĀNTA BY PURUṢOTTAMA BHAṬṬA

Mr. Dhires Chandra Acharya published an interesting account of a work on prosody, called *Chandomakhānta* by Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama in *Memoir of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi,* No. 5. His account is based on a fragmentary MS. of the work in the Society's Library. Mr. Acharya has tried to establish the following facts :—

(1) Puruṣottama was the teacher of Gaṅgādāsa, author of the *Chandomañjarī ;*

(2) Gaṅgādāsa was probably a contemporary of Jayadeva and was not later than the 14th century ;

(3) Puruṣottama's work belongs to a school of metricians, the chief of whom was Śvetamāṇḍavya.

A careful consideration of his arguments would, however, show that *all his conclusions are untenable.*

I. Mr. Acharya quotes the following verse from the *Chandomañjarī* in order to prove that Puruṣottama was the teacher of Gaṅgādāsa :

श्वेतमाण्डव्यमुख्यास्तु मुनयो नेच्छन्ति यतिम् ।
इत्याह भट्टः स्वग्रन्थे गुरुर्मे पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ (I, 21).

He has evidently overlooked the fact that the verse is preceded by the following sentence :

अयं च श्रीकच्छन्दोगोविन्दे मम गुरीर्गंगादासस्य ।

This sentence shows beyond doubt that the verse in question was not composed by Gaṅgādāsa, author of the *Chandomañjarī,* but was quoted from the *Chandogovinda* by his *guru* whose name was also Gaṅgādāsa. It is interesting to note that Gaṅgādāsa's *Chandogovinda* is found quoted in the *Vṛttaratnākarādarśa (Cat. Cat.,* Vol. I, s.v.) composed by Divākara, son of Mahādeva, in 1684 A.D. This teacher Gaṅgādāsa was, according to the verse, the pupil of Puruṣottama Bhaṭṭa. Puruṣottama therefore flourished about half a century earlier than Gaṅgādāsa, the author of the *Chandomañjarī.*

II. According to Mr. Acharya, the well-known stanza

मस्त्रिगुरुस्त्रिलघुश्च नकारो भादिगुरुः पुनरादिलघुर्यः ।
जो गुरुमध्यगतो रलमध्यः सोऽन्तगुरुः कथितोऽन्तलघुस्तः ॥

(*Chandomañjarī,* I, 8)

was originally composed by Gaṅgādāsa, author of the *Chandomañjarī,* and since it is found quoted in the *Vṛttaratnākarapañjikā* by Rāma candra-Kavibhāratī written at the beginning of the 15th Century A.D., the *Chandomañjarī* cannot be placed later than the 14th century. It

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should, however, be pointed out that the same verse has been quoted by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (ch. 104), and Utpala, we know, wrote his commentary on the *Bṛhajjātaka* in Śaka 888=A.D. 966. The verse certainly belongs to an author who lived before the middle of the 10th century A.D.

Mr. Acharya also says, "Again, the *Chandomañjarī* quotes a stanza from Jayadeva as not observing metrical pause. This stanza is quoted in such a way that, it seems, Jayadeva was his contemporary." The suggestion is absolutely without any ground. After quoting the verse from the *Chandogovinda* of Gaṅgādāsa, the *Chandomañjarī* says **अतएव मुरारिः** and quotes a verse from the *Anargharāghava ;* then it says **जयदेवोऽपि** and quotes a verse of Jayadeva (author of the *Candrāloka);* next it concludes **एवमन्येऽपि** and quotes a fourth verse. It is evident that Gaṅgādāsa, the author of the *Chandomañjarī,* lived after Jayadeva, that is to say, certainly after the beginning of the 13th century.

III. Mr. Acharya points out that, although the *Chandomakhānta* has a section on *gītavṛtta* or songs, Puruṣottama does not quote any verse from Jayadeva (author of the *Gītagovinda).* He tries to explain the situation by offering two alternate suggestions : (1) either, Puruṣottama was earlier than Jayadeva, (2) or, he, too, was a contemporary of Jayadeva, but did not like to quote from a rival poet.

The section on *gītavṛtta,* however, itself shows that Puruṣottama was later than the author of the *Gītagovinda* who popularised that particular form of Sanskrit poetry. The illustrations in the section in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī composed by Puruṣottama himself, also exhibit obvious influence of Jayadeva (end of 12th century).

Cf. सहचरि दर्शय तमतुलमत्तं । स्मरसमागममोहितचित्तम् ॥ ध्रु ॥
अविरतमुकुलितलोचनमालं । दीपशिखालसदीक्षणभारम् ॥ १ ॥
स्फटिकमनोहरगौरशरीरं । प्रकटजटाजुटविगलितनीरम् ॥ २ ॥
भालविभूषितहिमकरखण्डं । कुण्डलि कुण्डलमण्डितगण्डम् ॥ ३ ॥
शृंगडमरुकरमतुलविराजं । विधिहरिसेवितचरणसरोजम् ॥ ४ ॥
शृणु पुरुषोत्तमभणितमुदारं । प्रभुरपि कलयति विविधविकारम् ॥ ५ ॥

Puruṣottama whose own verses prove him to have been a staunch Śaivite here represents Śiva as worshipped by Vidhi and Hari. His devotion for Śiva evidently prevented him from quoting any verse from Jayadeva who wrote only in praise of Kṛṣṇa.

IV. I am inclined to believe that there was no single metrician of the name of Śvetamāṇḍavya. In the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (104, 3), Varāhamihira mentions Māṇḍavya as the greatest authority on metres, and

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Utpala Bhaṭṭa quotes in his commentary two verses in the *Sragdharā* metre composed by Māṇḍavya. According to the *sūtra* **अन्यत्र रात-माण्डव्याभ्याम्** (7, 35) of the *Chandaḥsūtra* ascribed to Piṅgala, the *Caṇḍavṛṣṭiprapāta* variety of the *Daṇḍaka* metres which has 27 syllables in a quarter was known by a different name to Rāta and Māṇḍavya who had given the name *Caṇḍavṛṣṭiprapāta* to an altogether different metre. This point which is not quite clear in the *Chandaḥsūtra,* has fortunately been explained by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā,* ch. 104. Utpala says that Piṅgala and other metricians call the metre *Caṇḍavṛṣṭiprapāta,* but Rāja[n] and Māṇḍavya call it Suvarṇa. Cf. **दण्डकश्चण्डवृष्टिप्रयातसंज्ञः सप्तविंशत्यक्षरपादो भवति पिंगलादीनामाचार्याणां मतेन, राजमाण्डव्यौ वर्जयित्वा। तयोऽस्तु मते एषः सुवर्णाख्यः। तथाच तावूचतुः।**

सुवर्णश्चण्डवेगश्च प्लवोजीमूत एव च।
बलाहको भुजंगश्च समुद्रश्चेति दण्डकाः॥

तथाच पाठान्तरम्।

अर्णार्णवः प्लवश्चैव जामूतोऽथ बलाहकः।
समुद्रश्च भुजंगश्च सप्तैते दण्डकाः स्मृताः॥

It is clear that Rāja[n] of Utpala is the same as Rāta of the *Chandaḥsūtra.* The facts that their names have been jointly mentioned in the works of Piṅgala and Utpala and that there is the passage **तावूचतुः** i.e. "they both say" before the verse, suggest that the verse has been quoted from the joint work of the two metricians. I am inclined to suggest that Śvetamāṇḍavya of the verse quoted in the *Chandomañjarī* is a compound of two names and that Śveta is the same as Rāta of Piṅgala and Rāja[n] of Utpala. The fact that *rā* as the first syllable of the name is common both in the works of Piṅgala and Utpala and that *ta* as the second syllable is common in the *Chandaḥsūtra* and the *Chandomañjarī,* appears to me to suggest that the *Chandaḥsūtra* which reads *Rāta* gives the correct name of the metrician. Scholars generally place the *Chandomañjarī* of Gaṅgādāsa in the 15th or 16th century A.D. (Krishnamachariar *H.C.S.L.,* p. 909). A Tanjore MS. of this work belongs to the last quarter of the 17th century *(loc. cit.).* Puruṣottama's *Chandomakhānta* may therefore be roughly assigned to the 14th or 15th century A.D.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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"KRAMADĪŚVARA AND HIS SCHOOL OF GRAMMAR"

(Criticism)

The last April number of the *Indian Culture* opens with a short paper (pp. 357-361) on Kramadīśvara. In a subject dealt with by a number of scholars from Colebrooke (1805) to H.P., Śāstrī (1931), the writer has ventured to indulge in some speculations on insufficient knowledge of facts. We briefly refer to a few glaring errors.

(1) The eloquent note on the epithet 'Pūrvagrāmī' meant as an ungenerous fling at Dr. Belvalkar,[1] lacks fullness and logic. Pūrvagrāma is one of the 56 'Gāñis' of the *Rāḍhīya* Brāhmaṇas of Bengal, as any treatise on genealogy will show.[2] Like 'Vandyaghaṭīya' 'Kāñjivilvīya' and other similar terms used by old authors of Bengal[3] to indicate their family origin, it cannot refer to the birth-place of Karmadīśvara, Umāpati or Nyāyapañcānana. Scions of this family, as of other well-known families of Bengal, are found scattered in the whole province and they continue to call themselves 'Pūrvagrāmī' up till now.

(2) The chronology of the whole paper rests on the date 1243 Śaka) of a Ms. of Vaṁśīvadana's sub-commentary on Goyīcandra, which is entirely wrong. It escaped the writer's notice that the appearance of the Ms. in question is definitely stated to be 'fresh'. Apparently the Śakābda is the scribe's error, as is sometimes the case, for the Bengali San. Vaṁśīvadana's date, however, is not a matter of much speculation. His title was *'Kavicandra'*[4] and as such he was the teacher of the celebrated scholiast Gopāla Cakravartī who also wrote a Saṁkṣipatasārārthadīpikā. The latter wrote his gloss on Jayadeva in 1678 A.D. (1599

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(1) Dr. Belvalkar apparently followed R. L. Mitra and others who described Kramadīśvara as 'of unknown parentage and nativity'—Desc. Cat. of Sans. Mss., A. S. B., pt. I, 1877, p. 135 ; Desc. Cat. of Sans. Mss., Cal. Sans. Coll., Vol. VIII, p. 117. The late U. C. Gupta in his Bengali work 'Jātitattvavāridhi' pt. I (1309 B.S.), pp. 237-8 noticed the term 'Pūrvagrāmī' used by Kramadīśvara whom he claimed as a Vaidya of Bengal in spite of it.

(2) N. N. Vasu : *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa,* Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 117-18, Lalmohan Vidyanidhi : *Sambandhanirṇaya* (3rd ed.) pp. 337-9.

(3) Sarvānanda, author of the Ṭīkāsarvasva on Amara, calls himself Vandyaghaṭīya ; Nārāyaṇa, author of the Pariśīṣṭa-prakāśa, was a Kāñjivilvīya. In a Ms. of the Kāraka-pāda of Nyāyapañcānana in possession of the present writer the colophon gives the similar form 'Pūrvagrāmīya.'

(4) Śiroratna's ed. of Vaṁśīvadana (Subanta), p. 55, cf. I.O., p. 221.

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Śaka) and composed an astrological work Jyotīratna in 1672 A.D. (1594 Śaka) where he named his teacher :—

'Śabdāgamaṁ sunipuṇaṁ *Kavicandrapādāt,* yo'dhītya etc.. So Vaṁśīvadana flourished about 1650 A.D. His work ends with the following pun :—

'Vacaḥ-sampattidāyittvaṁ muneḥ pañcānanasya ca /
niviḍājñānato muktir na Vaṁśīvadanād vinā //[6]

It is believed with good reason that Vaṁśīvadana was referring here to his distinguished predecessor Nyāyapañcānana who was not, however, his teacher as was wrongly stated by H.P. Śāstrī. Vaṁśīvadana's commentary on Subanta-pāda was printed in 1318 B.S. He frequently quotes and often criticises the views of a 'famous' previous commentator under the epithet 'prasiddhāḥ'. We have been able to trace almost all these quotations in the Ms. commentary of Nyāyapañcānana who undoubtedly preceded him. Nyāyapañcānana quotes in the Kāraka-pāda from the Manoramā,[7] the standard book on verbal roots belonging to the Kalāpa school, which was written in 1546 A.D. (1468 Śaka) and a Ms. copy of his commentary on the Samāsa-pāda is is dated 1611 A.D. (1533 Śaka).[8] His date is, therefore, definitely fixed in the *last quarter* of the 16th cent. A.D. In his commentary on the Sandhi-pāda Vaṁśīvadana cites his own teacher ('gurucaraṇāstu'[9]) separtely from 'prasiddhāḥ' (i.e. Nyāyapañcānana) in the same passage. Oblivious of all these facts, some of which were known to scholars for a long time, the writer of the paper attempted to draw up a scheme of chronology without realising the hopeless muddle he has made of it. Jumara is stated almost in the same breath to be a contemporary of both Kramadīśvara and Goyīcandra and to have revised both their works. The only relevant facts known so far are briefly as follows. Kramadīśvara composed the *Sūtras* as well as their *vṛttis*

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(5) L. 2229 for comm. on Jayadeva ; H. P. Śāstrī—Notices of Sans. Mss. (2nd series) II. p. 61 for Jyotīratna.

(6) Desc. Cat. of Sans. Mss., Cal Sans. Col., Vol. VIII (Grammar), p. 80.

(7) Cal. Sans. Coll. Ms. No. 112, fol. 15b. The date of the Manoramā is 1458 Śaka in the I.O. Ms. (No. 775), also in a Ms. in possession of the present writer. But a much earlier Ms. copy of 1585 A.D. gives the date as 1468 Śaka—H. P. Śāstrī ; Darbar Library Cat., Vol. II., p. 214.

(8) Ms. preserved in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad library, No. 424 of Cittaranjan collection.

(9) Ms. No. 543 of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad fol. 7b. H. P. Śāstrī described Kavicandra as a pupil of Nyāyapañcānana in Desc. Cat. of Sans. Mss., A.S.B., Vol. VI. Introd. p. lxix.

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both of which were thoroughly revised by Jumara. The original work of Kramadīśvara is now entirely lost and we have absolutely no data about him preserved. The only historical facts recorded in Goyīcandra about Jumaranandī are contained in two epithets viz. 'Vyāsaśīlādipariśīlana-vimalamatiḥ' and 'adhikṛtomāpatidatta-prabhṛti-sabhājana-sabhajanaparaḥ'. From these we gather that Jumara probably came in contact with a distinguished Paṇḍita named Vyāsaśīla[10] and the scholars in his own court were headed by one Umāpatidatta. Kramadīśvara was certainly not in his court. Fragments of the latter's original work which came to be known as the 'Pūrvavṛtti' survived for a long time, as references to it are found not only in Goyīcandra but in the later commentaries as well.[11] That a long period of time elapsed between Jumara and Goyīcandra is proved by the latter's statement that his commentary attempts to restore the text of the former which suffered in course of time. Moreover, Goyīcandra sometimes criticises former commentators of the system.[12] We believe Jumara cannot be placed before the 13th cent. A.D. at the present state of our knowledge; he seems to have borrowed some striking examples from Puruṣottama's Bhāṣāvṛtti *(circa* 1150 A.D.).[13] As a consequence Goyīcandra cannot be placed before the 14th cent. A.D.

(3) The correct name of the author in question was Nārāyaṇa and not Naranārāyaṇa and it was certainly the name not of Nyāyapañcānana but of his father Vidyāvinoda. The latter wrote at least three works : (i) a commentary called Bhaṭṭibodhinī on the Bhaṭṭikāvya ; in verse 2 at the beginning the author describes himself as follows[14]—

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(10) Abhirāma, however, rejects the interpretation that Vyāsaśīla was a proper name—Sandhi-ṭippanī, Śiroratna's ed., p. 9.

(11) Goyīcandra, Sūtra 379 of Subantapāda and Sūtra 181 of Samāsapāda. Abhirāma, Sandhi, pp. 11 & 45; Samāsa, pp. 23, 45 & 71. Nyāyapañcānana : Tiñanta, p. 84; Kṛdanta, p. 11. Two of the quotations are metrical. These rare references show that Jumara's revision was quite thorough and drastic.

(12) 'tasyāśca kvāpi kvāpi samayavaśavyākula-pāṭha-samuddharaṇāya ca' (I. 1). 'Paṇḍiatmmanyāḥ' (I. 1) 'bhrāntena kenāpi' (VII, 234, also 469).

(13) 'Praṇamya śāstre sugatāya tāyine' (under V. 19); 'prāsādīyati yah kutyām' (II. 503) *vide Bhāṣāvṛtti* on I. 4. 32 & III. 1. 10. The former one is a Buddhist quotation (from Pramāṇasamuccaya of Diṅnāga) peculiar to the Buddhist author Puruṣottama.

(14) L. 1637 : the first 5 cantos of the commentary was published in a Calcutta ed. of the Bhaṭṭikāvya (by S. P. Mitra); also I.O., p. 260, I.O., p. 273 for the Amaraṭīkā. L. 1594 for the Prākṛtapāda.

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'Pūrvagrāmi-kule kalānidhinibhaś chatrī sumeruḥ sthito
bhrātā tasya jaṭādharo dvijavaro vāṇeśvaras tatsutaḥ /
tatputraḥ prathito' bhavat kavivaro nārāyaṇo nāmataḥ
so' bhūd abhyasanena śāstranicaye vidyāvinodārthataḥ //

Sumeru was the name apparently of the author's most distinguished ancestor who was like the moon (an ornament) of the Pūrvagrāmī family; he had the privilege of using an umbrella (chatrī).[15] His brother Jaṭādhara must not be confused with the author of the Abhidhānatantra which was written at Chittagong by a scion of the 'Diṇḍi' family. (ii) Vidyāvinoda's commentary on the Amarakoṣa also gives the same verse except the last line which runs as follows :—

'teneyaṁ kriyate hitāya sudhiyāṁ śabdārthasandīpikā'. This commentary has been cited by Nyāyapañcānana in the Samāsapāda (fol. 11b & 48a)—'tathā ca matpituḥ Śabdārthasandīpikāyām'. (iii) Vidyāvinoda wrote also the only commentary in existence on the Prākṛtapāda of Kramadīśvara; there also the same verse is found with the last line changed as 'tenedaṁ kriyate sukhāya viduṣāṁ yat prākṛtaṁ lakṣaṇam.' Nyāyapañcānana, who never forgets to mention his father in the colophons to his works, nowhere gives his own name which was 'lost under the glory of his title', as correctly stated by R. L. Mitra.[16] Two parts of his work were printed by a Paṇḍita in Calcutta (in 1913 & 1920) and the learned editor failed to discover his original name. Eggeling through oversight mistook the father and the son as identical and almost all the writers of Bengal including Mr. DasGupta inadvertently perpetuated the error ever since, though a distinguished scholar from far off Madras correctly states the name of the author of the Amarakoṣa-ṭīkā as Nārāyaṇa Vidyāvinoda.[17]

(4) The most defective statement in the whole paper is to be found in the following sentence (p. 360):—

'It often takes its illustrative examples from the Bhaṭṭikāvya, *in which respect it resembles Bhartṛhari's Dīpikā on Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.*' Bhartṛhari's long-lost commentary on the Mahābhāṣya exists

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(15) 'Chatrī' was undoubtedly a title of privilege; it was borne, for instance, by a distinguished Vaidya, Śaṅkaradāsa (vide Bharata Mallika's Candraprabhā, p. 378).

(16) Desc. Cat. of Sans. Mss., A.S.B., pt. I. (Grammar), p. 125.

(17) I.O., p. 221. But see Journal of Indian History, Madras, Vol. XII, pp. 6-16. The learned Doctor, however, confused the two Jaṭādharas and arrived at the date of the author on wrong grounds. The present Jaṭādhara was not a contemporary of Rāyamukuṭa.

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in a single fragmentary Ms. preserved in Germany and there is a photographic reproduction at Madras. All our knowledge about this extremely rare book is derived from Kielhorn, who has given us a list of the authorities cited therein.[18] It is curious that the enormous absurdity of the very supposition that the Bhaṭṭikāvya could be cited by a giant scholar like Bhartṛhari does not strike the writer. Kramadīśvara's indebtedness to Bhartṛhari has been explained by H. P. Śāstrī—the different Pādas of the former's grammar follow the order of the Kāṇḍas of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya.[19]

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

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(18) Ind. Ant., Vol. III, pp. 226-27.

(19) Desc. Cat. of Sans. Mss., A.S.B., Vol. VI. (Grammar), Intr. p. lxi.

YUVARĀJA DIVĀKARA

In the *Indian Culture,* January, 1940, p. 355, Mr. N. N. Das Gupta refers to a Yuvarāja Divākara, a verse of whose occurs in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa (1205 A.D.), and says, "... was Viśvarūpasena (son of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal), who figures in the inscriptions as a devout worshipper of the Sun *(Divākara),* popularly known as Divākara before his accession?" In this connection, however, attention of the learned scholar may be drawn to the Yuvarāja Divākarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. This prince was the son of king Rudrasena II from Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Candragupta II (c. 375-414 A.D.). Rudrasena II died when Yuvarāja Divākara was a minor, and Prabhāvatī ruled the kingdom in her son's name. The seal of the Poona grant *(Ep. Ind.,* XV, p. 41 f) records,

वाकाटक-ललामस्य क्रमप्राप्त-नृपश्रियः।
ज्ञनन्या युवराजस्य शासनं रिपुशासनम्॥

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Yuvarāja Divākarasena is known to have been succeeded by his younger brothers, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II. We know nothing about the literary activity of Divākarasena ; but his brother Pravarasena II is credited by many scholars with the authorship of the *Setubandha.* In my opinion, it is better to identify Yuvarāja Divākara of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* with the Vākāṭaka prince of that name. All authors quoted by Śrīdharadāsa were not Bengalis, nor were all of them contemporaries of the anthologist.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

THE BENGAL DRAMATIST RĀMACANDRA GUHA

Our thanks are due to Mr. N. N. Das Gupta for bringing into prominent notice of scholars the name of the above dramatist of Bengal, noticed in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library,* Tanjore.[1] (pp. 3354-7) Prof. P. P. S. Śāstrī, the editor of the *Catalogue,* says that the author was a native of Bengal.[2] He has, apparently, arrived at this conclusion from the fact that the poet's father, Śrīharṣa, was the prime minister of the lord of Gauḍa. But his family surname of 'Guha' has escaped the notice of Doctors Burnell, Aufrecht and Śāstrī, but not of Mr. Das Gupta. He has rightly pointed out that the author's surname shows that he belonged to the *Kulīn* Kāyastha family of Bengal.[3] We shall give here some further information about the poet, i.e. his family, his time, his patron, and his other works.

The author in the prologue to his drama has given the following account of himself and of his patron :—

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1. *Indian Culture,* Vol. II., pp. 776-7.
2. *Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. of S. Mahāl of Tanjore,* Vol. VIII., p. XXXI.
3. *Op. cit.*

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"माभैषीः कमले भृशं विकिरति श्रीरामचन्द्रप्रभु-
स्त्वामित्यम्ब तवास्ति पूरणकरः सर्वो नृपाणां गणः।
भ्राता ते विधुरन्बुधिः किल पिता पीतः परे पूर्य्यते
मायावी न स कृष्ण एव हृदये यस्त्वां चिरं धास्यति ॥ १ ॥"

तस्य चक्रवर्त्तिनः सम्यगानन्दाय भगवत्व्यासपादप्रणीत ययातिचरित्रमाश्रित्य गुहवंशनभस्तलैकहंस-गौड़ेन्द्रमहामात्य-कवि-पण्डित-प्राप्तविश्वासखानपदवी-श्रीहर्ष-पद्माभिधेयानामात्मजस्य[4] रामचन्द्रकवेर्विरचना नवीनमैन्दवानन्दनाम नाटकमेतदाराधनार्थं मह्यम भिरोचते। तत्र विमृशतु भवान्।"

(Des. Cat. of Sans. Mss. in Tanjore S. Mahāl Library, Vol. VII. p. 3355).

"O mother Kamalā (the goddess of Wealth) be not afraid of that the Lord Śrī-Rāmacandra is scattering you so lavishly, for there are numbers of tributary kings, who will replenish you. Your brother, the Moon, your father, the Ocean, both were quaffed but were made full again. He is not the deceitful Kṛṣṇa, (but Rāmacandra), who holds you to his breast for ever.

For the complete delectation of this emperor, it is our desire to stage the new drama called the *Aindavānanda,* based on the story of Yayāti, as related by the adorable Vyāsa and composed by poet Rāmacandra, the son of Śrīharṣa, the only swan or sun of the firmament of the Guha family, the prime minister of the lord of Gauḍa, the poet, the scholar, who obtained the title of 'Viśvāsa Khān'; and Padmā. It is for your consideration."

A genealogy of the author is recorded in the *kulaji* of the Vaṅgaja section of the Bengal Kāyasthas,[5] from which it appears that our author was two generations earlier than Mahārājā Pratāpāditya (1584-1611 A.D.)[6] His approximate time thus comes to 1534-1561 A.D.

From the account given, it appears that the name of the patron of Rāmacandra was also Rāmacandra, who was a *Cakravartin* king, having several rulers under him, and that he was a prodigal person.

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4. The original text has 'prāpta-Viśvāsa-sthāna-padavīka-Śrīharṣa-padābhidheyānām-ātmajasya'. *Sthāna* is no doubt a scribe's mistake for *khāna,* as the genealogy shows. Similarly *Padavīka* is a mistake for *padavī.* The correct reading of *padā* is *pāda* or Padmā. We think Padmā was the name of the mother of the poet.

5. *Kāyastha Jātir Itihāsa* (Vaṅgaja-Samāj), Vasu-Vaṁśa. Pt. I. pp. 1. 2 & 4.

6. *Yaśohar-Khulnār Itihāsa,* Appendix A.

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Who could have been this king Rāmacandra? We know of a king Rāmacandra of Bāḳlā-Candradvīpa. But he was a great-grand-son of king Paramānanda, the poet's contemporary, and son-in-law of Mahārājā Pratāpāditya, who was two generations later than the poet. So this Rāmacandra of Bāklā canot be the patron of the poet. We, however, find that at about this time there were two kings of the name Rāmacandra in Orissa. One was the elder son of Mukundadeva Haricandana, the last independent Hindu king of Orissa. He was known as the Teliṅgā king. The other Rāmacandra was of the Bhoi dynasty and a rival of the first Rāmacandra.[7] Our poet's patron might have been either of these two Rāmacandras, more probably the first.

The political condition of Bengal at this time lends support to our surmise. The Sūr dynasty ruled in Bengal from 1552 to 1563 A.D. Poet's father Śrīharṣa Viśvāsa Khān, and probably also the poet himself, as his designation Majumdar indicates, served under this Sūr dynasty. The year 1562 A.D., saw the fall of the Sūr dynasty and the rise of the Kararāni dynasty in Gauḍa. R. D. Banerji says that Mukunda Haricandana of Orissa (1559-68 A.D.) by his "defeat of the Musalman army in the campaign for the restoration of Raghu Bhañja Choṭa Rāya and the succour to Ibrahim Khān Sūr made Sulaimān Kararāni of Bengal an inveterate enemy" of himself.[8] Our poet was partisan of the Sūr dynasty, and naturally enough did not find favour with the Kararānis. So he went over to the side of Mukundadeva, the enemy of the Kararānis. We are tempted to think that not only our poet, but king Paramānanda also might have fled for a time to Orissa. We find that one Paramānanda Rāya was sent by Mukundadeva as his envoy to the court of Akbar. This Paramānanda virtually became independent, for he had entered into a treaty with a foreign power, and was, therefore, anticipating some attack from his overlord. He might have gone to Orissa to seek the help of Mukundadeva, against Sulaiman Kararāni of Gauḍa, and in undertaking this mission to Delhi, he might have had the intention of pushing his own interests, too. Whatever that might be, our poet probably took service under Mukundadeva, and after his demise in 1568 A.D., he served under his son Rāmacandra. He must have, therefore, composed his work in Orissa some time after 1568 A.D. This might be one of the reasons why no copy of this work has up till now been discovered in Bengal.

Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of*

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7. *History of Orissa*, by R. D. Banerji Vol. I., p. 348.
8. *Ibid*, p. 343.

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Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, has noticed a medical work named *Rasendra-cintāmaṇi* by one Rāmacandra Guha. The name of Rāmacandra is very common, but there may not be many scholars of the name of Rāmacandra Guha. But at present we have no evidence beyond this similarity of names to connect the two.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

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REVIEWS

MEGHADŪTA (Le Nuage Messager), poème élégiaque de Kālidāsa; Traduit et Annoté par R. H. Assier de Pompignan. En Appendice: Ṛtusaṁhāra (Les Saisons), poème descriptif attribué à Kālidāsa. Collection Emile Senart; Paris 1938.

This is the fifth volume of the Collection Emile Senart published by the *Institut de Civilisation Indienne de l'Université de Paris,* the chief purpose of which, to judge by the hitherto published volumes, is to provide the French public with the text (and translation) of some of the most important and representative but short works of the Sanskrit literature. That the Meghadūta should be included in such a collection is obvious. Mr. Pompignan has wisely refrained from indulging in fruitless speculations on the familiar problems attaching to the Meghadūta which will perhaps never be satisfactorily solved. But he has rightly mentioned the chief problems in his short Introduction. There are some typographical mistakes in the transcribed text, and the translation, though correct, sounds rather flat. Surely a translation of the Meghadūta in the infinitely subtle French language should have been more poetic.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

VARĀṄGACARITAM of Jaṭā-Siṁhanandin, edited for the first time by Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., Māṇikyacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā No. 40; Bombay, 1938.

It is not everyday that a reviewer has the opportunity to comment on a work of this kind—a work whose place in the history of Sanskrit literature is assured the very day it sees the light of day. The erudite editor is to be congratulated on the successful termination of his arduous task. The Varāṅgacarita is a didactic Mahākāvya in thirty-one cantos by the Jaina Jaṭāsiṁhanandin who should have lived in the eighth century A.D. at the latest as the learned editor has conclusively proved. Following—consciously or unconsciously?—in the foot-teps of Aśvaghoṣa, Siṁhanandin has tried to present in a popular form the abstruse doctrines of the Jaina philosophy with the story of a

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popular hero as the background. But the hero is thrust so far back that whole Cantos do not even mention him : it is quite evident that Simhanandin was interested more in Jaina dogmatics than in Kāvya. But the philosophical discussions are carried on in the true Jaina spirit of Anekāntavāda : everything is criticised, but nothing is condemned downright, for to the Jaina untruth is but misconception. From a purely literary point of view too the Varāṅgacarita can hold its own against many well-known Sanskrit Kāvyas, though the whole plan of the work is unmistakably like that of a Purāṇa. Thus we have in the Varāṅgacarita a didactic Mahākāvya by a Jaina erudite written after Purāṇic models. As to be expected, the language of Simhanandin is often unorthodox, showing Prākritic learnings.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

ṚGVEDAVYĀKHYĀ Mādhavakṛtā, edited by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon.); Adyar Library, 1939.

The editor says at the end of his short preface : "Until some more manuscripts of the work become available, it is not possible to give a good edition of the work." This shows that Dr. Kunhan Raja considers this to be a bad edition. But can the senseless print of a hopelessly corrupt manuscript claim to be any edition at all? One can hardly find two consecutive coherent sentences in any part of this corrupt commentary printed with extreme unction. It is difficult to believe one's own eyes when one reads, for instance :— कवी ना। कवि नो मिवावरुणौ। तुविजातौ अनेकदजननौ। अहोरात्रात्मकतुयत् etc. (p. 13). This stuff we have for 472 pages! Surely an editor has every right to rush to print if publishers are willing to pay, but in cases like this he should at least be more liberal with Dr. Raja's abnegatory confession : "the entire passage is unintelligible."

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DIE LEGENDEN DES NĀ. RO. PA von Albert Grünwedel ; Otto Harrassowitz ; Leipzig, 1933.

This is a strange Tibetan text on necromancy edited with the thoroughness of scholarship guaranteed by the name of Grünwedel, the highest authority on Lamaism. Only a Tibetologist can appreciate and fittingly review this book, the importance of which will be understood from the fact that the author's chief thesis is to show that northern Buddhism was influenced by doctrines of Manichaean mysteries. To judge by the parallel German translation, however, the Legends of Na. ro. pa seems to be a weird tale of extravagant fancy, penetrated by the sordid mysticism of Vajrayāna. The whole Tibetan text is given in transcription, and there is a valuable glossary.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

LE CADUCEE ET LA SYMBOLIQUE DRAVIDIENNE INDO-MEDITERRANEENNE, de l'arbre, de la pierre, du serpent et de la déesse-mère, par J. Boulnois, avec préface de G. Jouveau-Dubreuil ; Adrien-Maisonneuve ; Paris, 1939.

The Courageous author of this little book of 171 pages has tried to establish on ethnological grounds the prehistoric existence of a Dravido-Mediterranean Culture. Androgynic symbolism of every sort, as well the cult of the mother goddess in relation to tree and serpent worship, is traced by the author back to this hypothetical culture, the elements of which are found *in identical combinations* in his opinion in all the countries from India to the Mediterranean including Iran, Mesopotamia, Egypt and even interior Africa. But the author, who is an amateur ethnologist, wisely admits that these similarities might after all indicate nothing more than the same stage of primitive culture at a certain time in all these countries, though isolated relics of it have survived to the present day in each of them.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.

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EARLY BUDDHIST JURISPRUDENCE, by Durga N. Bhagvat, M.A., publishers: Oriental Book Agency, Poona; Introduction+pp. 190+Bibliography+Index.

A word of welcome must be offered on the appearance of this little book by Miss Durga N. Bhagvat, quite a new comer to the field Buddhistic studies, yet whose writing brings to bear ample proof of her turning to be an excellent Pali scholar, if placed under agreeable circumstances.

The pages, well documented, deal with the body of the *Vinaya* injunctions and prohibitions meant for the guidance of the members of the *Saṁgha,* and are divided into nine chapters of which the first is a discourse on *Early Monachism* and the last treats of *Woman under the Vinaya,* the other chapters mostly appertaining to a critical study of the *Vinaya* laws from various points of view, such as their origin, nature, evolution, promulgation, etc. The legal aspects of the religion of the Buddha have indeed a great value of their own, and we must agree with the authoress when she says, "it is the laws that chiefly regulated the life of the inmates of the fraternity. And unless the laws are properly understood the study of Buddhist monachism will remain incomplete." Miss Bhagvat, however, modestly denies all claim for her book to be a comprehensive one. But the very efforts towards condensing facts by eliminating unnecessary and tedious details have rendered the perusal of the book, almost a pioneer of its kind, all the more interesting. Most entertaining is the last chapter which contains much that is informative regarding the *Bhikṣuṇīs.*

It is Dr. E. J. Thomas who has written the *Foreword* of the work, which deserves to be in the hands of all lovers of the history of Buddhism.

N. N. Das Gupta.

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Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., 170, Maniktala Street, Calcutta, and Printed by G. C. Sen, B. Com., The Sree Bharatee Press, 170, Maniktala Street, Calcutta.

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Section II—SPAṢṬĀDHIKĀRA
(Dealing with the True Places of the Planets)

By N. K. MAJUMDER

In the last Section the mean motions of the planets have been dealt with. But the position of a planet so calculated does not generally coincide with the position of the planet as observed. The difference of the longitudes (i.e., the angle of difference) of the two positions (mean, and true according to observation) is called the Equation of Centre (Equation of Position, according to Burgess); when the whole of this angle of difference is calculated and applied to the mean position, positively or negatively as the case may be, the corrected position of the planet must coincide with the true position as observed. The object of this Section is to determine this correction.

In Indian Astronomy, the calculation of this correction, or of the angle of difference called the Equation of Centre, is based on the following theory.

A *Mandocca** (apex of slowest motion) is assumed for each planet, and this *Mandocca* attracts the planet towards itself according to a certain law to be explained later. A *Śīghrocca** (apex of quickest motion) is also assumed for every planet except the Sun and the Moon, and it also attracts the planet towards itself. The deviation of the true planet from the mean position is due to these attractions. For the Sun and the Moon there is, according to Indian Astronomy, generally only one correction *(Manda* correction), but we shall see later on that *Muñjāla* introduces a second correction for the Moon and he seems to have been the first of the Indian astronomers to do so. The complete correction for the other planets is a combination of the two *(Manda* and *Śīghra)* corrections indicated above.

The planets and their *Mandoccas* and *Śīghroccas* all move from west to east among the stars (which are fixed) in the heavens. Their positions or longitudes are measured eastwards from some fixed point

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*For an identification of *Mandocca* and *Śīghrocca* with the terms (Apsis and Conjunction respectively) of modern Astronomy and a comparison of this theory of planetary motion with the modern theory, I would refer the reader to the excellent exposition given by Burgess in his translation of *Sūryyasiddhānta* and by Sen Gupta in his *Khaṇḍakhādyaka,* Appendix III.

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or star in the heavens. The mean planet moves faster than the *Mandocca,* and the *Śīghrocca* moves faster than the mean planet. Because each *Ucca (Mandocca* or *Śīghrocca)* draws the mean planet towards itself, the effect of such attraction is to reduce the angle between the *Ucca* and the planet in every case ; but, since the planet is ahead of *Mandocca,* the effect of the *Mandocca* is to diminish or increase the mean logitude of the planet according as the mean planet has moved less than or more than six signs from the *Mandocca* (see Diagram I); while, because the *Śīghrocca* is ahead of the mean planet, the effect of the *Śīghrocca* is to increase or diminish such longitude according as the *Śīghrocca* has moved less than or more than six signs from the mean planet (see Diagram II).

This general theory must be further amplified by the enunciation of two theories, alternative to one another, on which is based the actual calculation of the amount of correction or the Equation of Centre. These theories are called the Eccentric Theory and the Epicyclic Theory, and both lead to the same results.

According to the Eccentric Theory, the mean planet is supposed to move in a geo-centric circular orbit (i.e. in a circle with the Earth or the Observer in the centre) with mean motion, and the true planet to move with the same mean motion in the same direction along an equal circle, called the Eccentric *(Parimaṇḍala* or *Prativṛtta),* whose centre is, however, away and at a distance from the centre of the geocentric circle (called Concentric or *Kakṣyāvṛtta* in relation to the Eccentric), the *Ucca* lying in a straight line joining the two centres (Diagrams I and II). The distance between the two centres (of the Concentric and the Eccentric) varies for different planets and for different positions of the same planet, and are defined for the planets and their different positions.

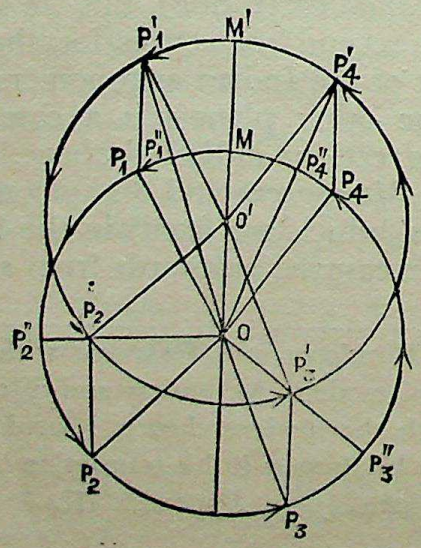

Diagram I.—Explaining the Eccentric Theory for the effect of the *Mandocca.*

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In Diagram I, $MP_1P_2P_3P_4$ is the Concentric (i.e. geo-centric Orbit, with the Earth or the Observer O at the centre) in which the mean planet is supposed to move with the mean motion in the counter-clockwise direction (eastwards). OM is the direction of the *Mandocca,* and M may be considered to be the *Mandocca* lying on this circle (Concentric). $M'P_1'P_2'P_3'P_4'$ is the Eccentric, with the same radius as the Concentric and with centre at O′, in which the true planet is supposed to move from M′, the position of *Mandocca* in this circle, in the same (counter-clockwise) direction with the same mean motion, and, therefore, for different positions (four such positions are shown, one in each quadrant) P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4 of the mean planet on the Concentric and the corresponding positions P'_1, P'_2, P'_3, P'_4 of the true planet on the Eccentric,

$$\text{angle } MOP_1 = \text{angle } M'O'P_1',$$
$$\text{angle } MOP_2 = \text{angle } M'O'P_2',$$
$$\text{angle } MOP_3 = \text{angle } M'O'P_3',$$
$$\text{angle } MOP_4 = \text{angle } M'O'P_4'.$$

Since OP and O′P′ are equal and parallel, P_1P_1' is equal and parallel to OO′, and similarly P_2P_2', P_3P_3', P_4P_4' are equal and parallel to OO′. When the mean planet is at P_1 in the Concentric, the true planet is at P_1' in the Eccentric, and thus appears to the Observer at O in the direction OP_1'' P_1'; the angle between the *Mandocca* M and the mean planet P_1 (i.e., the longitude of P_1 measured eastwards from a fixed point *less* the longitude of *Mandocca)* is called the *Manda Kendra* (anomaly). As the mean planet is at P_1 and the true planet is seen in the direction OP_1'', to get the direction of the true planet it is necessary to calculate the angle MOP_1'' from the *Kendra* MOP_1. Now, angle MOP_1 – angle MOP_1'' = angle P_1OP_1'' and, therefore, if the angle P_1OP_1'' can be determined, we can determine the direction in which the true planet lies. This angle P_1OP_1'' is called the Equation of Centre. Similarly, for the positions P_2, P_3, P_4, the Equations of Centre are respectively the angles P_2OP_2'', P_3OP_3'', P_4OP_4''.

It will also be seen from this Diagram that the positions P_1'', P_2'', P_3'', P_4'' of the true planet in the Concentric are nearer to the *Mandocca* than the mean positions P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4, respectively in the same circle. This is why it was said that the *Mandocca* attracts the mean planet towards itself.

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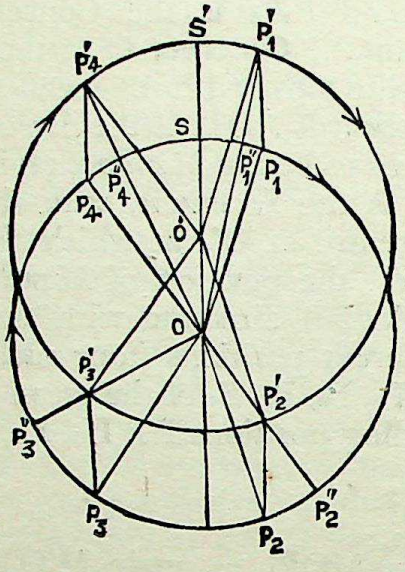

Diagram II.—Explaining the Eccentric Theory for the effect of the *Śīghrocca.*

In Diagram II, the same eccentric theory is explained in relation to the *Śīghrocca* (instead of the *Mandocca).* The *Śīghrocca* moves (eastwards) faster than the planet and, therefore, with the relative velocity in a counter-clockwise direction if the planet is considered stationary; if, on the other hand, the *Śīghrocca* is considered stationary, the planet will move backwards (i.e., in the clockwise direction) with the relative motion. For similarity with Diagram I, the *Śīghrocca* has been considered stationary in Diagram II, OO'SS' being the direction of the *Śīghrocca* from the Observer at O and the *Śīghrocca* lying in the straight line joining O and O', the centres of the Concentric and the Eccentric. P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4 are the positions of the mean planet (moving in the clockwise direction relatively to the *Śīghrocca)* in the first, second, third and fourth quadrants respectively from the *Śīghrocca,* and P_1', P_2', P_3', P_4' are the corresponding positions of the true planet in the Eccentric, the true planet being seen by the Observer at O in the directions $OP_1''P_1'$, $OP_2''P_2'$, $OP_3''P_3'$, $OP_4''P_4'$ respectively.

It is evident from the Diagram that the mean planet is in every case attracted by and towards the *Śīghrocca.*

In either case (i.e., whether determining the *Manda* or the *Śīghra* Equation of Centre), *Muñjāla* defines *Kendra* to be the longitude of the mean planet *less* the longitude of the *Ucca (Mandocca* or *Śīghrocca,* as the case may be). Now, for the positions P_1 and P_2 in Diagram I, and P_3 and P_4 in Diagram II, the *Kendra* as defined above is *less than six signs,* and in all these cases the longitude of the mean planet has to be reduced by the Equatation of Centre as determined; while for the positions P_3 and P_4 in Diagram I and P_1 and P_2 in Diagram II,

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the *Kendra* as defined above is *more than six signs,* and in these cases, as we have seen, the longitude of the mean planet has to be increased by the Equation of Centre.

Thus, *Muñjāla* has been able to state the definitions and the results in a very general way. According to him,

(i) *Kendra*=longitude of mean planet *less* longitude of *Ucca,* and

(ii) Equation of Centre is positive or negative, according as *Kendra* is greater or less than six signs.

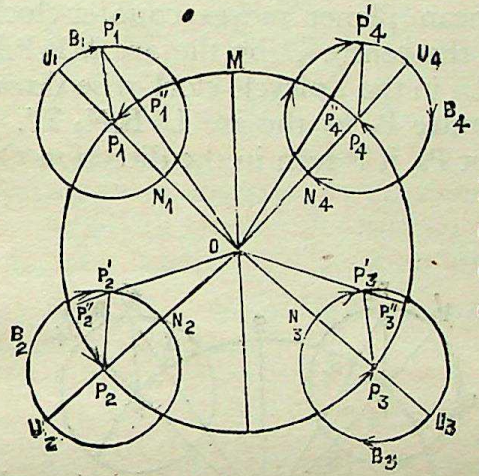

Diagram III.—Explaining the Epicyclic Theory for the effect of the *Mandocca.*

In Diagrams III and IV, the Epicyclic Theory is explained. According to this theory, the mean planet moves in a geo-centric circular orbit, with the Earth or the Observer in the centre ; this geocentric circle (the Concentric in the Eccentric Theory) is called Deferent in this theory. The true planet moves in a circle (called the Epicycle or *Nīcoccavṛtta)* with the mean planet as centre. The circumference of this circle, in relation to the Deferent, is defined for each planet and for different positions of the same planet. As a matter of fact, the radius of this Epicycle is equal to the distance between O and O′, the centres of the Concentric and the Eccentric in the other theory.

In Diagram III, M is the position of the *Mandocca* in the Deferent. The mean planet moves (eastwards) faster than the *Mandocca,* and P_1, P_2, P_3, P_4 are the positions of the mean planet in the first, second, third and fourth quadrants respectively. As the mean planet moves away (counter-clockwise) from the *Mandocca* to P_1, describing the angle MOP_1, the true planet moves in the Epicycle

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(Nīcocca-vṛtta) from the *Ucca* point U_1 to P_1' in the opposite (clockwise) direction with the same motion, describing thte angle $U_1P_1P_1'$ which is exactly equal to the angle MOP_1 described by the mean planet in the Deferent during the same time ; and the true planet is seen by the Observer at O in the direction OP_1'' P_1'. At P_2, the mean planet has moved from M (counter-clockwise) through the angle MOP_2, and the true planet has moved from U_2 in the clockwise direction through the equal angle $U_2P_2P_2'$. At P_3, the mean planet has moved counter-clockwise in the Deferent through the angle subtended at the centre O by the arc $MP_1P_2P_3$, and the true planet has moved clockwise from U_3 in the Epicycle through an equal angle subtended at the centre P_3 by the arc $U_3B_3N_3P_3'$. Similarly, at P_4, the mean planet moves counter-clockwise through an angle subtended at the centre O by the arc $MP_1P_2P_3P_4$, and the true planet moves from U_4 in the Epicycle clock-wise through an equal angle subtended at the centre P_4 by the are $U_4B_4N_4P_4'$. When the mean planet is at P_2, P_3, or P_4, it is seen in the direction $OP_2''P_2'$, $OP_3''P_3'$ or $OP_4''P_4'$.

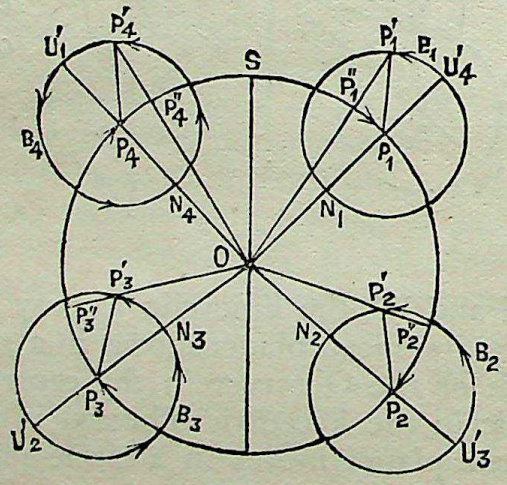

Diagram IV.— Explaining the Epicyclic Theory for the effect of the *Śīghrocca*.

Diagram IV deals with the same eyicyclic theory, but with the Equation of Centre due to *Śīghrocca*. S is the position of the *Śīghrocca* in the Deferent. As *Śīghrocca* moves faster than the mean planet, the mean planet is supposed to have a relative motion backwards (i.e. clockwise), taking different positions P_1, P_2, P_3, and P_4, in the four quadrants ; the true planet simultaneously moves in the Epicycle from the *Ucca* point U' in the opposite (counter-clockwise) direction with the same motion, and the true positions are observed in the directions $OP_1''P_1'$, $OP_2''P_2'$, $OP_3''P_3'$ and $OP_4''P_4'$ respectively.

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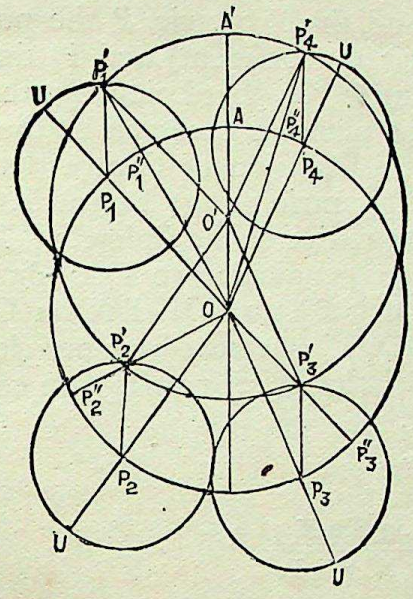
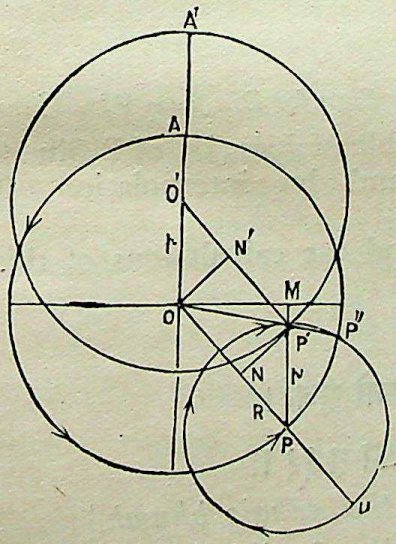


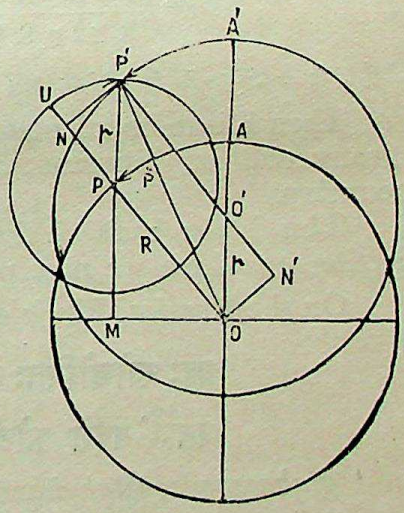
Diagram V.—Comparing the Eccentric and the Epicyclic Theories.

Diagram V illustrates a comparison of the two theories, by showing the Concentric, the Eccentric and the Epicycle together, and showing how the two theories lead to the same results.

Diagram VI.—Showing the method of numerical calculation of the Equation of Centre.



(b) When the Mean Planet is in the third quadrant eastwards from the *Ucca.*



(a) When the Mean Planet is in the firstquadrant eastwards from *Ucca.*

Diagram VI shows how the Equation of Centre is to be actually calculated under either theory. Let A and A' be the positions of

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the *Ucca* in the Concentric and the Eccentric, P the position of the mean planet in the Concentric (or Deferent) and P′ the position of the true planet in the Eccentric (or the Epicycle); then OP″P′ is the direction in which the true planet is observed by the Observer at O, and the angle POP″ is the Equation of Centre (let us call, E). Let R be the radius of the Concentric or the Eccentric, and let OO′ be p, which is also equal to the radius of the Epicycle. Let OM be a diameter of the Concentric perpendicular to OA; draw perpendiculars PM (which passes through P′) on OM, P′N on OP, and ON′ on P′O′. The angles AOP, A′O′P′ (measured counterclockwise from A and A′) and UPP′ (measured clockwise from U) are equal. Then, angle AOP being *Kendra* (K),

$$\text{R Sin E} = \text{R Sin} \angle \text{POP}''$$

$$= \text{R.}\ \frac{\text{NP}'}{\text{OP}'} = \frac{\text{R. p Sin K}}{\sqrt{\text{O N}^2 + \text{N P}'^2}}$$

$$= \frac{\text{p. R Sin K}}{\sqrt{(\text{O P} \pm \text{P N})^2 + \text{N P}'^2}}$$

$$= \frac{\text{p. R Sin K}}{\sqrt{(\text{R} \pm \text{p Cos K})^2 + (\text{p Sin K})^2}}$$

$$= \frac{\text{p. R Sin K}}{\sqrt{\text{R}^2 \pm 2\ \text{p R Cos K} + \text{p}^2}}$$

[*The + Sign is for Diagram VI (a) and the − Sign for Diagram VI (b)*]

Then E is to be calculated from the Table of *Jyās* (i.e. of R Sin ϕ constructed for different values of ϕ) and by interpolation, if necessary.

This is the basis of the statements and the calculations of this Section, to which we now proceed.

On the *Kendra, Bhuja and Koti* —

ग्रहः स्वोच्चोनितः केन्द्रं षड्ऊर्धाधोऽर्धजो भुजः।
धनर्णं पदशः कोटी धनर्णधनात्मिका ॥ ११ ॥

graha svocconitah kendram ṣadūrdhādho' rdhajo bhujah |
dhanarṇam padaśah kotī dhanarṇadhanātmikā || 11 ||

11. The (position or longitude of the) Planet less (that of) its *Ucca* (Apogee) is the *Kendra* (Anomaly) (from which is derived the *Bhuja);* the *Bhujas* derived from the half circle above and the half

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circle below six signs are respectively positive and negative ; while the *Koti* is positive, negative, negative, positive in the successive (first, second, third and fourth) quadrants.

Notes.—(1) In *Laghumānasa* there is a common definition of *Kendra* for both *Manda* and *Śīghra* operations : In either case, the *Kendra* or Anomaly is obtained by deducting the Longitude of the *Ucca (Mandocca* or *Śīghrocca)* from the Longitude of the Planet. This has enabled the author to state the nature of the correction in such general terms as to be applicable in both the cases : such correction is to be added to or deducted from the *Kendra,* and therefore added to or deducted from the longitude of the mean Planet, according as the *Kendra* as defined does or does not exceed six signs.

Compare the modern *Sūryya-Siddhānta, Spaṣṭādhikāra,* verses 29 and 45 :

ग्रहं संशोध्य मन्दोच्चात्तथा शीघ्राद्विशोध्य च ।
शेषं केन्द्रपदं तस्माद्भुजज्या कोटिरेव च ॥ २९ ॥
अजादिकेन्द्रे सर्वेषां शैघ्रे मान्दे च कर्मणि ।
धनं ग्रहाणां लिप्तादि तुलादावृणमेव च ॥ ४५ ॥

Here also a common definition is given for the *Kendra,* obtained by deducting the Longitude of the Planet from that of the *Ucca,* instead of deducting the Longitude of the *Ucca* from that of the Planet as in *Laghumānasa ;* and this common definition of the *Kendra* has enabled the author to give one common rule for the application of the correction for both *Manda* and *Śīghra* operations, as in *Laghumānasa,* but, on account of the difference in definition of the *Kendra* from that of *Laghumānasa,* the correction will be positive or negative according as the *Kendra* does not or does exceed six signs.

Compare, on the other hand, the following :—

Brāhmasphutasiddhānta, Spaṣṭādhikāra, v. 12 :

मध्याद्विशोध्य मन्दं शीघ्रात् संशोध्य मध्यमं केन्द्रम् ।

Śiṣya-dhi-vṛddhida, Spaṣṭādhikāra, v. 10 :

ग्रहो मृदुच्चेन चलोच्चमूनितं
ग्रहेण केन्द्रं कथितं तदाह्वयम् ।
त्रिभिस्त्रिभिः केन्द्रगृहैः पदं क्रमा-
द्द्युग्मयुग्मे भुजकोटि संज्ञिते ॥ १० ॥

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Siddhānta-Śekhara, Sphuṭādhyāya, v. 12 :

खेचरो निजमृदूच्चवर्जितः
खेचरेण च चलोच्चमूनितम् ।
केन्द्रमुक्तमृषिभिस्तदाह्वयं
तद्गृहैः खलु पदं त्रिभिस्त्रिभिः ॥ १२ ॥

Siddhānta-Śiromaṇī, Spaṣṭādhikāra, v. 18 :

मृदुच्चेन हीनो ग्रहो मन्दकेन्द्रं
चलोच्चं ग्रहोनं भवेच्छीघ्रकेन्द्रम् ।
तुलाजादिकेन्द्रे फलं स्वर्णमेवं
मृदु ज्ञैयमस्माद् विलोमं च शीघ्रम् ॥ १८ ॥

In all these cases, on account of the different definitions of the *Kendra* for *Manda* and *Śīghra* operations, the authors have to give different rules for the application of the *Manda* and *Śīghra* corrections to the corresponding *Kendras* and to the corresponding longitudes of the mean planets.

(2) A circle is divided by two perpendicular diameters into four quadrants *(padas).* As a circle is also divided into 12 signs or 360 degrees, each quadrant is equal to 3 signs or 90 degrees. We have seen that *Laghumānasa* adopts the convention of negative and positive signs for the "sine" funciton in the first and second halves respectviely of a circle, which is contrary to the modern convention, but *Sūryya-Siddhānta* adopts the modern convention with regard to the sign of the "sine" function ; in these cases, a particular necessity dictates the assumption of one convention or the other. For the "cosine" function, however, *Laghumānasa* adopts the modern convention, the signs being positive, negative, negative and positive for the first, second, third and fourth quadrants respectively.

(3) Whatever be the magnitude of an angle, whether it is less than or greater than a right angle or two or three right angles, the trigonometrical functions are determined from some corresponding acute angle. The term *bhuja* in Indian Mathematics approximates to the idea of this corresponding acute angle. In Indian Mathematics, the "sine" of any angle is the "sine" of the corresponding *bhuja,* and the "cosine" is the "sine" of the complement of the *bhuja* (i.e., 90°— *bhuja).* This is more fully defined in the next verse. If the angle is an acute angle, the *bhuja* is the angle itself ; if the angle is greater

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than a right angle, the *bhuja* is the supplement of the angle *(i.e.,* 180° —angle); if the angle lies between two and three right angles, the *bhuja* is the excess of the angle over two right angles (i.e., angle—180°); and, if the angle lies between three and four right angles, the *bhuja* is the difference between four right angles and the angle (i.e., 360°—angle). The *Jyā* ("sine") of an angle in Indian Mathematics is defined to be the Radius of the circle in which the angle is measured multiplied by the trigonometrical Sine of the angle. The terms *Bhuja-jyā* and *Kotijyā* therefore imply the Sine of the *Bhuja* and the Sine of the *Koti,* multiplied by the Radius. The terms *Bhujajyā* and *Kotijyā* are also shortly termed *Bhuja* (or *Bāhu)* and *Koti* respectively.

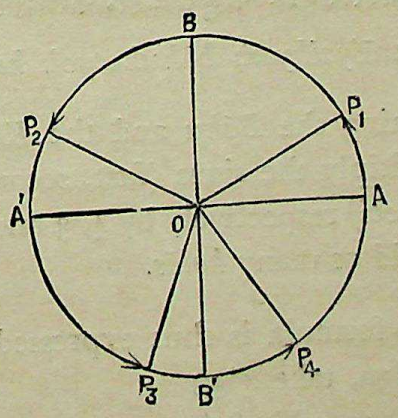
On the *Bhuja-jyā* and *Koti-jyā* —

ओजे पदे गतैष्याभ्यां बाहुकोटी समेऽन्यथा । ११$\frac{1}{2}$ ।

oje pade gataiṣyābhyāṁ bāhukoṭi same'nyathā | 11$\frac{1}{2}$ |

11$\frac{1}{2}$. In odd quadrants, the *Bāhu* (i.e. *Bhujajyā)* and the *Koti* (i.e. *Kotijyā)* are defined by (or derived from, i.e. are *Jyā* of, or Radius multiplied by Sine of) the angle passed over *(gata)* and the angle to be passed over *(aiṣya)* respectively. In even quadrants, it is the reverse.

Notes.—(1) *Bāhu* is *Jyā* of *Bhuja,* and *Koti* is *Jyā* of *Koti.* The methods indicated here for determining the *Bhujajyā* and *Koti-jyā* agree with the modern methods for the determination of trigonometrical sines and cosines. Thus, in Diagram VII, if ∠ AOP_1, ∠ AOP_2, ∠ AOP_3, and ∠ AOP_4, be four angles lying respectively in the four quadrants, the angles being formed by OP moving from OA in the counterclockwise direction,



Second Quadrant
(Even = सम)

First Quadrant
(Odd = ओज)

Third Quadrant
(Odd = ओज)

Fourth Quadrant
(Even = सम)

Diagram VII

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for $\angle AOP_1$ (<1 rt.$\angle$), *Bhuja*$= \angle AOP_1$, *Koti*$= \angle BOP_1$;
for $\angle AOP_2$ (>1 rt.$\angle$), *Bhuja*$= \angle A'OP_2$, *Koti*$= \angle BOP_2$;
for $\angle AOP_3$ (>2 rt.$\angle$s), *Bhuja*$= \angle A'OP_3$, *Koti*$= \angle B'OP_3$;
and for $\angle AOP_4$ (>3 rt. $\angle$s), *Bhuja*$= \angle AOP_4$ (<1 rt. $\angle$), *Koti*$= \angle B'OP_4$.

If the angle be called θ, then –

if θ lies in the	1st. quadrant	2nd. quadrant	3rd. quadrant	4th.quadrant
Jyā θ =	R sin θ	R sin $(180-\theta)$	R sin $(\theta-180)$	R sin $(360-\theta)$
Kotijā θ =	R sin $(90-\theta)$	R sin $(\theta-90)$	R sin $(270-\theta)$	R sin $(\theta-270$

(2) In Indian Mathematics, the other trigonometrical elements are thus defined :

(a) *Jyā* of 3 signs or of 90 degrees or of a quadrant is the Radius. It is called *Tri-jyā.*

(b) *Trijyā* – *Bhujajyā* = *Utkramajyā* of *Koti*,
Trijyā – *Kotijyā* = *Utkramajyā* of *Bhuja*,
R x *Bhujajyā*/*Kotijyā* = Length of Tangent at *Bhuja*-end.
R x *Kotijyā*/*Bhujajyā* = Length of Tangent at *Koti*-end.

These are all expressed as Lengths, which divided by the Radius give the usual trigonometrical ratios.

A Rule for the approximate determination of *Bāhu* and *Koti* numerically –

चतुस्त्र्येकघ्नराश्यैक्यं बाहुकोट्योः कलांशकाः ॥ १२ ॥

Catustryekaghnarāśyaikyaṁ bāhukotyoh kalāṁśakāh || 12 ||

12. In determining the *Bāhu* and the *Koti*, (i.e. the *Bhujajyā* and the *Kotijyā*), multiply the signs (first, second and third signs) of the angle (*Bhuja* or *Koti*) respectively by 4, 3 and 1, and add ; take the sum as degrees and add as many *kalās.*

Notes.–(1) The formula is thus expressed,
for *Jyā* of 1 sign, take $4°4'$;
for *Jyā* of 2 signs, add $3°3'$;
for *Jyā* of 3 signs, also add $1°1'$.

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The result is :—

Angle being	*Jya is*
1 sign or 30 degrees	4°4′ or 244′
2 signs or 60 degrees	7°7′ or 427′
3 signs or 90 degrees	8°8′ or 488′

The *Jyā* of 3 signs or the Radius is thus taken to be 488′, and the *Jyā* of 30 degrees is half of this and therefore 244′.

(2) The *Jyā* of any other angle is to be obtained presumably by interpolation, and will necessarily be very rough.

(3) The three *Jyās* given above may be compared with analogous values given by other writers —

	Jyā 30	Jyā 60	Jyā 90 or Radius
Āryyabhaṭa	1719′	2978′	3438′
Brahmagupta	1635′	2832′	3270′
Paulisa	60′	103′56″	120′
Modern Sūryya Siddhānta	1719′	2978′	3438′
Muñjāla	244′	427′	488′
Śripati	1708′	2958′	3415′
Bhāskarācāryya	1719′	2977′	3438′

It may be observed that *Muñjāla's* value of *Jyā* of 3 signs is one-*seventh* of *Śripati's* value.

(4) Illustration.—To find *Jyā* (1s. 28° 19′).

For 1 sign, take	4° 0′ 0″
For 28° of the second sign, take	2° 48′ 0″
For 19′ of the second sign, take	1′ 54″
Adding,	6° 49′ 54″
Add the same as *Kalās*, etc.	6′ 49″ 54‴
Jyā (1 s. 28° 19′)	6° 56′ 44″

Also *Kotijyā* (1 s. 28° 19′)=*Jyā* (1 s. 1° 41′)=4° 14

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To determine the *Manda* correction to be applied to the position of the mean planet —

सूर्य्याज्जिनाश्विनो (२२४)ऽगाङ्काः (९७)
शरवेदाः (४५) खखेन्दवः (१००) ।
द्व्यङ्काः (९२) खदन्ता (३२०) स्त्रिरसा (६३)
श्छेदाः कोट्यर्धसंस्कृताः ॥ १३ ॥
भुजो लिप्तीकृतश्छेद-
भक्तो ग्रहफलांशकाः । १३ $\frac{1}{2}$ ।

sūryyājjināśvino' gāṅkāḥ śaravedāh khakhendavah |
dvyaṅkāh khadantā strirasā śchedāh koṭyardhasaṁskṛtāh || 13 ||
bhujo liptīkṛta śchedabhakto grahaphalāṁśakāh | 13$\frac{1}{2}$ |

13. (In determining the *Manda* correction to be applied to the mean longitude and the mean motion of a planet), the "Divisor" is 224 for the Sun, 97 for the Moon, 45 for Mars, 100 for Mercury, 92 for Jupiter, 320 for Venus, and 63 for Saturn, each corrected by half *Koti-jyā.*

13$\frac{1}{2}$. The *Bhujajyā* turned into *liptās* and divided by the "Divisor" (defined in the last verse) gives the *Graha-mandaphala* (the *Manda* correction to be applied to the mean longitude of the planet) in *aṁśas* (degrees).

Notes.—(1) The "Divisor" *(cheda)* = $q+\frac{1}{2}$ *Kotijyā,* where q has different values for the different planets, as given below :—

For the Sun	q=224
„ the Moon	q= 97
„ Mars	q= 45
„ Mercury	q=100
„ Jupiter	q= 92
„ Venus	q=320
„ Saturn	q= 63

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(2) *Bhujajyā* converted into *liptās/Cheda=Manda* Equation of Centre in degrees, which, as stated before, is positive or negative according as the *Kendra* does or does not exceed six signs.

(3) We have seen that, if E be the Equation of Centre, R the radius of the Concentric, p the radius of the Epicycle, and K the *Kendra* (Anomaly),

$$R \sin E = R. \frac{P'N}{OP}, \text{ (See Diagram VI)}$$

$$= \frac{R.\ p \sin K}{\sqrt{(R \pm p \cos K)^2 + (p \sin K)^2}}$$

$$= \frac{p.\ R \sin K}{\sqrt{R^2 \pm 2\ p\ R \cos K + p^2}}$$

$$= \frac{p.\ R \sin K}{R\sqrt{1 \pm 2\frac{p}{R} \cos K}} \quad \left(\text{neglecting } \frac{p^2}{R^2} \text{ as small}\right)$$

$$= \frac{p.\ R \sin K}{R\left(1 \pm \frac{p}{R} \cos K\right)}$$

$$= \frac{p.\ R \sin K}{R \pm p \cos K}$$

which could also be derived by considering OP′ equal to ON approximately.

In dealing with *Manda* operation, the term p cos K in the denominator is neglected as small compared with R by some teachers of Indian Mathematics (Cf. Modern *Sūyrya-siddhānta, Spaṣṭādhikāra,* v. 39; *Śripati, Siddhānta-śekhara, Sphutādhyāya* v. 25; *Bhāskarācāryya, Spaṣṭādhikāra,* v. 26). *Bhāskarācāryya, (Siddhānta-Śiromanī, Golādhyāya,* vv. 36-37) also tries to explain why, instead of the hypotenuse

$$\sqrt{R^2 + 2\ p\ r \cos p + p^2}$$

the radius of the Concentric is taken in the denominator.

The Equation of Centre will, in such cases, be given by the following formula :

$$R \text{ Sin } E = p \text{ Sin } k = R \text{ Sin } K \times \frac{p}{R} = R \text{ Sin } K \times \frac{P}{360^\circ}$$

$$= \frac{R \text{ Sin } K}{\frac{R}{p}}$$

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where 360° is the circumference of the Concentric or Deferent, P the circumference and p the radius of the *manda* Epicycle.

According to this formula, the Equation of Centre has the maximum value when K is 90 degrees ; whereas, according to the formula,

$$R \sin E = \frac{R\ p \sin K}{R + p \cos K}$$

the maximum value is given when $\frac{d E}{d K} = 0$,

$$\text{i.e. when } \frac{R\ p\{\cos K\ (R + p \cos K) - \sin K\ (-p \sin K)\}}{(R + p \cos K)^2}$$

$$= \frac{R\ p\ (R \cos K + p)}{(R + p \cos K)^2} = 0$$

$$\text{i.e. when Cos K} = -\frac{P}{R}$$

If R expressed in minutes (3438′), with the corresponding value of p also expressed in minutes, the formula $R \text{ Sin } E = \frac{p.\ R \sin K}{R + p \cos K}$ expresses R sin E in minutes. Then, *Muñjāla* makes another approximation ; according to him, E=R sin E, and E is expressed in minutes or degrees according as R sin E is expressed in minutes or degrees. Then the formula is further simplified for facilitating numerical calculations.

Thus, $E = R \sin E$

$$= \frac{p.\ R \sin K}{R + p \cos K} \text{ minutes (if R and p be expressed in minutes)}$$

$$= \frac{\sin K}{\frac{1}{p} + \frac{\cos K}{R}} \text{ minutes}$$

$$= \frac{4\overline{88}' \sin K}{\frac{4\overline{88}'}{p} + \frac{4\overline{88}' \cos K}{R}} \text{ minutes}$$

(to be continued.)

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